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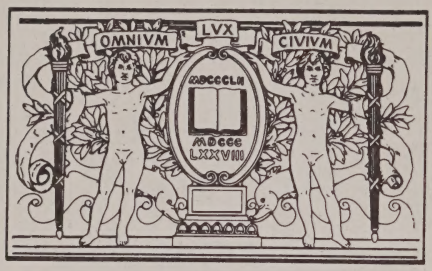

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CVIII.

JULY, 1840.

ART. I. — *Life of Cotton Mather*, by WILLIAM B. O. PEABODY. (SPARKS's *American Biography*, Vol. VI.) Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 12mo. pp. 190.

IT often happens, that the writers most praised and admired in their own time, are not those who command the admiration of posterity. There are fashions of thought, as well as of style, peculiar to every period, that have their day and then become obsolete; just as fashions in dress, or in manners, change according to the varying circumstances and tastes of different generations.

These artificial habits of reflection and expression being more easily caught, and also more likely to insure an immediate popularity, are adopted, either purposely or involuntarily, by the greater proportion of those, who, as authors, seek to instruct, or amuse, or influence the public. All writers are more or less biased by the prevailing tastes; and the number is always small, in whom the stimulus of original genius, overcoming or transcending the effect of outward influences, enables their intellectual productions to assume a natural, and therefore enduring, character. When the common instincts, common affections, and common principles of feeling and perception, belonging to our nature, are so strikingly exhibited as not to be obscured by the temporary forms of expression in which they are presented, they derive a charm and a classic dignity from the very lapse of time, which gives to language,

that may have been once commonplace and vulgar, an air of elevation and originality.

Candidates for such increasing fame are, however, rare; and the vast majority, who, instead of holding a mirror up to nature, have merely reflected the passing characteristics of their time, as these grow uncouth and strange, are pushed aside by others, whose portraitures are of a more familiar and more pleasing kind. Yet it is among this unoriginal class of authors, that may be found some of the best illustrations of human progress, and the diversities of human condition; and the writer whose page is but the glass of fashion, exhibiting only the fantasies and humors, prevailing sentiments, and peculiar prejudices, of his contemporaries, is to be valued by posterity, though for reasons quite different from those on which his own hopes of remembrance probably rested.

Perhaps the history of this country furnishes no better instance of the class just described, than Cotton Mather.

His popular reputation is that of a superstitious and credulous man, who believed in witchcraft, and collected a good many nonsensical stories, which no one else would have thought worthy of preservation. Those who know more about him have generally imbibed the impression, that he was a man of great erudition, but possessing little judgment; that his learning degenerated into pedantry and his religion into fanaticism; and that his awkward attempts at humor were apt to be derogatory to his subject and his personal dignity.

We have hinted at another light in which he may be viewed, and it seems to us the most correct and appropriate one. It is as representing, not so much his own peculiarities, as the principles and habits in which he had been educated, and which were the peculiarities of the time, or rather of a time somewhat preceding his own. An elegant writer says of James the First, "He embodied all of his own time except the glory; he had the learning and the pedantry, he had not the genius; he had unlimited credulity, and an insatiable appetite for the marvellous; he had the notion, that in apothegms, and aphorisms, and historical fables, and poetical maxims, lay the craft of government, and the philosophy of experience; he quoted all the Latin he could remember, and he believed unhesitatingly in ghosts and witches. *All these were not the peculiarities of James the First, they were the characteristics of the great bulk of English scholars in his time.*"* Now this de-

* *Edinburgh Review*, for October, 1836.

scription, with a slight modification, would be exactly applicable to Cotton Mather. A similar statement would be true of any individual, who, with simple aptitude for learning, without original genius, had been trained from childhood in all the arts and technicalities of the literature and science of his day. He would be an imitator, and his imitations would fall, as is ever the case, upon things the most artificial and most removed from a semblance of nature.

Cotton Mather lived at a period when the strange and unnatural condition both of religion and literature, which for one or two generations had existed in the world, though nearly passed away in the older countries, had, in this retired nook of New England, hardly gone beyond its crisis. Many are the follies and absurdities, properly belonging to his predecessors, for which his reputation has suffered, in consequence of his being among the last into whose hands they fell. In like manner has New England been made to bear the ridicule of superstitions, which, transplanted in their strength from the mother country, lingered here a while after they had been worn away amid the more rapid revolutions of opinion, taking place in older and more populous nations.

The life of Cotton Mather was first written by his son Samuel. This narrative is rather an enumeration of the honors which his father had received, or was entitled to receive, from the public, and a eulogy upon his virtues, of which a catalogue is carefully given, than a personal history portraying either his life or his character. Such, however, was then the common style of biography. The more agreeable writer, who has contributed a life of Cotton Mather to the collection of biographical notices, published by Mr. Sparks, has, on the livelier plan of the modern memoirs, supplied, so far as materials could be found, the facts and incidents omitted by the son. He has peeped into diaries; lifted the veil from secret confessions; and drawn upon private papers for details of the kind that public expectation requires from those who now undertake such delineations. Alas, for heroes! — their day is gone by. The reverence and awe, that once were left in undisturbed mystery, to surround the names and hallow the memory of great men, vanished before the human infirmities, disclosed by the familiarity of household habits. How few can stand the test of a private journal! much less of such severe and minute self-

inquisitions and self-developements, as constituted the religious diaries, that were a part of the rigorous discipline of the Puritan faith. The unreserved nature of Cotton Mather was little calculated to resist the influence of such inquiries. An abundance of the ludicrous was found to tempt the writer of his biography into an indulgence of that subdued, but noticeable, vein of satirical humor, which becomes a leading tone of his narrative. When such is the keynote, however inadvertently struck, those incidents are apt involuntarily to be selected, which best harmonize with it.

With the fairest intentions, and generally correct representations, it seems to us, that this Biography has left to rest upon the personal reputation of its subject, much of the absurd and ridiculous, that the age alone should answer for. Cotton Mather imitated more than he originated; and, though a credulous nature may have made him a too ready recipient, there is reason to believe that his superstition and his false wit were imbibed with his education, rather than that they were the offspring of his natural disposition. Having a constitutional facility of acquisition, he was set apart from his earliest childhood, to be trained in religion, in learning, and in literary accomplishments, according to the meaning then attached to those terms. With assiduous industry he applied himself to the studies proper for a scholar; with simple sincerity he embraced the religious opinions and habits recommended to him by the example of wise and good men, and formed his style upon the most approved models of his day. He was probably wanting in nice discrimination. It is said of him, that "his mind hardly seemed to discover any difference of magnitude or proportion between any two subjects that happened to come before it." This may explain why it is, that, in his works, especially in his "Magnalia," he pours forth, in such a miscellaneous manner, the results of his studies and reflections; and also, why the minor peculiarities of the age stand out more prominently, both in his actions and writings, than in those of most of his contemporaries.

Cotton Mather was born in Boston, February 12th, 1662–3. His first ancestor in this country was Richard Mather, who came over in 1635, and became pastor of the church in Dorchester; a man of great weight of character, and possessing much consideration with both the people and the clergy.

His next ancestor, and parent, was Increase Mather, who not only stood most conspicuous among the scholars and divines of New England, as President of Harvard College and pastor of a church in Boston, but, by his political influence, was supposed at times to have controlled the administration of the government. His mother was daughter of John Cotton, another distinguished minister of Boston. He was therefore descended, in right of both parents, from what was deemed the aristocracy of New England, when clergymen were the nobles of the religious dynasty, which our fathers sought to establish in the new world. The family of Mathers was remarkable for the retentive memory and studious inclinations, that seemed to be constitutional with its members; qualities that appeared rather to increase than diminish, at least down to the subject of the present notice, a brother of whom, who died early, is said to have exhibited them more remarkably than he.

An epitaph upon *Richard Mather* runs thus;

> "Under this stone lies Richard Mather,
> Who had a *son* greater than his father,
> And eke a *grandson* greater than either."

Thus happily born, and possessing such favorable capacities, it was set down as a matter of course, that Cotton Mather must make a *great man*. This expectation followed him from the beginning of his studies. He entered college with a compliment from the President, Dr. Hoar, on his hereditary prospects; and was graduated almost by acclamation, President Oakes, in his Latin oration at Commencement, thus expressing himself; "Mather is named *Cotton* Mather. What a name! But, my hearers, I confess I am wrong; I should have said what *names!* I shall say nothing of his reverend father, since I dare not praise him to his face; but should he represent and resemble his venerable grandfathers, John Cotton and Richard Mather, in piety, learning, elegance of mind, solid judgment, prudence and wisdom, he will bear away the palm; and I trust, that in him Cotton and Mather will be united and flourish again." *

In this manner prophetically ushered into life, he had nothing to do, but to proceed systematically to a fulfilment of the expectation.

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* Peabody's *Life of Cotton Mather.*

The making of a great man by rule, is not favorable to the developement either of force or of originality. As might have been anticipated, Cotton Mather attempted, without consulting the natural direction of his mind, to grasp and secure indiscriminately all the elements of distinction; to travel at once all the paths to fame. He must become familiar with the scholastic learning and ponderous theology, that then oppressed the intellects of the erudite. He was so. He must exercise himself in the religious habits and practices, which had wrapped in a mantle of sanctity the memories of godly and self-denying men before him. He did so, faithfully and perseveringly, as his diaries attest. He must shine in all the arts that give point and brillancy to the compositions of the wit and the poet. That too he attempted, and thought he had accomplished it. The trouble was, that all these particulars were gained just at a time, when the old systems were getting out of date. He was consequently in a state of astonishment to the end of his life, that his labors were productive of no greater results of fame and reverence. He had followed to the letter the directions of the best masters; nay, even grown wiser than his teachers. He had crowded his writings with more quotations; he had made more anagrams, and generated a greater variety of other similar conceits, than any of his brethren; and, moreover, had observed more private fasts and secret mortifications, — which were well known to the public, — and yet he felt that he had occasion to repeat this caution, that "gratitude was not to be expected from the hands of men."

Cotton Mather is said by his biographer to have been unfortunate, in being affected by the decline of that political influence which the clergy had held so many years, and which his father was the last to retain. He was not less affected by the fact, that the artificial habits, personal, literary, and religious, in which he was educated, ceasing to be sustained by fashion, required for the maintenance of their former respect and influence, something which he did not possess, — original genius. He was always admired for his industry and talents. The fame of his learning procured him honors from foreign lands. His voice calmed the tumult of revolution at home, when the people, having deposed Governor Andros, were proceeding to violent and bloody extremities. As it rested with his father to decide who

should succeed Andros in the government, so he himself had the honor of procuring for Governor Dudley his appointment from the British crown. Yet, in the latter portion of his life, he was criticized for his style, ridiculed for his superstition, and subjected to imputations of improper political ambition and intrigue.

Instead of dwelling upon his personal history, we proceed to a consideration of those characteristics in which he represented a period precedent to himself, in a great degree that in which he lived, and, to some extent, that which immediately followed him. We content ourselves with stating here, that, when but eighteen years old, he began to preach, and was settled as a colleague with his father at the age of twenty-two ; that he soon came to be considered a prodigy of learning, as he really was ; that he published three hundred and eighty-two distinct works, most of them of course small ; that, in 1690, he received from the University of Glasgow, the diploma of Doctor of Divinity, " having " (as his son says, with a pardonable love of amplification upon his father's honors) " *the great seal of the Academy affixed unto it* " ; that, in consequence of this appointment, he procured a signet ring, as a token and assertion of his doctorate in divinity, — " not from any vanity of ornament, but out of obedience to the fifth commandment, which directs us to assert the honor of any dignity, in which the providence of God may station us ; " that, in 1713, he was made Fellow of the Royal Society ; that he had an unhappy prominence during the delusions in relation to witchcraft ; that he was twice disappointed in not being elected President of Harvard College, which seemed like depriving him of his inheritance ; that he was the first, in this country, to advocate inoculation for the small-pox ; that he was admired, and flattered, and imitated, by more than ventured to question his claims to merit ; that, finally, he died at the age of sixty-five, and was honored with a public funeral, hardly exceeded even by that of his father, which latter was described by Cotton Mather, as " greater than had ever been seen for any divine, in these (and some travellers say in any other) parts of the world."

What, then, were the results of that education, which was intended to render Cotton Mather a model as a divine and as a scholar, according to the notions of men at the latter part of the seventeenth century ? Let us first consider his

religious character; and, if his superstitious tendencies are comprehended under the same head, it is because these so readily and imperceptibly run into each other, and are in themselves so far blended in their nature, that any attempt to separate them would only be productive of great confusion.

He early began a system of prayer and fasting, which he afterwards carried quite as far as nature could sustain it. "He thought himself *starved*," (says his son,) "unless he fasted once a month." His fasts were often observed at much shorter intervals; sometimes weekly, and sometimes twice in the week. He at one time resolved to abstain from food three days together, and "to spend the time in knocking at the door of heaven." That mental excitement, which in this philosophical age would be attributed to the high exhilaration generally produced by extreme inanition, was often felt by him. On one occasion, he says, "Heaven seemed open to me, so that I longed to die; I was hardly able to bear the ecstasies of divine love; they exhausted me, they made me faint, they were insupportable, so that I was obliged to withdraw from them, lest the raptures should make me swoon away." It is not surprising (remarks his late biographer), that these observances should have an effect upon his character, inclining him to grasp at every thing which seemed like an emanation from the invisible world.

Another part of his system was, to seek improvement from all the common and ordinary incidents of life; and he provided himself with a set of ejaculations to be used on such occasions. It may not be amiss to quote a few of these, as showing into what minute details this exercise for spiritual improvement was carried. If his family happened to be brewing, he would say, "Lord, let us find, in a glorious Christ, provision for our thirsty souls." On washing-day he said, "Oh wash us thoroughly from sin." When he knocked at a door, it suggested the text, "Knock, and it shall be opened unto you." Looking on a gentlewoman stricken with years, he said to himself, "Lord, adorn that woman with the virtues which thou prescribest for aged women;" on one very beautiful, "Lord, give that person an humble mind, and let her be most concerned for those ornaments, that are of great price in thy sight." So, in walking the streets, when he saw a tall man, or a very little man, or a lame man, or a negro, or a young girl, or an old man, he was reminded of

some scriptural passage or appropriate moral sentiment. No action was too trivial to be made the mnemonics of a prayer or a precept. He mended his fire, put out his candle at night, and paid his debts, with an inward ejaculation of praise, such as, to most minds, the last act alone would be calculated to suggest.

Another practice was the framing an evidence, of marks and signs, of an assurance of a better life. This operation consisted in writing down a catalogue of all his known sins. These were then divided into actual sins, sins of infirmity, and controversial sins. By the last were meant such acts of *amusement*, as in those times, when pleasure was accounted sinful, were deemed of doubtful morality. This table was to be set off by an enumeration of virtues, holy thoughts and emotions, spontaneous deeds of goodness, voluntary instances of self-denial and abasement. By casting the balance, the actual amount of religious capital became apparent.

These inquisitions were accompanied, or concluded, by watching the feelings and desires that arose without effort in his mind, and thence drawing assurance of grace and acceptance, or reasons for doubt and alarm. To our comment upon the effect of the system of fasting, it might be added, respecting these observances, that it is not surprising, that spiritual pride and complacent self-congratulation should sometimes be the result of such trials. We accordingly find in his diaries many passages, which his biographer quotes as remarkable specimens of self-delusion, "in which he reminds himself of his own *grandeurs*, as he calls them, in the same tone that the rich man uses, when he professes himself to be poor, a profession he will thank no one for believing." After stating his reasons for self-applause, he adds, in real or imagined humility, that "proud thoughts fly-blowed his best performances"; and declares himself "viler than a beast, unsavory salt, fit for nothing but the dunghill."

The practices above described grew out of the feeling, constantly present to his mind, that the path of man's life lay between the two great contending powers of the spiritual world, the good and the evil; that both of these continually pressed upon his course, and watched every step of his progress; and as he inclined this way, or that, he fell under the influence of the one or the other. The Deity noticed every good impulse, and immediately rewarded it. The Devil

took advantage of every obliquity to strengthen his power and dominion. All events were providences; and all circumstances were signs to be studied and interpreted; from the act of the dissenting mouse, that gave his testimony against episcopacy, by eating the *common prayer* clean out of the library of the younger Winthrop, without meddling with any thing else, up to the graver remarkables recorded by Cotton Mather himself.

There are passages in his diary, that strikingly illustrate his state of feeling on such subjects.

"I called unto mind," says he, "that the primitive Christians, in obedience to that command of watching unto prayer, sometimes had their vigils; accordingly, I resolved to make some essay towards a vigil. I dismissed my dear consort unto her repose, and, in the dead of the night, I retired into my study, and there casting myself prostrate on the floor before the Lord, I was rewarded with communications from heaven, that cannot be uttered. There I lay for a long time, wrestling with the Lord, and I received some strange intimations from heaven, about the time and the way of my death, and about mercies intended for my family, and about several points about which my mind may be too solicitous. If those be vigils, I must, so far as the sixth commandment will allow, have some more of them."

They consequently became a favorite practice. It would be likely to happen, that these ecstasies should sometimes be followed by an opposite state of things. We accordingly find this remark recorded by him.

"Now, as I have often observed it, so it still continues a matter of observation to me, that, when I have been admitted to some near and intimate communion with heaven, I must immediately encounter some vexation on earth; either bodily illness, or popular clamor, or Satanic buffets, immediately following. I expected something on this occasion. Accordingly, when I was preaching on the day following, one of my chimneys took fire, and a great congregation ran out of the meetinghouse to the relief of my house, and I was thus marked out for *talk* all over the town."

Now, apart from the consideration that these habits and practices belong to a peculiar historical period, they might be attributed, as especial infirmities, to Cotton Mather. Yet in fact, they were neither confined to him, nor to the clergy, nor even to the Puritans. In D'Israeli's "Curiosities of Lit-

erature," is an article entitled, "View of a particular Period of the State of Religion in our Civil Wars." In this he says,

"Looking over the manuscript diary of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, I was struck by a picture of the domestic religious life which, at that period, was prevalent among families. Sir Symonds was a sober antiquary, heated with no fanaticism; yet I discovered in his diary, that he was a visionary in his constitution, macerating his body by private fasts, and spiritualizing in search of secret signs. The writer of this diary did not belong to the nonconformists. A private gentleman and a phlegmatic antiquary, Sir Symonds, withal, was a zealous Church of England Protestant. Yet, amidst the illusions of an age of religious controversies, we find this quiet gentleman tormenting himself and his lady, by watching for certain evident marks and signs of an assurance of a better life, with I know not how many sorts of graces."

In extracts from this diary, scenes are exhibited similar to those already described. It is not difficult to understand how a belief in witchcraft, and a faith in prodigies and signs, should be connected with the theological system, which inculcated the constant and immediate, though invisible, presence of demons, and the direct interference of supernatural agency in the ordinary affairs of life. It is remarkable, how entirely the superstition of Cotton Mather was of a religious nature. The wise and the learned of his day, and before it, had faith in judicial astrology; but of this he ventures boldly to express his skepticism; a remarkable fact, certainly, considering his reputation for unbounded credulity. He had in his library the transcendental speculations of Van Helmont, but neither these nor the magnetic vagaries of the same writer, corroborated by Sir Kenelm Digby, with his sympathetic powders, made any impression upon Cotton Mather, visionary as he was. So, too, he rejected all kinds of charms, and incantations, and exorcisms; all the vulgar antidotes to witchcraft, and the common machinery of magic; and ridiculed the notion, not now out of belief, that a seventh son is born with extraordinary qualities. The only weapon with which he sought to resist the powers of evil, or control them, was the arm of the law; or, what he preferred to that, prayer and fasting. But to every thing of a supernatural kind, a belief in which he deemed warranted by the Bible, he gave, not a weak and hesitating credence, but a firm religious be-

lief. He will hardly admit, that those who give no credit to portents and prodigies are entitled to be called "*gentlemen*," although he acknowledges,

"that there ought to be much accuracy in the observation of them; that those things ought not to be called prodigies which are only extraordinaries; and that it is a simple thing to believe every word. Nevertheless those people, I am sure, were regarded none of the wisest, who regard not the works of the Lord, nor the operation of his hands; and the communion between us and the angels, either good or bad, which are invisible about us, is more frequent, and upheld and applied unto more purposes, than mankind is happy enough to be well aware." *

The subject of witchcraft was a favorite study with Cotton Mather; yet not in the spirit with which the curious of a superstitious age sometimes sought to pry into the mysteries of the black art, but in that of a Christian minister, bound by his office to detect, and expose, and resist the devices of the Devil. In this effort, the literal character of his mind becomes conspicuous, and he writes himself down, not a simpleton, nor yet a visionary, (he was not poetical enough for that,) but as one who, from the practical and unpoetical cast of his temperament, sought to reduce to a tangible and regular creed, those matters, which, floating in other minds in a shape more indistinct and mystical, were not less firmly believed, if less particularly defined. The book, that apparently betrays more weakness in Cotton Mather than any other of his writings or acts, was compiled at the particular request of the clergy and leading men of the country. We refer to his narration of "Remarkables of Divine Providence among the People of New England." This collection of absurdities was not only proposed and recommended at a meeting of the clergy, but, to give it the highest sanction for wisdom and knowledge, was made up under the especial supervision *of the President and Fellows of the College.*

About four years previous to the breaking out of the delusions at Salem, Cotton Mather had an opportunity afforded him to study the nature of witchcraft, and its modes of operation at his leisure. The four children of a man named Goodwin, the eldest of whom was but thirteen years old,

* *Wonderful Works of God commemorated;* Appendix, touching Prodigies.

charged an Irish woman, who lived in the neighbourhood, with bewitching them. They exhibited all the agonies and contortions, and went through with the eccentric manœuvres, which, in all parts of the world, and at different and remote periods of time, have, on such occasions, borne a wonderful similarity to each other. How this coincidence has happened, may be explained, perhaps, by supposing that these symptoms and practices have been handed down in nursery stories. But, upon the best hypothesis, the conduct of children apparently destitute of motive, and at an age when perseverance and consistency of purpose are not common, remains as incomprehensible as the modern witcheries of animal magnetism.

The eldest of these children, a girl, was taken into his house for the purpose of more particular examination. She continued for some weeks a member of his family, and kept up an almost constant exhibition of unaccountable cantraps, such as constituted the usual evidences of bewitchment. During this period, all the children were frequently visited and prayed over by the clergy. After much and particular scrutiny, and frequent fasting and prayer for aid from Heaven, Cotton Mather thought he had obtained an insight to the system of diabolical tactics pursued by the powers of evil and their human allies. He therefore preached often upon the subject, and also published an account of his observations. In relation to the last, a prophetic spirit seems to have suddenly inspired the girl, who was the principal subject of his narrative. Being one day in his study,

"She got," says he, "a history that I had written of this witchcraft, and though she had before read it over and over, yet now she could not read, I believe, one entire sentence of it, but she made of it the most ridiculous travestie in the world, with such a patness of fancy, to supply the sense that she put upon it, that I was amazed. And she particularly told me, *that I should quickly come to disgrace by that history.*"

It was to this book, that Richard Baxter wrote a preface, when it was printed in London, in which he states, that "he who will not be convinced by all the evidence Dr. Mather presents, that the child was bewitched, must be a very obdurate Sadducee."

It is generally supposed, that the unfortunate scenes at Salem are to be attributed to the influence of Cotton Mather. It may be, that this is true; but do not the allegations in Mr.

Upham's "Lectures on Witchcraft" require to be sustained by stronger proof than has yet been adduced? He says, "There is much reason to fear, that, to a great extent, they were the effect of deliberate design. The peculiar theology of that period presented inducements to ambitious and enthusiastic individuals, among the prominent members of the clergy, to bring about a state of things in which their power would be felt to a greater extent than before." Cotton Mather is then charged with being a leader in this conspiracy, and as aspiring to be considered the great champion of the church, and the most successful combatant against "the prince of the power of the air."

These assertions do not coincide with the opinion we have formed of the character of either the prominent members of the clergy, or of Cotton Mather. That he was forward in promoting the prosecutions, is undoubtedly true; though his son says he was averse to bloody measures, and offered to take charge of six of the possessed people himself, to cure them by prayer and fasting, if other people would take the rest in the same way. That he may have felt some of the pride of championship, is equally probable, and also that he contemplated the witchcraft delusion as having been instrumental in promoting a revival of religion; but an artful conspiracy, in relation to that subject, could never have existed in minds filled with such sincere and earnest conviction, as impelled the clergy not less than others at that day. A belief, which Melancthon, Martin Luther, Lord Bacon, Sir Mathew Hale, Sir Thomas Browne, and Robert Boyle, had sanctioned, needed no motives of policy to stimulate or sustain it. That wild and bloody epidemic, which had ravaged Italy, France, Germany, Switzerland, England, Scotland, and Sweden, occasioning the death, by public execution, of more than thirty thousand individuals, might, at last, break out in New England, during a dark period of private trials and public anxieties, such as then prevailed, without affording a just ground of imputation upon the good sense or good intentions of any one.

In an essay written at the time, by one Dr. Hutchinson, the origin of that unhappy excitement is attributed to Richard Baxter and the two Mathers. Of these persons, the first deserves the largest share of the opprobrium, that can rest upon any one of them. He had been in the midst of similar

scenes in the mother country, had witnessed their rise, their height, and their decline; yet, with eyes unopened, he wrote to America, urging like persecutions here, and threw the whole weight of his experience and reputation into the scale of fanaticism and bloodshed. Cotton Mather says, very truly, in vindication of himself and his brethren, "We followed the precedent of England and Scotland."

It is time to pass from the religious and superstitious to the literary characteristics of Cotton Mather.

In one sense, the divines of that day were more distinguished for learning than those of our own time. So far as familiarity with the learned languages is concerned, they certainly surpassed most modern students. The particular knowledge of Hebrew, possessed by our reverend forefathers, is often alluded to, in a way of comparison, unfavorable to the present standard of clerical scholarship. Learning then, however, was to a greater degree an external thing; a matter of memory; lying rather upon the surface of the mind, than incorporating itself with it by any process of intellectual digestion. Theological speculation consisted in subtile disquisitions, incapable of profitable practical application. The art of reasoning reached little further than a mechanical arrangement of sentences. Science was composed of theories, not founded upon analysis, or drawn from observation. The few glimpses of truth, that were breaking through the veil of ignorance, shed but a bewildering light over the mysteries of nature. Astronomy twinkled through the cloudy mists of astrology. Chemistry lay hid in the secret operations of alchemy, aiming to create new matter rather than to analyze that which already existed. Philosophers were magicians. This, to be sure, was the blindness of an older period. But, when the head of a College,* in a scientific treatise upon comets, regards them only in the light of omens, signs of ill to human kind; and, although admitting eclipses to be regular occurrences, constantly taking place, governed by fixed laws, and proceeding from known causes, yet is not prepared to say, they are not also signs and portents, and, indeed, had noticed, "that within twelve months after an eclipse of the sun, great events had happened, and several distinguished men had died," when such are the vagaries

* Increase Mather.

of the scientific, it cannot be said, that the night of dialectic obscurity was yet succeeded by more than a dawning of daylight, still dim and uncertain. As learning was not wisdom, it did not imbue the understanding with the essential qualities of knowledge, or nourish the intellect, as it is its office to do. So we see it worn outside, as an ornament. Instead of seeking to draw forth the fragrance, or extract the essential virtues, from the tree of knowledge, its branches were gathered in the bodily form of quotations, and stuck over the page of a writer, till the emanations of his own mind were nearly lost in the umbrage.

Thus Cotton Mather seems hardly able to clothe his thoughts in his own expressions. The "acute Voigtius," or those eminent persons "Joachim Hildebrand," "Seckendorf," "Osiander," &c. &c., seem strangely to have anticipated all his ideas, and preoccupied the words most appropriate for them. As *such a writer* hath it, or as *the learned somebody* expresses it, or in the words of this Hebrew phrase or that Greek maxim, often constitute a great portion of his original matter, for pages together.

The legitimate use of quotations seems not to have been understood. Cotton Mather speaks of his habit in this way, as "SALTING *my sentences now and then, with short, instructive, and unforced intermixtures of something or other I have read of.*" The flavor of the original substance is quite apt to be overpowered by the strength of the brine.

The old-fashioned sermons, almost within our own recollection, were made up of texts of Scripture, taken without much regard to their appropriate connexion, and hung upon a very slender thread of discourse. This style of writing was already beginning to be disused in England, and Cotton Mather found it necessary to defend himself and his father from foreign criticisms, in which it was ridiculed as peculiar to the American University. He says, in his introduction to the life of his father, or, to use his own title, "The Remarkables of Dr. Increase Mather,"

"What the scorner* more particularly bestows his flouts upon is, Dr. Mather's *preaching!* Strange! his PREACHING! of all things, his preaching! Yes, he says, "This *Mather* preached often in Dissenters' meetings in London. His style was more affected and quaint than that of the nonconformists, who are

* Oldmixon.

most famous in this way, and would confirm all that has been said of the *Harvard* eloquence."

As a set-off to this he refers to another writer, who remarks, that

"The Presbyterian divines have been observed of late to preach more after the manner of the Church of England men. I dare affirm this will be their ruin ; and I venture to advise, that, if the Nonconformists would preach more after the manner of Dr. Mather, and *be* so affected and quaint, if it must be called so, as to have much of the sacred Scripture well applied in every paragraph of their sermons, it would be no disservice to the kingdom of God."

The forced comparisons and far-fetched illustrations that deform the style of Cotton Mather, were imitated from the writers then most studied and admired. Du Bartas, a contemptible French poet, of the reign of Henry the Fourth, was, through Sylvester's translation of his works, the standard of taste in the early days of New England. His grotesque productions had passed through thirty editions, and everybody, who attempted the writing of verses, made him the model. The highest compliment that could be paid to Mrs. Bradstreet, the best poet of the first generation in New England, was supposed to be in an anagram drawn from her name, which made her out a *second Du Bartas*. Those monstrosities, which, under the name of *conceits*, were admired as ingenious in proportion as they were forced and unnatural, were a part of the literary peculiarities that descended to Cotton Mather from the most respectable sources, just at a time when a better taste was driving them from the honorable station they had held in the republic of letters. By him they were ostentatiously displayed, with an apparent unconsciousness of their dilapidated reputation. The most prominent of these were *anagrams* and *puns*.

The practice of transposing the letters of a name so as to form a new word, or words, supposed to be significant of the qualities of an individual, or of his destiny, was deemed, from its remote origin, to have not only a classical, but a sacred sanction. We are told, that anagram-making was classed by the Hebrews among the cabalistic arts ; that the discovery of occult qualities in proper names was an early exercise in the East, and was adopted thence by the Greeks ; that Plato practised it, and mystified himself by the anagrammatic virtues

of names. The Puritans found examples of it in Scripture. It was therefore with them a lawful amusement and a favorite one.

There is an amusing story of the wife of Sir John Davies, a poet and distinguished lawyer in the time of Charles the First. She fancied the spirit of Daniel was in her, because she found in her name the words *Reveal, O Daniel!* and accordingly began to prophesy against the government. After the Court and the Bishops had dealt with her in vain, she was at last completely subdued by another anagram, that an ingenious clergyman made of the words, Dame Eleanor Davies; "*Never so mad a Ladie.*"

But perhaps the strangest custom to characterize the sober literature of a sober period, was *punning*. Least of all should we expect to find it enlivening the pages of a reverend author in a History of the Church, or in elegiac notices of departed brethren. Our impressions of the fathers of New England are generally of a grave and serious kind. The Puritan, according to common notions, was one too stern or too demure for levity. So, likewise, our recollections of the old-fashioned meetinghouse, and of the old-fashioned minister, are surrounded by graveyard associations too solemn for a jest. If an adventurer into the catacombs of Egypt, the dark dwellings of embalmed kings, where each in his sarcophagus has lain thousands of years, should suddenly behold the Pharaohs and Ptolemies jeering through their cerements, or hear Menes breaking a jest with Sesostris, it would hardly seem more out of keeping with the place, than the puns of our pious ancestors with the stiff and sombre character of a Puritan preacher.

Puns have, in modern times, entirely lost caste as an ornament of serious literature. Yet they have seen better days. Addison, who was contemporary with Cotton Mather, says they were described by Aristotle among the beauties of good writing, and laid down by Cicero with other rules of oratory, but declares, (forgetting this out-of-the-way corner of the earth,) that they are in his time entirely banished out of the learned world.

"Yet," says he, "it is indeed impossible to kill a weed which the soil has a natural disposition to produce, for the seeds of punning are in the minds of all men. The age in which punning chiefly flourished, was in the reign of King James the First. That monarch was himself a punster, and made very few bishops or privy counsellors, that had not, some time or other, signalized

themselves by a clinch or a conundrum. It was, therefore, in this age, that the pun appeared with pomp and dignity. It had before been admitted into merry speeches and ludicrous compositions, but was now delivered with great gravity from the pulpit, or pronounced in the most solemn manner at the council-table."

We believe that, even in our own day, the assertion, that "he who perpetrates a pun, will pick a pocket," is not universally received as an indisputable ethical axiom ; but that the offence, if apparently unpremeditated, is admitted to be venial, at least, when committed in the inconsiderate moments of unguarded mirth.

Among our ancestors, puns did not assume that incidental character in which alone they are now tolerated, but were brought about in the coolest and most deliberate manner. The King's English was tortured till its stiff old Saxon joints cracked in the process. Words were subjected to cruelties scarcely surpassed by those of the Inquisition. Like the victims of the Procrustean bed, when too long, they were cut off, when too short, they were stretched. The species of pun required by the fastidiousness of modern refinement, is a light, ethereal matter, the product of a delicate entanglement of thought. It lies like the web of dew sparkling in its position, but is lost in the attempt to remove it from the circumstances to which it is attached. Or it is like the mystical substance to result from the nice combinations of the alchemist, that must be caught at the moment of projection, or you grasp only the dross, — the gross materials from which it was to be generated. On the contrary, the pun of the Puritans seems to have been, as it were, one of the parts of speech, susceptible of syntax, and calculated to produce no degree of exhilaration unbecoming the gravity of their habits.

By removing the dust from the volume of Mather's "Magnalia," our readers will find all the peculiarities, which we have referred to or explained, abundantly illustrated. Seriousness and trifling, learning and superstition, are brought into a degree of intimacy rarely seen elsewhere. Prefaces thickly studded with quotations, usher the way to memoirs decorated with puns and anagrams. Among the biographies of venerable divines, the pious pilgrims of New England, that the Rev. Mr. Wilson, a noted anagram-maker, should by anagrams be commemorated, may seem not inappropriate. But

what Mr. Ralph Patridge had done to merit the ludicrous introduction to posterity that is given him, does not appear. He is described as "a *hunted Patridge*, who, being distressed by the ecclesiastical *setters* of old England, having neither *beak* nor *claws* for defence, escaped by *flight* over the ocean, and *took covert* in the town of Duxbury, in the colony of Plymouth. There he remained, till he *took wing* to become a *bird of paradise*." Then follows his epitaph in one Latin word,

"AVOLAVIT."

It has not been our purpose, to trace the origin of the religious and literary extravagances of Cotton Mather further back than the immediate sources from whence he probably derived them; nor to dwell upon these, except barely in the way of allusion. For their real origin we must go to those great events, the invention of printing, the discovery of America, the revival of letters, and the Reformation, which followed too closely upon each other not to disturb the sober sense of mankind. That a general prevalence of monstrous and uncouth notions should follow these great changes, in which former measures of proportion and accustomed standards of taste and propriety were swept away, is not singular. Under such circumstances the human mind inevitably runs into extravagances of every description. To the adventurous, a new world was opened for conquest, rich in spicy groves and mines of golden wealth, beyond the dreams of Oriental fiction. Hence the enterprising hastened to plant colonies,and build up principalities, and speculate in unfounded kingdoms. Out of the ruins of the old theology, the religiously inclined had full scope for vagaries in the formation of new creeds. In the tumult of great moral and physical revolutions, amid the occurrence of startling events beyond man's capacity to calculate or control, he would feel a natural conviction of the presence of invisible agencies. By means of printing, at the breaking up of monasteries, all the fantastic trifles with which the monks had relieved the tedium of their unnatural life were poured out upon the world under the name of literature, and, accompanying classical learning from its retreats, experienced the advantages of so respectable an introduction. The literary follies, that remained in vogue at the time of Cotton Mather, were models of good taste, compared with the laborious puerilities which had been gradually aban-

doned. Thus a grave writer, at one period, thought it meritorious to complete his first chapter without once using the letter A; the next, without B; and so on through the alphabet, if his chapters extended so far. Verses were composed in the form of hearts, rings, altars, and true loveknots. A satire assumed the formidable shape of a battle-axe, or some other weapon of war. Elegies rose in the semblance of funereal monuments, as urns or obelisks. The love-songs of the poet fluttered to his mistress in the guise of Cupids and turtle-doves. One would write verses in the form of gloves; another in the shape of spectacles. Ben Johnson speaks of a pair of scissors and a comb in verse; and Addison, ridiculing these aberrations of taste, describes a poetical wig, each curl of which was a separate stanza. There were even such artifices of the Muse, "while yet in early Greece she sung."

In Mr. Peabody's Life of Cotton Mather, not only his talents and acquirements, but the purity of his intentions and the uprightness of his character, are on the whole more favorably estimated than has of late been common. The charges, sometimes made against him, of ambitious and selfish designs, unworthy a Christian minister, are not admitted to be true. Still, according to our apprehension, more foundation is allowed for them than really exists. It is fair, that his conduct in one case should be judged by his actions in another that is in some respects parallel. Had we known him only as leading the way to the introduction of inoculation for the small-pox, we should find him acting promptly upon convictions that had satisfied his own mind, manifesting the zeal of an ardent temperament, confident where others were distrustful, and aiming to influence public sentiment in regard to a doubtful and hazardous principle. For his earnest advocacy of this strange proceeding in relation to a dangerous disease, he now receives credit for independence, courage, and sound judgment, because his opinion has been sustained — we cannot say by philosophy, but by experience; yet his benevolent efforts were rewarded at the time by as strong imputations of credulity, of meddlesomeness, even of ambitious and unworthy motives, as have thrown obloquy upon his bold and decided course on the subject of witchcraft.

It is more than probable, that the same mental characteristics, motives and impulses, which, exerted in favor of inoculation, have won for him honor and gratitude from posterity, governed also his measures during the unhappy delusion by

which his fame has so severely suffered. His errors cannot be ascribed to bigotry. He was, in fact, one of the most tolerant and liberal of the clergy of his day. Even his credulity seems always to have been based on authority that could not then be gainsaid, or to have been the result of a process of reasoning or investigation. He aimed to study the subject of witchcraft as a man of science and philosophy, as well as an humble believer of the Bible; and what could then be derived from learning and philosophy, but confirmation of a Scripture, which declared, "Thou shall not suffer a witch to live"? Wherein was the evidence, produced by Pilarini and Simoni, of the beneficial effects of inoculation, more conclusive than the testimony of human wisdom and divine revelation to the existence of witchcraft? In either case he acted upon his convictions with incautious sincerity and manly courage. In both instances he was encouraged to go forward by many, who shrunk from responsibility themselves, and who, when blame arose, were glad to let the weight of it rest upon his shoulders.

When Cotton Mather found the witches and their allies an overmatch for human sagacity (for so he explained the unexpected result of public prosecutions), he would naturally wish to believe, himself, and to convince others, that he had not been too precipitate in carrying out his principles. The correctness of those principles he always maintained, because the evidence of their truth still preponderated in his mind over the arguments of their opponents. His claim of having counselled caution and moderation in judicial proceedings, and his continued assertion of the propriety of such proceedings, have furnished the grounds of many accusations against him.

In summing up the character of Cotton Mather, we should say, that he was a man of superior general ability, without the advantage of any leading intellectual tendencies, and that his warm and benevolent feelings were not sufficiently guarded by reserve, or qualified by worldly shrewdness. By nature and education he was unfortunately subject to conceit and self-complacency, which he had not tact enough to conceal. This infirmity was evidently the real cause of his misfortunes during life, and its influence has followed his reputation, and obscured his merits with posterity. Too evident self-satisfaction is the last thing mankind are disposed to tolerate. It invariably provokes the assaults of ridicule and satire. All the faults and weaknesses, that a vain man exhibits, are sure to be

mentioned and brought up against him. Known hypocrisy, and mock humility, are less obnoxious and more respected. The frank simplicity of Cotton Mather continually exposed him to attacks that affected his public standing, embittered his temper, and occasioned an old age of unhappiness and disappointment.

The high anticipations, that surrounded his entrance into life, subjected him both to observation and to jealousy. He aimed to maintain the position his ancestors had held in church and state, and claimed, too openly, similar influence and consideration. To the changes of times and circumstances he had not shrewdness enough to accommodate himself. The consequence was, that industry, learning, philanthropy, and talents enough to crown any name with distinction, could not secure him from final neglect and the pain of frustrated expectations.

We think his writings worthy of more consideration than they receive. There is often a richness of thought buried beneath his exuberance of learning and illustration, that well repays the labor of getting at it. Could his "Magnalia" be relieved from its miserable punctuation, and the too liberal use of italics and capitals, the style would be found more clear and forcible than is generally supposed, and possessed of much of the peculiar qualities, that the admirers of Jeremy Taylor would strongly relish.

ART. II. — *Report, on Education in Europe, to the Trustees of the Girard College for Orphans.* By ALEXANDER DALLAS BACHE, LL. D., President of the College. Philadelphia: Lydia R. Bailey. 1839. 8vo. pp. 666.

THE extended report contained in the volume, of which the title is prefixed to this article, is the first-fruits of the most munificent literary endowment, originating in individual liberality, which has ever occurred in this country. Indeed, the annals of scholastic foundations in Europe present few instances of equal magnitude, and assuredly not more than two or three which are greater. The name of Stephen Girard has taken a place in the same category with those of

Sir Thomas Gresham, of Thomas Sutton, and of George Heriot.

A curious illustration of the practical operation of our political system, — its influence upon individual enterprise and feeling, — might be traced in the history of the accumulation of a fortune like that amassed by Mr. Girard, and its final appropriation to a plan of purely popular beneficence. A foreigner comes penniless to our shores. The liberal policy of the law and of public opinion receives him into the community. Barely acquainted with the language of the country, without education, without kindred or friends, without patronage, in a word, without any means external to himself, he seeks, and without difficulty finds, in an humble line of life, an opening for his industry. The lone man makes himself useful, and with his usefulness come connexions in business. The field of his labor becomes enlarged and more elevated. The genius for traffic, with which some men are endowed, enables him at every advance to find a firmer footing, and to plant himself more securely. For a time, one of the crew of some of the small craft that ply on a river, he gradually raises himself to some authority on board of a coasting vessel. He relinquishes the vocation of a mariner, and, with his small earnings and savings, stocks a small shop. In a few years he is in a state of transition to the condition of a merchant. Traffic, that scarce ventured beyond the hail of the voice, or the range of a good spyglass, has learned a bolder venture, and begins to vex the seas of distant climes. The ventures prove successful, or, to speak more accurately, there is in them wisdom and foresight, the compound of boldness and prudence, which makes a merchant's might. The man, whose trading began in small channels, has gained a standing in the centre of a commercial metropolis. A new department for his skill and enterprise is found, and the successful merchant becomes also the thrifty and prosperous banker; and thus his wealth, never lying idle, is magnified in a ratio almost exceeding calculation.

Such is a hasty sketch of the formation of Stephen Girard's estate, — the earnings of individual effort, with poverty for a starting-point. He came to this country from France, it is said, as a cabin boy. He was a fresh-water sailor on the river Delaware, and subsequently, as he mentions in his will, he traded to New Orleans, in the first instance, as "first

officer" of the vessel, and afterwards, as "master and part-owner." The designation he gives himself in his will, is, "mariner and merchant." He went into commercial business, in a small way, as a grocer. A few years more made him a shipping merchant, and he was for a considerable time the largest ship-owner in the port of Philadelphia. When he became a capitalist, he sought the growing gains of a shrewd and cautious banker, and soon was strong enough to purchase, for his own use of private banking, the building which had been erected and was used as the banking-house of the nation during the continuance of the charter of the first bank of the United States. The accumulation of money was with Girard the one great aim of life, pursued with an unremitting and unwearying assiduity. He was a man, who, having been separated in early life from his kindred, suffered the ties of consanguinity to hang but loosely on him. His habits of living were simple, or rather austere and parsimonious. His sole recreation, and that was recreation mingled with thrift, was rural occupation on his farm in the immediate neighbourhood of Philadelphia, to which for many years he daily retired, after the business of his banking-house closed. He was a man of close counsels. The work of his life may literally be said to have been achieved by himself alone. No sorcerer ever environed himself with a magic circle more impenetrable, a line to be crossed only at the risk of his displeasure. His temperament was unsocial. There was a wide, and, we may add, a dreary space, between him and his kindred, his connexions, his assistants in business, his fellow-laborers, not companions, in the counting-room and the banking-house, and his fellow-citizens generally. During life, his name was not associated with plans of beneficence. Charity was timid in approaching to solicit a bounty. He was a solitary-hearted being, and his fellow-creatures knew not the avenues to his feelings. When the credit of the national government was depressed during the late war with Great Britain, Girard was one of the capitalists who replenished the treasury of the country from their private coffers; and he fostered important internal improvements in his own State by advances, when the work was in danger of standing still, and other men were afraid or unable to give assistance. But, in these cases, the impulse was the foresight of a safe deposit and an increased return, the instinct of investment.

In short, Stephen Girard was such a man, as, had his lot been cast, like that of the London banker, Thomas Sutton, the founder of the Charter House, in the same age and in the same community with Ben Jonson, would have furnished a better mark for the dramatist's satire.

If the acquisition of so large an estate by such a man as Girard is any illustration of the political system under which he lived, and which, placing no impediments in his way, gave abundant security to his possession, still more is its ultimate appropriation an evidence of the influence of popular spirit. The laborious earnings of a long, and, in a certain way, self-denying life, were destined, not to the aggrandizement of a few, some short-lived aristocracy of wealth, but to be diffused amidst the people, for the promotion of the people's best interests. The idea is not to be entertained for a moment, that there can be any adequate substitute when there is a seclusion from the natural social affections ; because undoubtedly the happiness of mankind is best advanced by the cultivation of kindly emotions, the sympathies of blood and other impulses of nature, which are unwisely sacrificed to any scheme of beneficence, no matter how plausible. Yet there is something redeeming for a career of close-handed money-making, of avarice, denying alike indulgence to self and liberality to others, when the fact comes to light, that all this course of living has had a purpose beyond what the world could see, — the blind and heart-chilling lust that gloats over the swelling coffer. It is some justification of a life like Girard's, that all his labors had a destination into which no selfish principle entered. The city of his adoption, where his money had been earned, was to be his heir, and back into her lap the accumulated wealth of years was to be poured. With the exception of comparatively a few legacies, the bulk of his estate, amounting to some six millions of dollars, was bequeathed to the city of Philadelphia, as a trustee to fulfil certain designs, which he supposed best calculated to promote her permanent interests. The final appropriation of Mr. Girard's property was, during his life, a mystery fruitful of conjectures and speculations ; and when death broke the seal of it, there was amazement in finding, that he had been maturing, in the solitary counsels of his own mind, a great scheme of education. With no pretensions to any acquirements of science or literature, and successful in a worldly way beyond competition without

them, some secret sympathy with the helplessness of ignorance had touched him. Perhaps, when his thoughts were reposing in security upon his millions, some recollection of hours of desolation and friendlessness and anguish in his early days rose among them, and from the recollection sprang the conception, which became, no doubt, for many years, the master idea which controlled him.

"I have been for a long time," (such is the language of his will,) "impressed with the importance of educating the poor, and of placing them, by the early cultivation of their minds, and the developement of their moral principles, above the many temptations, to which through poverty and ignorance they are exposed; and I am particularly desirous to provide, for such a number of poor, male, white, orphan children, as can be trained in one institution, a better education, as well as a more comfortable maintenance, than they usually receive from the application of the public funds."

It mitigates the harshness of Mr. Girard's character, to reflect that he was, as it were, administering his estate so that the sphere of his bounty might be enlarged in proportion to its increase. The dark shades of his parsimony assume a brighter hue, when it is regarded as the stern integrity of a trustee, the watchfulness of a guardian over a fund, which he is husbanding for the good of those whose interests are committed to him.

The short extract from Mr. Girard's will, which we have given above, states the general design of his endowment, to the accomplishment of which, he bequeathed two millions of dollars, with an additional provision, that if the number of orphans applying for admission shall make that sum inadequate to meet their wants, a large residuary fund shall also be appropriated. It may well be questioned whether Mr. Girard displayed his wonted sagacity or shrewdness, when he delegated a trust of this kind to a city corporation, exposed to the frequent fluctuations of party politics, and thereby involving the institution, to which he was solicitous to give permanence and stability, in the jeopardy of changes brought about by the operation of causes entirely extrinsic. The heated atmosphere of party politics has, in this country, become very penetrating, and the time may come when it will be difficult to exclude it from that region in which a different temperature should be preserved.

When George Heriot, the jeweller of King James the First, devised his estate for the founding of a "hospital," for the education of "the poor fatherless boyes" of Edinburgh, he had the wisdom to commit to men, whom, modestly, he deemed more competent than himself, the digestion of a plan; and accordingly one of his executors, the Rev. Dr. Balcanquall, was intrusted with the responsible duty of drawing up the statutes for the organization and government of the institution, and even of deciding upon the plan of the building. Mr. Girard's course was a different, and, we apprehend, a less sagacious one. His will presents a remarkable elaboration of directions respecting the edifice for the habitation and use of the orphans, which, it might readily have been anticipated, would be attended with practical difficulties and embarrassment. An architectural passion seems to have been predominant in the testator's mind, and, yielding to it, he has prescribed dimensions, materials, internal arrangements, a *marble* roof, the staircases, the measure of the steps, so many inches "in the rise," and so many "in the tread," and a hundred such details, the combination of which, in execution, we can well conceive to have been in no small degree perplexing, and perhaps in some particulars impracticable. It is curious, too, to observe how his notions of architectural beauty and propriety seemed to centre round his familiar and favorite places of resort, and his disposition to prescribe them as models of imitation; —

"The windows of the second and third stories, I recommend to be made in the style of those in the first and second stories *of my present dwellinghouse, North Water street,* on the eastern front thereof; and outside each window I recommend, that a substantial and neat iron balcony be placed, &c. &c., as is the case in the lower story *of my house at my place in Passyank township.*"

Again;

"At each place of entrance there shall be two gates, one opening inward, and the other outward; those opening inward to be of iron, and *in the style of the gates north and south of my banking-house,*" &c. &c.

We have referred to these matters, because to them, we believe, is ascribed the unlooked-for delay in organizing the institution. A professional interpretation of the terms of the will, does not sanction an opening of the College for the re-

ception of the orphans until the buildings are completed. In 1833, the corner-stone of the main building, a structure of gigantic dimensions and of rich Corinthian style, was laid in the immediate neighbourhood of the city of Philadelphia ; and, though the work has been prosecuted with all the rapidity compatible with its durability and the supply of marble from various quarries of the land, it is understood that the completion cannot be looked for in less than four years more.

The preparatory measure of electing a President, and delegating him to visit Europe for the purpose of making a thorough examination of the institutions of education in the principal countries, has produced the valuable work now before us. Considering the vital importance of the subject to the people, President Bache's mission may be regarded as possessing an interest not secondary to any mission of diplomacy. The nature of the duties confided to him will appear more clearly from the general instructions contained in the letter addressed to him, by the President of the Board of Trustees of the Girard College, Mr. Nicholas Biddle.

" The Board of Trustees are charged by the city of Philadelphia to prepare a system of instruction for the Girard College for Orphans. For this purpose, they are anxious to have the most accurate information of the best means used for the same purpose elsewhere, and you have been selected to obtain it. Your object, then, is to visit all establishments in Europe similar to the Girard College ; and, as these are found principally, if not exclusively, in England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Prussia, and the rest of the states of Germany, these countries will form the natural limits of your tour. Accordingly, all institutions in each of those countries resembling the Girard College, or any others which promise to afford useful information in organizing it, you will see and examine. Your own reflection will readily suggest the points of information desired ; and I will, therefore, merely enumerate a few, which may serve as a basis for your own extensive investigation. Of every establishment visited by you, we should wish to know, —

1. Its history, general administration, and the nature and extent of its funds.

2. Its interior organization and government ; the names, titles, and duties of all the persons employed in it.

3. Who are admitted to it, and the forms and terms of admission ; and, where it is professedly for the education of orphans, who are considered as orphans.

4. The number and classification of the scholars, and their term of residence.

5. Their course of studies, in the minutest detail, from the commencement to the end of their residence in the institution, with the text-books and other works used.

6. As a part of that course, specially important to the Girard College, we should desire to know the regulations or the practice by which, among a large body of scholars, a portion, after continuing for some time in the institution, are permitted to begin their active career in life, — while others, with greater aptitude or greater willingness to learn, are carried up to the higher branches of education. The nature and the mode of that discrimination would be highly interesting, — as would also be, —

7. The precise extent to which moral and religious instruction is proposed to be given, and is actually given, and also by whom and in what form that instruction is conveyed.

8. The mechanical arts taught, — the mode of teaching them, — the models, tools, and implements of all kinds employed, — and the manner in which the practice of these arts is mingled with the routine of studies.

9. The system of rewards and punishments in regard to studies or personal conduct.

10. The general police and discipline of the school.

11. The amusements, — gymnastic exercises, — games of all kinds, uniting instruction with agreeable relaxation, — together with the number and extent of the vacations, pecuniary allowance, or personal indulgences, to the scholars.

12. The diet and clothing of the scholars.

13. The regulations in regard to health, hours of study and of rest, arrangement as to sleeping and eating, and the whole routine of each day's employment.

14. The expenses of the school, including salaries and all incidents, with the average annual expense of each scholar.

15. The structure of the buildings, the arrangement of dormitories, refectories, playgrounds, and workshops, illustrated by drawings, where they can be procured.

16. As a proper foundation for similar statistical inquiries in this country, you will collect all the information you can in respect to the proportion of orphans to the rest of the community." — pp. iv – vi.

This was a large field to operate in ; a trust, the faithful execution of which required time, toil, and patience, a powerful and practised observation, and a well disciplined judgment. It was well concluded by Professor Bache, that the limited purpose of the Girard College, — an eleemosynary

institution for the education and care of orphans, — did not preclude the necessity of making an examination of the general establishments of education as well as those more closely resembling it. The chief general value of the Report is founded on the information it furnishes respecting European education, and the actual processes in a great variety of institutions. At the same time, it is due to the author to bear in mind, that his researches, and the report of them, were meant to have a bearing upon one specific object.

The compilation of a report from materials so abundant as those collected by Professor Bache, in a tour extended through two years of unintermitted application, must needs, from that very abundance, have been a process of considerable difficulty. A *report* will often lose much of its value, and, indeed, its very character as a report, when the opinions of the reporter are suffered to supersede the statements of facts on which those opinions are grounded. On the other hand a report may dwindle into a lifeless detail, a spiritless enumeration of particulars, — unless the mind of the reporter shall have a kind of mastery of the whole ground, guiding and controlling the whole subject by inductions and generalizations, instead of limiting itself to a barren process of mere observation. The aim of a report must be, to keep in their true proportions the writer's general conclusions and the presentation of facts to furnish a test of their accuracy. We find, that Professor Bache's tour included visits to nearly three hundred schools and institutions of education in Great Britain, France, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Austria, Prussia, and the other states of Germany, — constituting the most elaborate mission of the kind ever undertaken. How much of unprofitable and thankless toil must of necessity have been involved in such an examination it is easy to conjecture, though Mr. Bache has, with good feeling and judgment, refrained from the ungrateful task of recording the numerous failures and mistakes in the work of education, which came under his observation, unless a reference to them was necessary to illustrate some principle, either positively or negatively. His method of presenting the results of his labors appears to us to be the most judicious that could have been adopted, both in reference to an immediate application to the wants of the Girard College, and for its general bearing on the cause of education. A more imposing and osten-

tatious plan might have been devised, which would have given greater prominence to the writer's opinions and theories of education, than the descriptive form admits.

"As best calculated to present the impressions of the actual results of education, I have adopted the descriptive form for my Report, and have purposely avoided summing up the conclusions, or presenting a review of them, separately from the facts, that the force of the opinions may not be weakened by appearing out of this connexion. It is true, that the remarks must be considered as general inductions from numerous facts, and not inferences from single instances; but these instances serve as their best illustration, if not sufficient, taken singly, to prove that they are just. These remarks suggested themselves at first as queries to be answered by further observation." — pp. 9, 10.

This seems to us to be the true philosophical method of dealing with a subject, very modestly stated. The remark suggesting itself at first as a query, is the first act of the mind in its process of induction; the *prudens interrogatio*, which has wisely been pronounced the *dimidium scientiæ*; the questioning, which, so long as it is kept from passing too hastily from interrogation, and thus being converted into dogma, is indeed an anticipation of truth. We are disposed to advert to this matter, because the work before us will, in all probability, have the weight of authority on questions connected with education; and it is essential in ascertaining its title to authority, to observe the spirit in which the author's investigations were conducted. He brought to the execution of his responsible trust an experience in practical education, acquired as a Professor in the University of Pennsylvania; but more than this, he brought what was far more valuable than experience, a perfect fairness of mind on the subject he was to deal with. It is impossible to peruse the volume without being struck with the candor, which is its pervading characteristic; the entire freedom from bias, either of prepossession or of prejudice; the openness of mind to conviction, the want of which too often makes the business of observation itself absolutely futile. Men are much too apt to set out in their investigations with preconceived notions, — with their minds made up, or with such a leaning as amounts to the same thing; and the consequence inevitably is, that truth must somehow or other (to borrow a phrase of Shak-

speare's) be "buckled within the belt of their rule"; and hence it happens, that she is so often seen sorely girded in the cincture of some self-sufficient hypothesis.

We do not propose to follow Professor Bache systematically through the Report, or to scrutinize his opinions on various principles of education, scattered through it as the results of his investigations and of subsequent reflection. Such an attempt would not only exceed our bounds, but would be an injurious substitute for the accurate statement of his views in connexion with an abundant collection of facts. Our intention is, simply, to give a cursory account of the volume (which, from its mode of publication, may not be very generally circulated), its contents, and the general tone of the author, with a quotation of some passages which have chanced to arrest our attention, rather than any disquisition of our own upon the much discussed subject of education.

The general arrangement is thus stated;

"This Report will be divided into two parts, the first relating to the means provided for the education of orphans, the second to the systems of general education. Corresponding to these divisions, there are two groups of institutions which present, in general, different objects for consideration; in the first, the government, discipline, and domestic economy, as well as the instruction, are to be examined; while in the second, the instruction is the chief point of interest. Every individual institution in the first group should furnish moral, intellectual, and physical education; many in the second are necessarily more limited in their design." — p. 10.

The Report opens with an interesting account of the "Hospital" for orphans, founded in Edinburgh by the well-known George Heriot, rather more than two centuries ago. In his description of the life of the "Heriot's boys," we soon find an opportunity of becoming acquainted with Professor Bache's opinions and feelings on the subject of discipline. The excellent religious instruction and training are represented as operating powerfully on the general deportment of the youthful inmates of the establishment, and also on their subsequent career in active life. An erroneous regulation respecting punishment suggests some remarks on the general subject of discipline, which appear to us to be conceived in the true spirit.

"The regulations require, that 'the more degrading kinds of corporal punishment shall be as seldom as possible resorted to,' and yet counteract the good effect of this provision by directing, that 'they shall not be inflicted in the private classes, but only in what is called "the public school," in presence of the house-governor,' thus rendering the degradation most certain by the publicity of the punishment. It is true, these chastisements are rarely inflicted, and the regulations provide, that 'they shall not be resorted to for mere literary negligence, if unaccompanied by moral blame.' The house-governor has great latitude in regard to the character of the punishments, and I am sure exercises a sound discretion in reference to them.

"There can be no doubt, that it is more dangerous to blunt the sensibilities of a youth to moral reproof, than to harden him by corporal chastisement. Hence such chastisements may be preferable, in certain cases where reproof has failed, to a continuance of the attempt to correct by admonition. This supposes it to be administered in private, without temper, and as a last resort. Some dispositions are better acted upon by the deprivation of indulgences by confinement, and similar penalties of this class, where remonstrances have failed; while others require something more immediate in its action. In many schools in England, where the rod was once freely used, it has been almost, and in others entirely, laid aside. In schools like these, where the youth is entirely dependent upon the institution, I am fully persuaded, that, with proper treatment, it need be resorted to very seldom, if at all. Few dispositions are not open to kindness, especially under these circumstances, and no master has the qualities appropriate to such an institution, who prefers the repulsive system to the encouraging. I refer to the example of the English schools, because they have held out longest against the modern improvements in discipline, and their relinquishment of such means is a stronger argument than could be derived from the more gentle discipline of the continent. The spirit of kindness between master and pupil, which exists in many of the continental schools, the confidence that renders him, as it were, the head of a family circle, are delightful to witness, and insure, better than stripes, the obedience of his pupils. I believe that this species of discipline, which *leads* the pupil instead of *driving* him, may be considered as particularly congenial to the American character. The governors of Heriot's say, that 'it is earnestly recommended, that as far as possible, prevention of faults be employed; and that gentle treatment be practised with the children.' Thus, as far as their recom-

mendation goes, they are on the side where I should prefer to range myself." — pp. 27, 28.

The same sound judgment and kindly feeling are observable, wherever matters of discipline are referred to in the Report. The subject is an important and a difficult one. Its interest and its perplexities will endure, so long as pupils have the traits of youth, its follies and fickleness, its irregularity and immaturity, and teachers fall short of perfect discretion and patience, equalling the meekness of the saints. Discipline is a thing not to be described. It is not severity, with which it is often confounded ; nor is it weak indulgence, which not unfrequently is made the substitute. A change has taken place in public opinion, since the times when the one thing needful was beating. There is a growing tendency, in which we rejoice, to dispense to the utmost possible degree with corporal chastisement. It is a reformation, of which the epoch may be computed from the day of that dinner-party at which Cecil entertained the Counsellors of Queen Elizabeth, and with them that gentle-spirited old scholar, Roger Ascham, the court and the attendants of the monarch having retired to Windsor during the prevalence of the plague in London, in the year 1563. The table-talk took its impulse from the mention of the seemingly unimportant circumstance of some boys having run away from Eton school, for fear of the unmerciful flagellations. The severities practised at the great schools in England were discussed, being advocated by some of the guests, who were men of a severe nature, and reprobated by others of a milder disposition, Ascham himself favoring the birch-breakers. There was one of the company, Sir Richard Sackville, the father of Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, the author of the finest poem in the English language between Chaucer and Spenser, who spake not a word ; but soon afterwards, calling Ascham aside, told him his own sad experience of his school-day sufferings, and begged him to commit to writing his views of the good bringing up of children. To this suggestion, prompted by the chance conversation of a company of statesmen and scholars, in a moment of relaxation from the cares of an anxious reign, we are indebted for that excellent and pleasant book, "The Scholemaster, by Roger Ascham, Preceptor to Queen Elizabeth." We have turned to it, in connexion with the subject of discipline, chiefly for the sake of one

genial passage, in which he describes, very pathetically, the injury that may be done to one whom he calls the "sad-natured and hard-witted child." — "A child that is still, silent, constant, and somewhat hard of wit, when he cometh to the school, is smally regarded, little looked unto; he lacketh teaching, he lacketh encouragement, he lacketh all things; only he never lacketh beating, nor any word that may move him to hate learning, nor any deed, that may drive him from learning to any other kind of living." Another old worthy, of somewhat later date, that wise and witty divine, Thomas Fuller, has entered his appeal too against the unsparing and indiscriminate use of the rod, in his portraiture of "the good schoolmaster." "There are scholars, who are ingenious and industrious. To such a frown may be a whipping, and a whipping a death; yea, where their master whips them once, shame whips them all the week after. — There are scholars that are ingenious and idle. These think, with the hare in the fable, that running with snails (so they count the rest of their school-fellows) they shall come soon enough to the post, though sleeping a good while before their starting. Oh! a good rod would finely take them napping. — There are those that are dull and diligent. Their dulness is to be borne with, if they be diligent. That schoolmaster deserves to be beaten himself, who beats Nature in a boy for a fault. And I question whether all the whipping in the world can make their parts, which are naturally sluggish, rise one minute before the hour Nature hath appointed. — There are those that are invincibly dull and negligent also. Correction may reform the latter, not amend the former; all the whetting in the world can never set a razor's edge on that which hath no steel in it. Such boys the good schoolmaster consigneth over to other professions. Shipwrights and boatmakers will choose those crooked pieces of timber, which other carpenters refuse."

An excess of corporal chastisement was an abuse in the olden time, as is evident from the protestations of both Ascham and Fuller, even if there were no other proof of it. The children of later times enjoy a better heritage. But the comparative disuse of the rod and other implements of bodily infliction, does not insure an exemption from other violations of true discipline. When one error goes out or is driven out, the door is very often left open for another to

walk in. It was a deep reproach against the system of the late Joseph Lancaster, that, while it professed an extraordinary clemency in abrogating the discipline of corporal punishment, it resorted to a species of more refined cruelty, substituting insults and ridicule, and making scorn and mockery principles of education. It must never be forgotten, that the heart of childhood is as tender as its body, and that blows may be struck, which will give a wound deeper and harder to heal than those of the birch or the ferule. There may be wanton cruelty in each of these methods, alike injudicious and injurious. But opposite to all this is the error of loose and feeble-handed indulgence. There is, we apprehend, often more wisdom in the style of driving horses than of governing children. It is the sign of a skilful driver not to use the whip frequently, not to hold a slack rein at one minute, and a tight rein at another; the animal is fretted and fatigued by an unsteady hand as well as by an unsparing lash. It is a well-established fact, that the two kinds of teachers who are most obnoxious to their pupils, are those who punish with severity, and those who indulge with imbecility; the latter, strange as it may seem, are probably the least liked of the two. Discipline is preventive rather than corrective; its cardinal properties are foresight, firmness, gentleness, and justice. The best definition of it we remember to have met with, is in one of those aphoristic sentences, sometimes so happily framed by the late Mr. Coleridge. "Discipline," we quote the words from memory, "is the *maximum* of watchfulness, with the *minimum* of punishment." Extreme severity is not an attribute of true discipline. It is much easier to be capricious and fitful, passionate and tyrannical, than to govern with the gentleness and dignity of decision; and it is a vulgar and shallow error to suppose, that a sound disciplinarian is arrayed with terrors. The discipline, over which, in that familiar passage in the "Task," Cowper pronounced his fine lament, was a personification of no such power;

> "His eye was meek and gentle, and a smile
> Played on his lips, and in his speech was heard
> Paternal sweetness, dignity, and love.
> The occupation dearest to his heart
> Was to encourage goodness. He would stroke
> The head of modest and ingenuous worth
> That blushed at its own praise, and press the youth
> Close to his side that pleased him."

We have been led on to say more on this subject than we at first intended, from finding, in various places in the Report, opinions on the mode of governing youth, which have our most hearty concurrence, and to which we would invite especial attention.

The Liverpool Blue-Coat School is indicated by the author as affording one of the best examples he met with, to illustrate the results of the system of mutual instruction introduced by Dr. Bell, generally styled "the Madras system."

"I found all the intelligent persons connected with this institution so thoroughly convinced of the efficacy of the monitorial system, that I paused in drawing conclusions in regard to it, until I had compared this school with others upon the same or a similar system; it is, however, one of the best examples which I saw of the Bell or Madras system, or, rather, of a modified form of it. The gentlemen above referred to are convinced, that the pupil-teachers are not only competent to give instruction, but that they frequently communicate it in a more intelligible form than teachers who are further removed by age and knowledge from the boys; that the emulation among the pupil-teachers of different classes induces their pupils to exert themselves more than if under the charge of the master, and that the pupil-teachers are sufficiently exact and impartial in administering the rules of discipline and instruction. I state these opinions broadly, not wishing to conceal that the views of others, who have experience in the matter, are adverse to my own. I observed as closely as my opportunities would permit, here and elsewhere, and came to the conclusion that, in communicating knowledge not merely mechanical, the pupil-teachers are generally at fault, that they fail to keep up the attention of the pupils, and to preserve order among them, except in presence of the master, and that they do not always deal impartially in administering the rules. It is true, that if a class of ninety is to be confided to one master, monitors may be usefully employed to prepare the pupils for him. A similar plan is pursued at the best school on the Bell system which I have seen, the Madras College at St. Andrew's, Scotland. Further than this, I do not believe that monitors can be usefully employed, and, where the means of procuring a sufficient number of good teachers are not wanting, I would not at all recommend the use of the monitorial system in imparting instruction." — pp. 51, 52.

"The very useful exercise in the Madras system, in which

the pupils question each other, is well carried out in this school; every boy thus must ask as well as answer questions. It, however, offers considerable practical difficulty. Some hold back from diffidence, others from fear of showing ignorance by their questions, and others are incompetent to it from ignorance of the subjects." — p. 53.

We are not surprised to find, that Professor Bache's observations led him to a conclusion adverse to the artificial systems of gymnastics, which were so much in fashion throughout this country a few years since. They furnished a poor substitute for the boys' own sports and athletic games, which after all are the true exercises, — Nature's own gymnastics. The hearty zest with which the boys of the English schools enter into their games, traditionary through many generations, gives the best illustration of this principle.

The chapter on Eleemosynary Institutions of Education contains a full and interesting account of that antiquated though admirable establishment, the famous Blue-Coat School of London, the "Christ's Hospital." It is an enduring monument to the memory of its founder, "that godly and royal child, King Edward the Sixth, the boy-patron of boys, the serious and holy child, who walked with Cranmer and Ridley," as he has been eulogized by one who enjoyed the charity, or, as he has been styled in loftier strain, "King, child, and seraph." Various orphan schools, and other institutions for the education of destitute children, on the continent, are also described. A censure is passed upon a practice observed in one of these, in Holland, of having one of the pupils to read aloud from the Bible during meals. We have some recollection of having heard of such a usage in some institution in this country, and therefore advert to it. The custom is exceptionable on every principle, both of morals and physiology. If the reading is heeded by the eaters, it is unhealthful; and, if not, there is irreverence.

The second and remaining part of the Report is devoted to "*Education* in General," the materials being here arranged with reference to the four departments of Infant, Elementary or Primary, Secondary, and Superior Instruction. The plan of this portion of the work is stated as follows.

"After brief notices of certain infant schools, elementary instruction is considered under two heads; the first, embracing the schools for general purposes, the second, those intended

for special training, as for the education of a rural or industrial population, and of teachers for the elementary schools. Under the former head will be given a notice of the provisions for elementary instruction in Great Britain ; a notice of the primary public instruction in France ; a more particular description of the primary system of Holland, and of some schools which illustrate its application ; a history and general sketch of the Prussian system, with detailed descriptions and notices of several prominent schools ; a notice of the system of primary instruction in Saxony, and of some of the schools, and an account of the method applied in the schools of Bayreuth, in Bavaria. The second division of primary instruction will comprehend descriptions of certain rural schools of Switzerland and Great Britain, an industrial primary school of France, and of some of the schools for primary teachers in Prussia, France, Holland, and Switzerland.

"Passing to the head of secondary instruction, the Report will include descriptions and notices of schools in Great Britain, France, Prussia, and Saxony; each chapter being devoted to a separate country, and preceded by general introductory remarks.

"Under the division of Superior Instruction will be given descriptions of some special schools for the arts, manufactures, and commerce of France, Prussia, and Austria, and the higher agricultural school of Wirtemburg, besides brief notices of a few other similar institutions." — pp. 155, 156.

It is not in our power to enter into any detailed examination of the subjects thus introduced. Nor is it necessary for us to attempt it, our purpose being to express a general sense of the value of the work. Its contents must be carefully examined by those who are concerned in the great work of education. To them we desire to commend Professor Bache's Report, for the sake of the information and the opinions it contains respecting what is truly and comprehensively to be considered as *Education*, — not the mere conveying of information, more properly called tuition, nor intellectual training, but the process of forming the character of the whole man, physical, intellectual, and moral.

We cannot, however, turn from the volume, without adverting, in a somewhat desultory way, to a few matters we are desirous of noticing. The chapter upon Infant-School Systems manifests, what we are glad to find, a strong sense, on the part of the author, of the one great danger, the temptation to the overtasking of the feeble powers of infancy.

Too much cannot be said on that head ; and, whatever may be the advantages of the system, it demands perpetual vigilance to prevent it from becoming absurd, and, worse than absurd, cruel and pernicious. Oberlin's benevolent conception may, by an ill-judged metamorphosis, be perverted into an engine of torture. We must confess, that we continue to have a little more confidence in Nature than in Mr. Wilderspin, with all his devices for infant training.

"The necessity for the existence of such schools must vary much in different countries, and hence their not being adopted in all is no argument against the general principle of infant education. The want of such schools is most felt in a dense and manufacturing population ; least, in a scattered and agricultural one. Independently of essentially different degrees of usefulness, under different circumstances, various prejudices have concurred to prevent the introduction of these schools into some countries. Certain governments, as those of Germany in general, have not lent their influence to them ; and the clergy have, in some parts of Europe, been as warmly opposed to them as in others they have been their friends. The deformed models which have been transplanted from England to other countries, have tended in many cases to foster these prejudices. In some of these the intellectual developement of the pupils has been attempted to be carried on to their manifest injury, physically and mentally. In others, a mere mechanical and lifeless routine has been followed. The infant schools which I saw at Paris, called 'écoles d'asile,' seem to me to educate upon wrong principles, having adopted the mechanical arrangements of the English infant schools, without having seized their spirit. I believe, that depriving them of the female superintendence which they formerly enjoyed, to make them a part of the government system, will react further very injuriously upon them." — p. 158.

The description of a juvenile training school, at Glasgow, contains the following passage, on a subject of considerable public interest.

"The play-ground or 'uncovered school-room,' is considered the place in which moral training is to be accomplished, where the principles taught in the school may be carried into practice, so as to become habits. Accordingly, the play-ground is not merely fitted up with the means of exercise, but is planted, in part, with flowers and fruit, accessible to all, but which are to be enjoyed under the injunction, 'Smell, see, but touch not.' It has been, and is, in part, to this day, the reproach

of England and the United States, that public property is always injured; that flowers cannot bloom, nor fruit ripen, unless when enclosed; and in France, which is considered as offering an exception to this barbarous practice, I fear that the result is produced rather by the certainty of detection and punishment, than by the influence of a higher motive. Education is the true source of relief from this reproach; if the child be trained to respect what belongs to the public, the man will never injure it. Such views have been decried as visionary, and the idea that a child could be so trained has been scouted. But facts prove, that the visionary persons were only a little in advance of the times, and their training system has succeeded, and its principles will finally be so generally adopted, that to doubt them will be as remarkable as the idea itself originally appeared. In this particular school, upwards of one hundred and eighty scholars, from the manufacturing classes of Glasgow, have been in the habit of using the playground for more than an hour and a quarter every day for two years and a half, without damage to the flowers or fruits which it contains. Great attention is paid to neatness in the playground, that the habits inculcated in the school may be carried out here. It affords, also, opportunities of exemplifying lessons on cruelty to animals, on truth, justice, kindness, and other virtues. The means of healthy exercise are given by the more simple kinds of gymnastics, one of the most popular and excellent of which is the circular swing. Wooden prisms are furnished for building, and the more ordinary games of ball, &c., are also practised. There is an opportunity in the playground for a full display of character, which, when observed, and rightly managed, leads to the same system employed by a judicious parent at home, with the advantage of better opportunities of judging of the points of character which require developing or repressing, from the influence of numbers in making these points more prominent." — pp. 137, 138.

A full account is given of the system of education in Prussia, which has attracted so much attention from its highly advanced condition. A very general misapprehension, which prevails respecting the system, is corrected by Professor Bache in a way that is conclusive. The notion has obtained currency, that the Prussian system is of comparatively recent date, or that it has been, within twenty years, moulded into its present form. This notion is traced to a hasty and erroneous assumption by Cousin, in his celebrated Report on Public Instruction in Prussia. The more careful examination of the whole subject by our countryman, conducted more by direct

personal observation, has led to the correction of the mistake, and shown that the system is the result of a long experience, modified and enlarged from time to time, according to the actual results, and the well-ascertained requisitions of the nation.

A chapter is devoted to the seminaries for the education of teachers, generally called "Normal Schools." As it is a subject, which must demand attention with the increase of common schools in this country, we add, in closing this cursory notice of Professor Bache's Report, a portion of his introductory observations on these establishments.

"Originating in Germany, they have been gradually improved there, and brought into their present condition, and have spread into Holland, France, Switzerland, and, more recently, into England, being modified only so far as to adapt them to the circumstances of society and education in these several countries.

"The most imperfect arrangement for providing teachers is that which requires an examination into merely the knowledge of the candidates in the branches required to be taught. This is specially imperfect in the case of elementary instruction, where the knowledge required is small in amount, and where the art of teaching finds its most difficult exercise. The erroneous notion, that an individual can teach whatever he knows, is now generally abandoned, and in those countries which still adhere to the old method, of depending solely upon examinations for securing competent teachers, examination is made not only of the acquirements of a candidate, but of his ability to give instruction. I have called this the most imperfect method, because the mere employment of a teacher, without examination or personal knowledge of his powers, which still occurs in countries where education is neglected, does not deserve to be mentioned in a discussion of the more enlightened national systems.

"The most obvious method of acquiring practice in the art of teaching is by serving in the lower departments of a school, under the eye and direction of an experienced teacher. Accompanied by private study, founded on previous knowledge, and by private lessons, this method may form excellent teachers of those who have particular aptitude for the profession. Considered in the general, however, it must be admitted to have a tendency to produce a routine system in teaching. The pupil-teacher imitates the methods of those with whom he is associated, and which are placed before him as models,

without examining their principles, or discriminating between their merits and defects. He places great stress upon peculiar modes of instruction in particular branches, and when they do not succeed, attributes the fault neither to the methods nor to himself, but to the pupil. The habits of observation and reflection, which enable him to profit by experience, are not developed by this method, and thus, though he may consider experience as a merit, it may produce none of its appropriate results in his case. Accordingly, wherever this mode of preparing teachers has been adopted as a system, as in Holland, or has been incidental to the method of examinations, as in Saxony, it has not stood the test of application in the schools where the modern improvements in teaching have been introduced, much less of a comparison with the method of instruction in special seminaries.

"The most efficacious means of securing qualified teachers are to be found in the seminaries, where a number of young men intending to become teachers are collected, receive a common instruction in the subjects required for the grade of schools in which they propose to teach, or revise and extend this knowledge previously acquired, have lessons in the science and art of teaching, and practice the art under intelligent supervision. At first, these seminaries produced good scholars, who were, however, deficient as teachers. Then, to remedy this defect, lectures and lessons on the science and art of teaching were multiplied, forming good theoretical teachers, but who were still wanting in practice, which had to be acquired after entering their profession, and, therefore, at the expense of the first pupils placed under their charge. This difficulty is entirely obviated by schools attached to the seminaries, in which the theoretical lessons may be put in practice, and where the future teachers may observe the methods of others, try their own skill in the art under inspection, and, finally, take part in the regular instruction.

"The profession of the teacher is raised into respectability by the considerable acquirements exacted of him, and his salary is placed upon a footing appropriate to the outlay of time and means which has been made in reaching the profession. It is a mistake to suppose, that the low salaries given in some countries, as in Prussia, for example, indicate that a low estimate is placed upon the station of the teacher; the very reverse is the fact in the particular country mentioned, and the salary will be found adapted to the scale of expenditure of the country, and to the general style and cost of living.

"When education is to be rapidly advanced, seminaries for teachers afford the means of securing this result. An eminent

teacher is selected as director of the seminary, and by the aid of competent assistants, and while benefiting the community by the instruction given in the schools attached to the seminary, trains, yearly, from thirty to forty youths in the enlightened practice of his methods; these in their turn become teachers of schools, which they are fit at once to conduct, without the failures and mistakes usual with novices; for, though beginners in name, they have acquired, in the course of the two or three years spent at the seminary, an experience equivalent to many years of unguided effort. This result has been fully realized in the success of the attempts to spread the methods of Pestalozzi and others through Prussia. The plan has been adopted, and is yielding its appropriate fruits, in Holland, Switzerland, France, and Saxony, while in Austria, where the method of preparing teachers by their attendance on the primary schools is still adhered to, the schools are stationary, and behind those of Northern and Middle Germany.

"These seminaries produce a strong *esprit de corps* among teachers, which tends powerfully to interest them in their profession, to attach them to it, to elevate it in their eyes, and to stimulate them to improve constantly upon the attainments with which they may have commenced its exercise. By their aid a standard of examination in the theory and practice of instruction is furnished, which may be fairly exacted of candidates who have chosen a different way to obtain access to the profession.

"Objections have been urged against seminaries for teachers, which apply rather to a defective organization than to the system itself. First, that the youths issuing from them being over-taught, are, in consequence, dissatisfied with their duties, and leave the profession to push themselves forward in a different career of life; and, second, that theoretical, not practical teachers, are formed by them. The first objection points out the necessity for restricting the instruction to that which is essential to a complete fulfilment of the duties of the teachers educated in these schools. The seminary should not go further, and hence the connexion of such establishments with secondary or other higher schools is inadmissible. If the tendency of a seminary course is to render the teacher dissatisfied with his occupation, experience shows that it is a fault in the particular course, the defect not being general to this class of institutions. That a pupil of talent may seek other and more congenial roads to station in life, is no reproach to the seminary where he was educated. The institution secures the services of this pupil to primary instruction by his pledge at entrance, for a number of years, in return for the education

which he has received, and has so far benefited the community. If by any means it prevents the individual from rising to the position where his talents would place him, an act of positive injustice is committed. Not only the instruction, however, but the whole plan of living in the seminary should be adapted to the future destination of the pupil, and indulgences should not be allowed, which would produce wants not subsequently to be gratified; such is, in fact, the very system of all properly regulated institutions of this class. That mere theoretical teachers are formed in well-conducted seminaries, is by no means the fact. Every care, on the contrary, is taken to avoid this; it is true, that general principles are inculcated, in order that routine in teaching may be avoided; but these principles are constantly applied, and under circumstances where error is sure to be pointed out by the observation of classmates and teachers, and where it can hardly escape correction." — pp. 323 – 327.

Art. III. — *A Discourse on the Aborigines of the Valley of the Ohio; in which the Opinions of the Conquest of that Valley by the Iroquois or Six Nations in the Seventeenth Century, supported by Cadwallader Colden, of New York, Governor Pownall, of Massachusetts, Dr. Franklin, Hon. De Witt Clinton, of New York, and Judge Haywood, of Tennessee, are examined and contested; to which are prefixed some Remarks on the Study of History.* Prepared at the Request of the Historical Society of Ohio. By William Henry Harrison, of North Bend. *Ne incognita pro cognitis habeamus.* — Cicero. Cincinnati, Ohio. 1838. 8vo. pp. 51.

This pamphlet discusses several important topics in the history of the native tribes of our continent, with spirit and ability. We propose to offer our readers some account of its contents, with a few extracts, as a specimen of the manner in which the subject is treated by the distinguished author. We have no doubt, that they will be generally interested in learning the views of one, whose long official connexion with the Indian tribes, in peace and in war, and whose familiarity with the topography of the region in question, give to his

opinions the authority of observation and experience, as far as they are applicable to the matter in hand. It is a source of real satisfaction, and affords relief under the disgust with which a well regulated mind contemplates the ferocity of our party contests, to find an individual, situated like the author of this essay, devoting a portion of his time and his pen to the calm consideration of a subject, whose interest is purely historical. There are certainly but few individuals, whose life, from early youth, has been passed in the arduous active service of the field, and in maturer years amidst the labors and cares of high and responsible official station, who could sustain with more credit a discussion like that contained in the pages under review.

The pamphlet begins with some remarks on the importance of the study of history, and the causes of its neglect. The following extract will afford a sufficient indication of General Harrison's views on this subject.

"It is in youth, and in early youth, that the seeds of that patriotism must be sown, which is to continue to bloom through life. No one ever began to be a patriot in advanced age; that holy fire must be lighted up when the mind is best suited to receive, with enthusiasm, generous and disinterested impressions. If it is not then 'the ruling passion' of the bosom, it will never be at an age when every action is the result of cool calculation, and the basis of that calculation too often the interest of the individual. This has been the prevailing opinion with every free people throughout every stage of civilization, from the roving savage tribe to the numerous and polished nation, from the barbarous Pelasgi to the glorious era of Miltiades and Cimon, or the more refined and luxurious age of Pericles and Xenophon. By all, the same means were adopted. With all, it was the custom to present to their youth the examples of the heroic achievements of their ancestors, to inspire them with the same ardor of devotion to the welfare of their country. As it regards the argument, it matters not whether the history was written or unwritten, whether in verse or prose, or how communicated; whether by national annals, to which all had access; by recitation in solemn assemblies, as at the Olympic and other games of Greece; in the songs of bards, as amongst the Celts and Scandinavians; or in the speeches of the aged warriors, as was practised by the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanoes, and other tribes of our own country. Much fiction was, no doubt, passed off on these occasions as real history; but, as it was believed to be true,

that was sufficient to kindle the spirit of emulation in the cause of patriotism among those to whom these recitations, songs, and speeches were addressed." — p. 4.

After maintaining the superiority of authentic history over works of imagination as a school of patriotic improvement to the young, the author proceeds to the principal subject of his discourse. The first topic which presents itself is, naturally, the great mystery of the primitive population of the North American continent. General Harrison commences the discussion of this topic, with the following observation ;

"Fifty-five years ago, there was not a Christian inhabitant within the bounds which now compose the State of Ohio. And if, a few years anterior to that period, a traveller had been passing down the magnificent river, which forms our southern boundary, he might not have seen, in its whole course of eleven hundred miles, a single human being, — certainly not a habitation, nor the vestige of one, calculated for the residence of man. He might, indeed, have seen indications that it was not always thus. His eye might have rested upon some stupendous mound, or lengthened lines of ramparts, and traverses of earth still of considerable elevation, which proved that the country had once been possessed by a numerous and laborious people. — But he would have seen, also, indubitable evidences that centuries had passed away, since these remains had been occupied by those for whose use they had been reared. Whilst ruminating upon the causes which had occasioned their removal, he would not fail to arrive at the conclusion, that their departure (if they did depart) must have been a matter of necessity. For no people, in any stage of civilization, would willingly have abandoned *such a country*, endeared to them as it must have been, by long residence and the labor they had bestowed upon it, unless, like the descendants of Abraham, they had fled from the face of a tyrant, and the oppressions of unfeeling task-masters. If they had been made to yield to a more numerous or more gallant people, what country had received the fugitives ? and what has become of the conquerors ? Had they, too, been forced to fly before a new swarm from some northern or southern hive ? Still would the question recur, What had been their fate ? And why had so large a portion of a country, so beautiful and inviting, so abounding in all that is desirable in the rudest as well as the most advanced state of society, been left as a haunt for the beasts of the forest, or as an occasional arena for distant savages to mingle in mortal conflicts ? To

aid us in coming to any thing like a satisfactory conclusion in answer to those questions, we possess only a solitary recorded fact. For every thing else, we must search amidst the remains which are still before us, for all that we wish to know of the history and character of this ancient and nameless people." — pp. 7, 8.

The "recorded fact," to which allusion is here made, is the migration of the Aztecs from the North, the memory of which is preserved in the pictorial annals of the Mexican race; and this fact unquestionably suggests a possible connexion of the extraordinary works, that are found in the region northwest of the Ohio, with a known race of men, who had attained a degree of civilization competent to the execution of such structures. All beyond this belongs to the region of conjecture.

It is generally admitted, that the mounds, terraces, and other works, of which visible remains exist in many portions of this region, evince a degree of skill, not known to have been possessed by native tribes, which occupied the present territory of the United States of America, at the time of its discovery by the Europeans.* None of the works in question bore the appearance at that time, of being of recent structure. None of the tribes, since their manners and customs began to be noticed by travellers or colonists, have been observed to be in the habit of erecting any similar works, for the purposes of sepulture, castrametation, or agriculture. At the present day, there is not known to be any tribe of the native population of the continent possessed of the numbers, to say nothing of the skill, implied in the construction of these extensive and remarkable works. Nature has borne an unequivocal testimony to their antiquity,

* Mr. Gallatin expresses himself with rather less positiveness on this point, than most other writers have thought it necessary to employ. "There is nothing in their construction," he remarks, "nor in the remnants which they contain, indicative of *a much more* advanced state of civilization, than that of the present inhabitants. But it may be inferred, from their number and size, that they were the work of a more populous nation than any now existing; and, if this inference is correct, it would necessarily imply a state of society, in which greater progress had been made in agriculture." — *Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society*, Vol. II. p. 147.

This brings us to the same conclusion as to the diversity of the race, by which the mounds were erected, from that which is now fast hastening to extinction.

in the size and evident age of the forest trees, that are found growing on the summits of these mounds, and within the enclosure and on the sides of these ramparts or terraces.

There are three suppositions by some one of which their existence must be accounted for. They were either constructed by some race of men sufficiently civilized for this purpose, but of whom no historical memorial, nor any other trace remains, and who, by causes of which we are entirely ignorant, have wholly perished ; or they were the works of the Aztecs sojourning in this region, before their migration southward to the elevated plains of Anahuac ; or, lastly, they were erected by the ancestors of some of the tribes found by the European colonists in this part of the continent, — in which case those tribes are to be regarded as the degenerate and broken-down remains of more improved ancient races.

Of the first supposition nothing more can be said, than that it is a theory by which we give a rational explanation of existing facts ; the principal strength of which theory dwells in the assumed impossibility, that these works could have been erected by tribes no more advanced in civilization than the Indians, found in the continent two centuries and a half ago, and in the supposed want of any historical indication pointing to a different origin. It is saying, in other words, that they were made by the art and labor of men, but we know not of what men. Their memory is buried in the depth and silence of the venerable forests, which cover these works of their hands.

The innate propensity of the mind to generalize its ideas has given greater currency to the second supposition. The universal current of the traditions of the Mexicans, and the express testimony of their hieroglyphical annals (if the interpretation can be depended on, which was given in the age of the Spanish conquest, by those who must have been well acquainted with their symbolic characters), point to a descent of the Aztecs from the north, and ascribe to them a progress sufficiently gradual, to admit of the erection of permanent structures by the way. These facts have led the majority of writers to assume the second as the more probable account of the origin of these works. Such is General Harrison's opinion. In conformity with this view of the subject, the name of Aztalan has been appropriated to the remarkable works, which exist in the territory of Wisconsin.

In the following note to the main body of the Discourse, General Harrison weighs some of the considerations pertaining to this curious question ;

" The circumstances which militate most against the supposition of the identity of the Aztecs, with the authors of the extensive ancient works in Ohio, is the admitted fact, that the latter entered the valley of Anahuac, from the Northwest, that is, from California, which is much out of the direct route from the Ohio to Mexico. A strong argument in favor of it, is the similarity of the remains which are found in that region (California), as well as in Mexico itself, with those in the valley of the Ohio. I am not informed whether there are any such in the intermediate country between the lower Mississippi and California. But if there are none, it will serve rather to confirm and strengthen my opinion, that the fugitives from the Ohio, were, like those from Troy, a mere remnant, whose numbers were too small to erect works of so much labor, as those they had left behind had required; but, after their strength had been increased, by a residence for some time in California, the passion for such works returned with the ability to erect them.

" The similarity, in point of form and mode of construction, between the works now to be seen in all the countries I have mentioned, (Ohio, Mexico, and California,) proves that they must have been erected by the same, or a kindred people, derived from the same stock, and if the latter, the separation took place *after the custom of such erections had commenced.*

" If the opinion is adopted, that the Aztecs were never in Ohio, but had pursued the direct route from Asia (whence it is believed they all came) to California, along the coast of the Pacific Ocean, and that the authors of the Ohio erections, were from the same continent and stock, the question may be asked, Where did the separation take place ? Was it before they left Asia, or after their arrival upon the American continent ? Are there any works similar to those in Ohio, Mexico, and California, to be found in the northeast of Asia, or between the Pacific and the Rocky Mountains, or on the route which that branch of the nation would have pursued, which bent their course towards the valley of the Ohio ? If these questions are answered in the negative, it will thus go far to prove that the practice of constructing such works originated in the latter, and that those who erected them were the same people who afterwards sojourned in California, and finally settled in the valley of Anahuac, or Mexico. If we adopt the opinion, that they were totally a distinct people, or were different

branches of the same original Asiatic stock, we must believe also that they each fell into the practice of erecting extensive works, of the same form, and of the same materials, (in a manner not known to be practised by any other people,) without any previous knowledge to guide them, and without any intercourse. This, to say the least of it, is very improbable.

"If the Aztecs were not the authors of the Ohio works, we can only account for the ultimate fate of those who were, by supposing that they were entirely extirpated, preferring, like the devoted Numantians, to be buried under the ruins of their own walls, to seeking safety by an ignominious flight.

"I find no difficulty, from the facts mentioned in the text, in adopting the opinion, that these people were conquered by those who were less civilized than themselves. An enlightened nation, whose military institutions are founded upon scientific principles, and which relies upon its own citizens for protection, will never be subdued by savages, nor by those who have made little progress in civilization. They may be beaten in a battle, indeed in many battles, as was the case with the barbarians of Gaul and Germany, who first broke through the boundaries of the Roman Republic; and in our day and nation, when the northwestern Indians defeated our armies in two successive campaigns, as they had previously done those of Great Britain. But their triumphs will be terminated as soon as the causes which produce them are ascertained, and a change is effected in the plan of operations, or in the mode of forming the troops to meet the exigency, as was the case in the former under the direction of Caius Marius, and in our own under the direction of Anthony Wayne. But it is quite otherwise, with those who have made such small progress in civilization, as to be unable to make war upon fixed and scientific principles. I have assigned to the nameless nation of our valley the character of an agricultural people, and this is precisely the state (without military institutions) in which a nation is most weak, and most easily conquered, by those who still depend upon the chase for food, or who have advanced still further, and draw their subsistence from flocks and herds of their own rearing. The labors of agriculture serve to form the body to endure the toils and hardships incident to a military life. There is something, too, in that kind of employment, which serves to kindle a spirit of independence in the bosom, and nurture the feelings of patriotism. Hence, it has happened, that agricultural nations, which had engrafted a system of military instruction upon the ordinary education of youth, have always been the most renowned in war, and most difficult to be conquered.

> "'Hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini,
> Hanc Remus et frater; sic fortis Etruria crevit,
> Scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma,
> Septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces.' — *Georg.*, II. 532.

"But whilst the occupation of the husbandman furnishes the best materials for making good soldiers, as well from the qualities it imparts to the mind, as the strength and activity which the body receives from constant exercise and nutritive aliment, it teaches nothing of the military art. The hunter, on the contrary, is already a soldier, as far, at least, as individual qualities can make him so. But the pastoral life (not that which the poets have furnished, the pictures drawn from their own imaginations, but that which authentic history describes,) furnishes, not only men suited to war, by their personal qualities, but armies which have acquired, from their congregated mode of life, a degree of discipline, and a knowledge of the most important operations of war. There is nothing in the employment of the agriculturist, or artisan, which bears any resemblance to military duty. The citizens employed in such labor (exclusively) cease to be soldiers, and the agricultural or manufacturing nation, which adopts no system of military instruction for its youth, must depend upon the employment of mercenaries for its protection, or it will become a prey to the first invader. The German or Scythian hordes, which obtained from the fears, or the weakness, of the Roman emperors, settlements within their borders, were unable, after a few years, to resist the new swarms from the same hives, which pressed upon them, and which adhered to their original mode of life and manners. But the most extraordinary instance of the superiority of savages, in war, to an agricultural people who neglect military institutions, is furnished by the history of our own parent Isle, in the application of the Britons for assistance to a Roman emperor, after the abandonment of their Island by troops of the latter. It is impossible for language to convey, at once, a more dastardly spirit, and consciousness of extreme imbecility, than that used by the British deputies, on this occasion. 'The Caledonian savages,' say they, 'drive us to the ocean, and the ocean again repels us back upon our enemies.'" — pp. 46 – 48.

A new species of evidence, of a very peculiar and satisfactory character, has, since the publication of General Harrison's Discourse, been brought forward, to establish the identity of the races of the mounds, with those which had made such advances in civilization, in the more southern portions of the continent. We allude to the resemblance of

the skulls, which have been found in the mounds in the north-western region, to those which have been discovered in similar ancient works in Mexico and Peru. This important comparison was first instituted by Dr. J. C. Warren, of this city. The result of his observations was communicated to the British Association for the advancement of science, at their meeting in Liverpool, in 1837. Dr. Warren stated that he had for some time been a collector of crania from the mounds, and found them to differ from the skulls of the present races of North American Indians. On returning home one day, he found some skulls upon his table, which had been sent to him in his absence, and which he perceived at a glance to bear a strong resemblance to the mound skulls. As such, he supposed them to have been sent him, by some friend in the Western States. He soon discovered, that they were ancient Peruvian skulls, which had been procured for him in South America. Further comparisons satisfied Dr. Warren, of the identity of the tribes that reared the mounds with the Peruvian race.

Mr. Delafield, in his recent "Inquiry into the Origin of the Antiquities of America," referring to these statements of Dr. Warren, observes, that they are fully confirmed by the examinations made by himself.* Dr. Morton, in his recent splendid work on the American skulls, concludes from his extensive comparison of crania, "that the cranial remains, discovered in the mounds from Peru to Wisconsin, belong to the same race, and probably to the Toltecan family." †

The third opinion above alluded to is, that the Indian tribes, found by the Europeans on our continent, are to be regarded as the degenerate and broken-down remains of more improved races; the descendants of ancestors more civilized than themselves.

We are not prepared to express a preference of this theory over the others; — on the contrary, in the present state of our knowledge on the subject, we are inclined to hold our minds free for the adoption of any view of the subject, which a larger accumulation of facts may render probable. We will only say, that this last supposition is in no degree inconsistent with probability. A degeneracy of this kind, even on the part of races much further advanced in civilization, than it is

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* Delafield's *Inquiry*, p. 16.

† Morton's *Crania Americana*, p. 260.

necessary to suppose the authors of the American mounds and ramparts to have been, is not an uncommon occurrence in the history of the world. A considerable part of Asia, including Egypt, is inhabited by the degenerate descendants of highly cultivated ancestors. Even Greece, — that country, in which physical civilization was carried higher than it has ever been in any other, — has been in after times occupied by a posterity, certainly as little able to conceive or execute the works of Ictinus and Phidias, as the Wyandots or Miamis to construct the mounds of the Muskingum or the Scioto. And yet we must suppose that, for the last eighteen centuries, the civilized population of every part of Europe has been far less exposed to all the causes of degeneracy, than the aboriginal population of this continent, destitute as it was of the art of writing, the great preserver of all other arts. We behold the descendants of that very Mexican or Peruvian population, which is generally supposed to be the race by whom these works were originally constructed, and who are known to have been competent, at the time of the conquest and for several preceding ages, to the erection of structures, more permanent than any of which remains are found in the Northwestern States and territories of our Union, reduced at the present day to a condition, in which they are equally incapable to plan or execute any such works; — a curious specimen of a native civilization not furthered and improved, but crushed and destroyed, by a more advanced supervening foreign civilization.

In fact, the entire question as to the original settlement of our continent seems destined to baffle the resources of human investigation. To say nothing of the inference fairly to be deduced from the Scriptures, that sound philosophy, which teaches us to prefer the simplest explanations of existing phenomena, bids us look to an emigration from northeastern Asia, as the source of the population of this continent; and the most judicious writers are disposed, with Humboldt, to date that emigration from the fifth or sixth century of our era; a period at which it is known, that the nations of northeastern Asia were in extensive agitation and movement. But this solution of the great difficulty is met at the threshold by the popular and pretty obvious objection, that although a lapse of twelve or thirteen centuries is by no means sufficient to destroy all affinity of language between races descended from

the same stock, we find no resemblance whatever, beyond that which may be ascribed to casual coincidence, between the vocabulary of any of the native languages of America and that of any of the languages of the elder continent. Wherever in Europe or Asia we have the means of instituting the comparison, we find the tribes of men exceedingly tenacious of the radical and substantial parts of a language. There is probably no instance in which a vocabulary has wholly disappeared, except where the race speaking it has been wholly destroyed.

We shall, however, by no means escape this difficulty by assuming, with some of the French philosophers of the last century and their disciples, a primitive plurality of the races of man. Apart from the objections to this assumption, which arise from the cosmogony of the Scriptures, and other difficulties which might be stated, this very difficulty of language exists in an unmitigated form. The dialects of the native tribes of North and South America are exceedingly numerous, but are probably capable of being reduced to a small number of families. Of these families, however, Mr. Gallatin, in his masterly treatise on the Indian tribes of North America, has enumerated twenty-nine. Although, in the opinion of Mr. Du Ponceau, which is adopted by Mr. Gallatin, there is a general *polysynthetic structure*, in all the American languages which have been examined, in which they resemble each other and differ from the ancient and modern languages of the elder continent, there is yet a large number of families of languages on our continent, which appear to be utterly destitute of resemblance with each other, as far as the vocabulary is concerned. This is even not unfrequently the case with tribes, who were found by the first settlers adjacent to each other. It is evident that, on the theory above alluded to, of an original plurality of the races of the human family, this difficulty would present itself in undiminished force ; and that it is no more difficult, on the theory of a common origin, to conceive of an entire dissimilarity between the languages respectively of the American and Asiatic continent, as produced by a non-intercourse and geographical separation of ten or twelve centuries, than to conceive of a like dissimilarity, between the different families of languages of the American tribes, which has disclosed itself on the examination of their vocabularies, as the effect of a similar cause. This difficulty, therefore, if

deemed decisive against an Asiatic origin of the American races, would go the length of requiring an original creation for every family of languages; a proposition too extravagant to be discussed.

The address before us passes from the consideration of the ancient inhabitants of the valley of the Ohio, to that of the tribes, which were found there by the French and English settlers; and it is the principal object of this, the main, portion of General Harrison's Discourse, to correct the prevalent opinion, that the confederacy of the Five Nations had subjugated the tribes, which formed the Illinois confederacy, and occupied the region between the Ohio and Mississippi. It is admitted on all hands, that the Five Nations, or, as they are called by the French writers, the Iroquois, were perhaps the most warlike, powerful, and successful family among the American Aborigines. Other races excelled them in numbers; but, by acting in concert with each other on the platform of their simple pentarchy, they succeeded in subjugating and destroying tribes supposed to be much larger than themselves. From the earliest period when we become acquainted with them, we find them at war with their neighbours on the north and south, the east and the west. The name of Mohawk carried terror even into the heart of the English settlements in Massachusetts bay. The Hurons, (a tribe belonging, as appears from their language, to another division of the Iroquois stock, but not included by the French under that appellation, because at war with the Five Nations,) were conquered and greatly reduced in numbers to the north of Lake Erie, before the close of the seventeenth century. The Eries, who occupied the region which lies between the Lake of that name and the Ohio river, and now forms the western part of Pennsylvania and the eastern part of Ohio, were exterminated by this ferocious league at a still earlier period. To the south, they pushed their conquests into Georgia, and claimed the Tennessee river as the boundary of their dominion.

Such being the admitted extent of the conquests of the Five Nations, and such the known ascendency of their arms, it was not unnatural, that the earlier writers, but partially acquainted with the interior geography of the continent, having no accurate ideas of the extent of the territory between the Ohio and the Mississippi, and hearing that the war parties of the

Iroquois had occasionally penetrated to the tribes bordering on the latter, might have been led to loose assertions, that the Mississippi was the boundary of their conquests on the west.

To this supposition General Harrison opposes the following considerations, of which our limits will permit us only a brief indication.

The first is, that the French were ignorant of the Mississippi, till its discovery by Father Marquette, in 1673. He took the route of Lake Michigan and the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, and, having descended the Mississippi to the 33d degree of latitude, returned and passed up the Illinois river. Had the Iroquois subdued the confederacy of the Illinois tribes, and pushed their conquest to the Mississippi the preceding year, for such is the date assigned to this event, this fact could not have been unknown to the French colonial government, traders, and missionaries, and a much less circuitous route would have been prescribed to Marquette. The account, moreover, carries incongruity on its face, by assigning the conquest of the Illinois to the year 1672, while another portion of the same account represents the Twigtwees as being conquered by the same formidable adversary in 1683. The Twightwees being the easternmost of the Miami nation, it is justly remarked by General Harrison, that the tradition would have been more probable, had it reversed the order of the events, and made the Twigtwees the first victims of Iroquois encroachment.

Had such a conquest taken place, and such an extension been given to the territory of the Five Nations, there would have been abundant traces of it, in the French accounts. So far is this from being the fact, that we know from the same accounts, that, for nearly a hundred years after, that is, till the final disappearance of the French power from North America in 1763, all this region was in the occupation of tribes friendly to the French, and owning no allegiance to the Iroquois, who were generally in the English interest. In the frequent wars, which took place between the Iroquois and the western Indians, both before and after the establishment of the French among the latter, it is admitted that some of the eastern tribes of the former confederacy had greatly suffered, and that the present State of Ohio was almost deserted. The following, according to the view of General Harrison, was the position of the native population of the territory northwest of the Ohio, about the middle of the seventeenth century.

"Ascending the lakes and leaving the Iroquois territory, the Wyandots or Hurons, presented themselves. A large portion of this nation were, at that time, north of lake Erie; but the greater part occupied the country from the Miami Bay eastwardly, along what is now denominated the Western Reserve, and extending across the country southwardly, to the Ohio. Westward of this territory commenced that of the Miami nation, or rather confederacy, possessing a larger number of warriors, at that period, than could be furnished by any of the aboriginal nations of North America, before or since. Their territory embraced all of Ohio, west of the Scioto, — all of Indiana, and that part of Illinois, south of the Fox river and Wisconsin, on which frontier they were intermingled with the Kickapoos and some other small tribes. Of this immense territory, the most beautiful portion was unoccupied. Numerous villages were to be found on the Scioto and the head waters of the two Miamis, of the Ohio. On the Miami of the Lake, and its southern tributaries, and throughout the whole course of the Wabash, at least as low as Chippecoke, (the town of Brush Wood,) now Vincennes. But the beautiful Ohio rolled its 'amber tide' until it payed its tribute to the Father of Waters, through an unbroken solitude. At that time, before, and for a century after, its banks were without a town or a village, or even a single cottage, the curling smoke of whose chimney would give the promise of comfort and refreshment to a weary traveller." — pp. 22, 23.

After alluding to the singular and ignominious subjection of the Delawares by the Iroquois, and the conquest and dispersion of the Wyandots or Hurons, an event which the French authors place in the middle of the seventeenth century, but which General Harrison is inclined to bring down to a later period, he observes, that the Five Nations took this occasion to penetrate into Ohio, and that, either at this time or at a later period, they advanced as far west as Sandusky. He denies, however, that there is any tradition among the Miamis, of their ever having been conquered by the Iroquois, and remarks that at the treaty of Greenville there was no allusion to any claim on the part of the Five Nations to any right of property in the soil, or jurisdiction over the territory, of the Miamis.

In the Discourse of Dewitt Clinton before the New York Historical Society, where the extensive conquests of the Five Nations are painted in strong colors, after stating that the date of these conquests is uncertain, he says, "The Illinois fled to the westward, after being attacked by the confederates, and did not return until a general peace; and were permitted, in

1760, by the confederates, to settle in the country between the Wabash and the Scioto rivers.* Pownall's "Topographical Description" is given as the authority for this statement; and, on turning to Pownall, † we find he asserts it on the authority of "Captain Gordon's journal," who, instead of 1760, uses the expression "sixteen years ago." Whether Captain Gordon's journal was written in 1774, we do not know. We rather suppose, that Governor Clinton inadvertently took the statement to be that of Pownall himself, whose "Topographical Description" was written in 1775. But it is incredible, that the Five Nations claimed a right to dispose of the territory between the Wabash and Scioto as late as the middle of the last century, and that the tribes of the great western league were settled there, at so recent a period, by *their* permission. As the Indians of the Five Nations were careful to inform General Wayne of their ancient conquest of the Delawares, and as any claim adverse to the Miamis was likely to be viewed with favor by the United States, at the treaty of Greenville, great importance is justly attached by General Harrison to the circumstance, that no such claim was then alluded to. Though the Five Nations were not a party to the treaty of Greenville, there were those present who would gladly have revived such a tradition, to the disadvantage of the Miamis, had any such tradition then existed. We regard this consideration as of a decisive character.

The following statements are also entitled to great weight, and point to the same conclusion.

"The French had establishments in the Illinois country in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and, upon the authority of the learned and Rev. Dr. Bruté, present bishop of Vincennes, Mr. Butler, in his recent History of Kentucky, asserts that Vincennes was a missionary post, so early as the year 1700. At that period the Miami nation is represented by all French accounts as very numerous, and in the undisputed possession of all the country I have claimed for them. I have myself seen a very old and respectable citizen of St. Louis, who recollected when the five tribes of the nation, who went under the appellation of Illinois tribes, could bring into the field four thousand warriors; and yet they did not compose the strength of the nation, which was to be found strung along the banks of the Wabash and its tributary streams, and no doubt far into Ohio.

* Dewitt Clinton's *Historical Discourse*, p. 28. † *Ibid.*, p. 42.

In the year 1734, M. De Vincennes, a captain in the French army, found them in possession of the whole of the Wabash, and their principal town occupying the site of Fort Wayne, which was actually the key of the country below. This officer was the first Frenchman who followed the route of the Miami of the Lake, and the Wabash, in passing from Canada to their western settlements ; and, in doing so at this time, throws some light upon the chronology of some of the events to which I have referred. Long before this period, the French must have known of the shorter and easier route, and no reason can be assigned for their having never used it, but from its being the seat of war, on some portion of it, which rendered it unsafe. This war I suppose to be that between the Wyandots and Iroquois ; and, although I would fix its termination earlier by some years than the expedition of De Vincennes, yet, being an experiment, it is probable that it required some time to ascertain its entire safety ; nor is it at all impossible, that the Tiwictewees (always the most eastern of the Miami tribes) were not upon the most friendly terms with the Iroquois. Indeed, the probability is, that there was war between them, but not of a decisive character, and if any conquest were made, or any part of the territory of the Miamis conquered, it must have been of trifling extent ; if victories had been gained, their effects were evanescent, and of no use to the conquerors. De Vincennes, in 1734, found them (the Miamis) in the possession of the entire Wabash ; and, in 1751, the Tiwictewees were visited at their towns, on the Scioto, one hundred and fifty miles from the mouth, by Mr. Gist, of Virginia, whose Journal has been lately published by Mr. Sparks, amongst the Washington papers. Mr. Gist remarks, that they were there ' in amity with the Six Nations,' and adds, that they ' appeared to him to be a very superior people' to their supposed conquerors. Amongst the inconsistencies to be found in the declaration of those who support the pretensions of the Iroquois on this side of the Ohio, I shall at this time mention but one. After broadly asserting the claim of conquest to the Mississippi, it seems, that, in 1781, Colonel Croghan, who is represented to have been an agent with the Iroquois for the thirty years preceding, limited their right ' on the southeast side of the Ohio, to the Cherokee (Tennessee) river, and to the Big Miami, a stony river on the northwest side.' Even this reduced claim to the territory within one State, will not be admitted ; as it has been shown, that the Tiwictewees were in full possession of the Scioto, upwards of one hundred miles above the Miami, where they were visited by Mr. Gist, and presented nothing to indicate a conquered people."—pp. 28, 29.

General Harrison is strongly inclined to the opinion, that the idea of remote and extensive conquests is inconsistent with that want of military discipline and organization, which existed on the part of the Iroquois, however distinguished they might be as savage warriors.

"But, setting aside all that has been advanced adverse to the claims of the Six Nations to be the extensive conquerors that they have so long been considered, there are, I think, insuperable arguments to be found against it, drawn from the nature of man in every age, and from the state in which they were at that period. They have been compared to the Romans, — but in what did the resemblance consist? Like that celebrated people they might have been ambitious of extending their influence, and, like them, constant in adhering to a course of policy adapted to secure it. But there the parallel must end. The ingredient in the composition of a Roman army, to which all their conquests are justly attributed, they did not, and in the state of society to which they were advanced, they could not possess. I allude to that bond by which an army of many thousands are brought to a harmony and unity of action, as if they were possessed of but one spirit and one mind. Without this, no distant foreign conquests ever have been or ever can be made. In every considerable collection of men in arms, in every state of society, the elements of faction, disunion, and final dissolution are always to be found. If the warriors of the Iroquois did not possess this spirit in a superior degree, they greatly differ from the kindred tribes of this country, with whom I have been acquainted. To have conquered the numerous tribes between their frontier and the Mississippi, in the short period assigned, an army of many thousands would have been requisite. How would an army of that size be supported? The game of the forest flies before the march of an army, and the state in which these Indians were at that time, being without beasts of burden (and having a natural horror of exercising that quality of the Roman soldiers themselves), they would be unable to apply the superabundance of one day to the wants of another. The power to move men in masses, to be efficient, is one of the highest evidences of civilization. The manner of making war amongst the North American Indians was totally different. They endeavoured to *wear away* their enemy, by surprising and butchering, now a family, less frequently a hunting camp, but rarely a village. If the hostile parties were in juxtaposition, as the Sacs and Foxes and the Illinois Miamis, a few years would determine the contest. But if they were separated by a large tract of un-

occupied territory, as the northwest and southern Indians, ages might pass over without any thing decisive being effected." — pp. 34, 35.

The residue of this interesting Discourse is occupied with a condensed sketch of the history of the Indian tribes, in the territory northwest of the Ohio, to the present day. It is a melancholy picture. Till the peace of 1763, the Iroquois or Five Nations on the one side, and the northwestern tribes on the other, were respectively employed and instigated by the French and English, as instruments of mutual annoyance and dissolution. By that treaty, the French interest on the continent was extinguished, at least, as far as it depended on the action of the Canadian government. It may however well be supposed, that a powerful influence, adverse to the Anglo-American colonies, was exercised by the numerous French missionary establishments in the West. It may fairly enough be presumed, that the policy pursued by the provincial government of British America, between the treaty of 1783 and the surrender of the western posts, was substantially imitated from that, which had been adopted by the French between the Seven Years' War and the Revolution. Whether this be true or not, it is certain, in point of fact, that hostilities against the British colonies were continued, on the part of the French Indians, for a year after the peace of 1763. Drafts were requested of the New England militia, to march for the defence of Michilimakinac ; an expedition which, considering the state of the internal communications of the country at that time, was no doubt considered as formidable, as a march at the present day from the Atlantic coast to the mouths of the Columbia river. Michilimackinac and many other posts were surprised and captured by Pontiac, and a similar fate had nearly overtaken Detroit. But a treaty of peace, under the mediation of the Six Nations, was at length concluded.

"It was not, however," says General Harison, "kept with good faith by the Indians, who continued to commit occasional depredations upon the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, throughout the ten following years. In the year 1774, a grand expedition, under the command of the titled Governor of Virginia (Lord Dunmore) against the Indians of Ohio, resulted in the celebrated battle of Kenhawa by the left wing of the army, whilst that under the immediate orders of the Governor penetrated to within a short distance of the Shawanees town on the

Scioto, where a precipitate treaty was concluded, and the Governor hastened to his capital, to provide against a storm of a different character ; of the approach of which he had seen evidences not to be misapprehended.

" In the year 1775, Great Britain (determined to compel her colonies to submit to her arbitrary mandates, with that recklessness of means for which she has ever been remarkable, whenever a purpose of aggrandizement, or vengeance, was to be secured,) by the influence of the traders, by large donations, and larger promises, engaged all the northwestern Indians in her cause, with a view to the devastation of the frontiers. Attempts were made by Congress to avert this calamity, by convincing the Indians, that they had no interest in the quarrel, and that the wiser path, was to observe a perfect neutrality. Nothing can show the anxiety of Congress to effect this object in stronger colors, than the agreement entered into with the Delaware tribes, at a treaty concluded at Pittsburg, in 1778. By an article in that treaty, the United States proposed that a State should be formed, to be composed of the Delawares and other tribes, and contracted to admit them, when so formed, as one of the members of the Union. But this, as it might perhaps have been afterwards considered, enviable distinction, weighed but little in the eyes of the Indians, compared to the present advantages of arms and equipments, clothing and trinkets, which were profusely distributed by the agents of Great Britain." — pp. 36, 37.

With the breaking out of the Revolution, in 1775, commenced an Indian war, which outlasted that with the mother country by twelve years, and for all that period not only obstructed the settlement of the territory northwest of the Ohio, but inflicted on the frontiers the heart-sickening cruelties of a savage warfare. Such was the fruit of the detention of the western posts ; and of the insidious policy of the Canadian government, in preventing an accommodation between the United States and the northwestern tribes. Much light has been thrown on this important and not well-understood chapter of our history, in the late valuable " Life of Thayendanegea," by Colonel Stone. The papers of this celebrated Mohawk chieftain, placed at the disposition of his industrious biographer, have cleared up several doubtful points. With the other documents submitted to Colonel Stone's inspection, among the papers of Brant, is a certified copy of the celebrated answer of Lord Dorchester to a speech of the Indians of the seven villages of Lower Canada, assembled at Quebec, as deputies

from all the nations who attended the great council of the Miamis in the year 1793. This speech, at the time, was believed to be authentic by General Washington and by Governor Clinton of New York, to whom a copy was sent by Washington, in order to the settlement of that point. Chief Justice Marshall pronounced it spurious, without stating the grounds of his judgment; and in this opinion he is followed by Mr. Sparks. Its authenticity, however, was admitted at the time by the British minister, in a letter to the Secretary of State, who had made it the subject of a remonstrance. Colonel Stone seems to put the matter beyond doubt. "I have myself," says he, "transcribed the preceding extracts from a certified manuscript copy, discovered among the papers of Joseph Brant, in my possession." *

Few events in the history of the country have exercised a more powerful influence on its progress, than the victory of General Wayne over the combined forces of the northwestern confederacy, on the 20th of August, 1794. This event, followed as it was by the treaty of Greenville, threw open the floodgates of emigration into the territory beyond the Ohio. The modesty of General Harrison has not only led him to suppress all mention of the fact, that he was himself, as an aid of the commander-in-chief, among the foremost in the dangers of that decisive conflict; — that he was even present in the battle could not be gathered from his brief allusion to it. He confines himself exclusively to a tribute of well-deserved commendation of the commanding General. The tribes, united in the war, which was happily brought to a close by this conflict, were the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanoes, Chippewas, Ottowas, Potowatomies, and Miamis.

"The abovementioned tribes," says General Harrison, "could not have brought into the field more than three thousand warriors at any time, during the ten years preceding the treaty of Greenville; although, a few years before, the Miamis alone could have furnished more than that number. The constant war with our frontier, had deprived them of many of their warriors; but the ravages of the smallpox were the principal cause of this great decrease of their numbers. They composed, however, a body of the finest light troops in the world.

* Stone's *Life of Thayendanegea*, Vol. II. p. 369. — Marshall's *Life of Washington*, Vol. V. p. 535. — Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, Vol. X. p. 394. — Wait's *American State Papers*, Vol. III. p. 60, 3d edition.

And, had they been under an efficient system of discipline, or possessed enterprise equal to their valor, the settlement of the country would have been attended with much greater difficulty than was encountered in accomplishing it, and their final subjugation delayed for some years. The Wyandots, the leading tribe of the confederacy, and that to whose custody the great calumet, the symbol of their union, was intrusted, had authority to call a council of the chiefs of the several tribes, to consult upon their affairs. But there was no mode of enforcing their decision, and the execution of any plan of operations, that might have been determined on, depended entirely upon the good pleasure of those who were to execute it. At one time it was thought, indeed, that they had adopted the very judicious plan of cutting off the convoys of the army, by a constant succession of detachments. This was, however, soon abandoned. And under the influence of the confidence which they had acquired, as well in their valor as their tactics, from their repeated success, they again determined to commit the fate of themselves and their country to the issue of a general battle. This was all that was wanted by the American commander. By this fatal determination, they had already prepared the wreath of laurels which was to adorn his brow by their complete and total discomfiture. The tactics which had been adopted for the American Legion, had been devised with a reference to all the subtilties, which those of the Indians were well known to possess. It united the apparently opposite qualities of compactness and flexibility, and a facility of expansion under any circumstances, and in any situation, which rendered utterly abortive the peculiar tact of the Indians in assailing the flanks of their adversaries."—pp. 39, 40.

General Harrison closes his interesting Discourse with a brief sketch of the general traits of character of the tribes now almost extinct, whose history he has related. He gives to the Wyandots the unquestioned preference on the score of bravery. With the other tribes, flight in battle, when occasioned by unexpected resistance and obstacles, brought with it no disgrace. It was rather a part of the Indian strategy; a manifestation of the peculiar temperament of most of the Indian tribes, which led them, instead of pressing fortune under adverse circumstances, to wait patiently for a change. With the Wyandots it was otherwise. Their young men were taught to consider as disgraceful any thing that looked like acknowledging the superiority of an enemy. In the battle of the Rapids of the Miami, in which the confederated tribes were

broken by General Wayne, of thirteen chiefs of the Wyandots one only survived, and he badly wounded. The following anecdote illustrates this trait in their character.

"When General Wayne assumed the position of Greenville, in 1793, he sent for Captain Wells, who commanded a company of scouts, and told him, that 'he wished him to go to Sandusky and take a prisoner, for the purpose of obtaining information.' Wells (who, having been taken from Kentucky when a boy, and brought up amongst the Indians, was perfectly acquainted with their character) answered, that 'he could take a prisoner, but not from Sandusky.' 'And why not from Sandusky?' said the General. 'Because,' answered the Captain, 'there are only Wyandots there.' 'Well, why will not Wyandots do?' 'For the best of reasons,' said Wells, 'because Wyandots will not be taken alive.'"—p. 51.

We are left by our author to learn the last important chapter in the history of most of the Indian tribes, once conspicuous in the valley of the Ohio, from other pens than his own. Beyond a brief allusion, in the concluding paragraphs of the Discourse, to the conduct of the celebrated chieftain Tecumthè, at the council of Vincennes, in 1810, there is no reference to those momentous events and struggles, in which General Harrison himself performed the most conspicuous part. This celebrated Indian chieftain, who may with propriety be placed by the historian on the same page with King Philip, Pontiac, and Brant, was the son of a Shawanoe father and Cherokee mother, a descent which admirably adapted him to achieve that project, which, to some extent, is supposed to have been contemplated by the other eminent Indian chieftains whom we have named, that of bringing all the Indian tribes into one grand confederacy. This policy, as far as it extended, was the secret of the strength of the Five Nations. It is even affecting to hear these poor children of nature, by their speaker Canassatego, at the council of Lancaster, in 1744, recommending *Union* to the American colonies. At the session of the FOURTH OF JULY of that year, the eloquent Onondago warrior used this remarkable language;

"We have one thing further to say, and that is, we heartily recommend union and good agreement between you and your brethren. Never disagree, but preserve a strict friendship for each other, and thereby you, as well as we, will become the stronger.

"Our wise forefathers established union and amity between the Five Nations; this has made us formidable; this has given us great weight and authority with our neighbouring nations.

"We are a powerful confederacy; and, by your observing the same methods which our wise forefathers have taken, you will acquire fresh strength and power; therefore, whatsoever befalls you, never fall out with each other." *

If this is the language of barbarism, what is civilization!

While we write these lines, the intelligence reaches us, that, in virtue, rather let us say *by force*, of one of those monstrous impositions called Indian treaties, negotiated, in the present instance, against the wishes of fourteen fifteenths of those whose lands it cedes, the last remnant of those sagacious and formidable tribes, whose representative, in 1744, uttered these counsels of friendship and wisdom, are about to be driven from their last foothold in New York, and transported to a "new home" west of the States of Arkansas and Missouri. Whatever doubts may rest on the question discussed in the address before us, whether the victorious arms of the Five Nations were ever pushed to the Mississippi, no doubt, unhappily, will be left to the future historian, that they are now to be driven across that river, by their civilized, humane, and Christian neighbours; and this by force of a treaty, of which the President of the United States remarks, in communicating it to Congress, "that improper means have been employed to obtain the assent of the Seneca chiefs, there is too much reason to believe." That their condition will be improved by the removal is an opinion, we know, entertained by persons of integrity and honor, and we devoutly hope that it may be realized. But this opinion, however confidently entertained, and however likely to be justified by the result, furnishes no apology, so long as their right to occupy their reservations is admitted, for forcing them to quit their homes, under the forms of a mock treaty, concluded against the wishes, however unenlightened or misguided, of a great majority of the tribe.

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* Colden's *History of the Five Nations;* in the Papers annexed, p. 149.

ART. IV. — 1. *Vie, Correspondance et Ecrits de Washington, publiés d'après l'Edition Américaine et précédés d'une Introduction sur l'Influence et le Caractère de Washington dans la Révolution des Etats Unis de l'Amérique ;* par M. GUIZOT, Membre de l'Institut. Paris : Librairie de Charles Gosselin. 6 tomes. 8vo. 1840.

2. *An Essay on the Character of Washington and his Influence in the Revolution of the United States of America.* By M. GUIZOT. Translated from the French. Boston : James Munroe & Co. 1840. 16mo.

M. GUIZOT, under whose auspices this work appears, may with great justice be reputed among the most distinguished individuals of the age. His recent appointment, as the French ambassador in England, is a sufficient indication of his standing among the public men in France ; inasmuch as he can owe his designation to this high and responsible post, to none of those considerations of hereditary rank and wealth, which decided such appointments under the old *régime.* As a philosophical historian, he has acquired a reputation second to no other in Europe. Not to mention a number of earlier productions, which evince a fertility and readiness not inferior to the higher qualities of his pen, his "History of the English Revolution," and still more his "History of Civilization," abundantly entitle him to this rank, among living writers. Sir James Mackintosh was accustomed to speak of the first-named work as the best which had been written on the subject. The "History of Civilization" is a production of great originality and power, and will exercise a very extensive influence over the public mind. It will do more, with reflecting minds, than all other works which have been written, to bring up the phenomena of past history with the freshness and reality of passing events, by presenting them in those natural groups, and connecting them by those influences and sympathies, which nothing short of the finest tact and most profound sagacity are competent to trace through the obscurity and confusion of distant and barbarous ages.

In our review of Mr. Sparks's edition of the "Writings of Washington," * we mentioned, that those portions of them,

* *North American Review*, Vol. XLVII. p. 379 *et seq.*

which are best adapted for the European reader, would be selected by M. Guizot and published in a French translation. The volumes before us appear in execution of the arrangements made for this purpose. They contain a complete and literal translation of the "Life of Washington" (which fills the first of Mr. Sparks's volumes), and those parts of the Correspondence which were deemed by M. Guizot most important and interesting to the French public, 1. As throwing light on the relations of France and the United States during the Revolution, and the agency of the former in bringing about this glorious event; 2. As developing the policy of Washington, in reference to the formation of the constitution, and the establishment of the government, of the United States; 3. As displaying the character, disposition, and manners of their illustrious author.

The translation is preceded by an Introductory Discourse, from the pen of M. Guizot, on the character, influence, and political career of Washington, written in the best manner of this distinguished statesman and scholar. This Introduction gives a value to the present publication, even for the American reader, familiar as, of course, he must already be, with every other portion of its contents. M. Guizot here employs his luminous pen, which has shed original light upon the entire history of modern civilization, in illustrating that pure and canonized name, of which it has already become doubtful, whether it is more an object of veneration or of love. The American citizen, uncertain as he cannot but feel himself at times, whether he pays his homage to the real and unexaggerated merit of the father of his country, or to an ideal excellence created under the influence of gratitude after the lapse of years, and seeking refuge from the selfish pretensions and pompous egotism of men and parties of the present day, is delighted to find his highest estimation of Washington confirmed by the calm judgment and philosophical investigation of the other hemisphere. The opinion of an enlightened foreigner, studiously formed and pronounced voluntarily and in good faith, has something not unlike the gravity of the judgment of after times. It is generally as little possible for moderate worth and mere party merit to cross the abyss of waters as the abyss of ages. The contemporary world beyond the ocean is a kind of anticipated posterity.

The "Advertisement," prefixed to this publication, announces its importance in the judgment of the French public, and pays a just tribute to the merit of Mr. Sparks's labors. "No distant event," say the editors, "has created in France so lively an interest as the Revolution of the United States of America. No great man in foreign countries has been, to the same extent as Washington, the object of general admiration in France. He possessed the favor of the country and of the court, of the old *régime* and of the regenerated nation. During his life, Louis the Sixteenth lavished upon him the marks of his esteem; at his death, Napoleon decreed him a public mourning and a funeral discourse."

The original edition of Mr. Sparks is characterized in the following terms;

"An able editor, Mr. Sparks, already well known by his important historical labors, and especially by his 'Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States during the War of Independence,' published at Boston, in twelve volumes octavo, has examined these papers and made extracts and selections from them. The family of Washington, his surviving friends, and some of the most intelligent and distinguished members of Congress, have assisted him in this patriotic task. Mr. Sparks has not remained content with the collection of materials, already so ample, which were within his control; he travelled over America and Europe, and the public archives and private collections of France and England were liberally opened to him. He has sought after, and brought together from all quarters, the documents necessary to illustrate and complete the authentic biography of a great man, which is the history of the infant years of a great people; and a work in twelve large octavo volumes, adorned with portraits, plates, and *fac-similes*, under the title of 'The Writings of George Washington,' has been the result of this labor, which has been animated by patriotism, a sense of duty, and a love of the subject."—*Advertisement*, pp. vii, viii.

After a statement of the contents of the volumes, the Advertisement proceeds;

"Each volume is terminated by an Appendix, in which the Editor has collected a variety of historical documents of great interest, and, generally speaking, hitherto unpublished, illustrative of the principal events of the period and of the most important portions of the life and character of Washington.

"Finally, numerous and accurate notes, scattered through

the work, give all the information necessary for the complete understanding of the letters and incidents to which they relate.

"Viewed as a whole and in its details, in its literary execution and in its outward form, the edition is worthy of the great name to which it is consecrated.

"In 1838, when the publication had just been completed, the American publishers, desirous that Washington should be as well known in France as in his own country, addressed themselves to M. Guizot, requesting him to make a selection from the voluminous correspondence, of such portions as seemed most calculated to awaken an interest in the French public, and to superintend their publication. M. Guizot has made this selection, upon the principle of taking, First, the letters concerning the relations of France and the United States at that period, and the distinguished part which our country acted in that great event; Secondly, those which develope the political views of Washington in the formation of the constitution, and the organization of the government, of the United States, — views full of valuable instruction; Thirdly, those which contain the most striking manifestations of the character, turn of mind, and manners, of the great man from whom they proceeded.

"In order to accomplish fully the honorable task which he undertook, M. Guizot was desirous of presenting his own views of the character of Washington and of his influence in the Revolution, which founded the United States of America; and these are contained in the Introduction, which is prefixed to our edition.

"We have spared no pains to make the appearance of our work worthy of the intrinsic value of its contents. We are indebted to the kindness of General Cass, the minister of the United States in France, for assistance and information of the most valuable kind; and he has given them in a spirit of kindness, at once so enlightened and so generous, that we feel it our duty to make a public acknowledgment of our obligations to him." — *Ibid.*, pp. ix–xi.

It is difficult, by a brief analysis, which is all that the nature of our journal permits, to impart a just idea of the Introduction of M. Guizot. It is written with great care; it is evidently the fruit of a systematic study of American history, — particularly in the revolutionary and constitutional periods, — and of profound meditation on the spirit of popular institutions. More than all, it is the emanation of a gen-

erous love of the great theme on which he discourses. His apprehension of the relations of things is generally correct ; his knowledge of facts minute and accurate ; his judgment of character candid ; and his own moral and political principles, as disclosed in his commentary on those of Washington, (for the historian generally portrays himself while describing others,) are such as command our respect and admiration. — It is easy to discern in M. Guizot's essay, the man of religious conscience, and the rational friend of human liberty, passing judgment on one, who lived and acted in the habitual reverence of a watchful Providence, and was too sincere a friend to freedom to undervalue those institutions, which are necessary to give it a practical value for the purposes of life. This performance alone would be sufficient to convince us, that M. Guizot is as far as Washington from being one of the godless patriots, whose sounding eulogies of the rights of man are coupled with the disbelief of all that makes man and his rights more valuable than the beast and his instincts ; and who, from their excessive attachment to liberty, are constantly goading society into a disrelish of all the fireside pursuits and enjoyments, which it is the object of liberty to secure and diffuse.

" It is well known, that, in the eighteenth century, the human understanding, impelled by the accumulation of wealth, the growth of population, and the increase of every form of social power, as well as by its own impetuous and self-derived activity, attempted the conquest of the world. Political science, in all its forms, woke into new and vigorous life ; as did, to a still greater degree, the spirit of philosophy, proud, unsatisfied, eager to penetrate and to regulate all things. English America shared in this great movement, but serenely and dispassionately ; obeying its inherent tendency rather than rushing into new and untried paths. Philosophical opinions were there combined with religious belief, the triumphs of reason with the heritage of faith, and the rights of man with those of the Christian.

" A noble spectacle is presented to us, when we see the union of historical and rational right, of traditions and opinions. A nation, in such a case, gains in prudence as well as in energy. When time-honored and esteemed truths control man without enslaving him, restrain at the same time that they support him, he can move onward and upward, without danger of being carried away by the impetuous flight of his own spirit, soon to be either dashed in pieces against unknown obstacles,

or to sink gradually into a sluggish and paralyzing inactivity. And when, by a further union, still more beautiful and more salutary, religious belief is indissolubly linked, in the very mind of man, to the general progress of opinions, and liberty of reason to the firm convictions of faith, — it is then that a people may trust themselves to the boldest institutions. For religious belief promotes, to an incalculable extent, the wise management of human affairs. In order to discharge properly the duty assigned to him in this life, man must contemplate it from a higher point of view ; if his mind be merely on the same level with the task he is performing, he will soon fall below it, and become incapable of accomplishing it in a worthy manner." — *Essay*, pp. 5 – 7.

Having briefly sketched the ante-revolutionary relation of the colonies to the mother country, the tendency to encroach, on the one side, and the disposition to resist upon principle, on the other, M. Guizot announces, in the following lofty terms, the great right of revolution.

" Evidently the day had arrived, when power had forfeited its claim to loyal obedience ; and when the people were called upon to protect themselves by force, no longer finding in the established order of things either safety or shelter. Such a moment is a fearful one, big with unknown events ; one, which no human sagacity can predict, and no human government can control, but which, notwithstanding, does sometimes come, bearing an impress stamped by the hand of God. If the struggle, which begins at such a moment, were one absolutely forbidden ; if, at the mysterious point in which it arises, this great social duty did not press even upon the heads of those who deny its existence, the human race, long ago, wholly fallen under the yoke, would have lost all dignity as well as all happiness." — *Ibid.*, p. 27.

The right of revolution is one of those *arcana imperii*, which, under an hereditary government, cannot, consistently with the principles of the government itself, be defined. Our forefathers had not always the best of the argument. They denied the right of internal taxation and admitted in theory what was by far the greater practical grievance, the competence of Parliament to enact laws of trade, which should regulate the commerce of the whole empire with a view to the paramount advantage of the mother country. They flamed into uncompromising resistance against taxes, which would have been scarcely felt by those who paid them ; and acquiesced (not very cheerfully, it is true,) for a century and a

half in the Navigation Act, which operated upon the march of American prosperity, like the iron shoes on the feet of the Chinese children. If the fathers of the Revolution had their argument to re-state, they would learn higher principles out of their successful labors. They have taught us a better philosophy, than they professed themselves; namely, the utter incompatibility of colonial government with constitutional liberty at home or abroad. At *home* or abroad; for, as Hume said Great Britain had to thank the Puritans for her liberty, so it may well be inquired, what the constitutional liberties of England would have been, if Lord North's ministry had crushed the American Revolution. It was for this reason, *partly*, that Lord Chatham (whom M. Guizot inadvertently elevates at the expense of others, in calling him *le seul homme supérieur du pays*), and his worthy associates in opposition to the American war, Burke and Fox, took the side of the colonies. They knew the battle of the old English constitutional spirit and principles was fighting on transatlantic ground. They were opposed to the independence of the colonies, it is true. The leaders of the Revolution among ourselves came slowly to the contemplation of it, and it could not be expected of English statesmen and patriots, to push their theories of government to the dissolution of the Empire; — to destroy the body corporate, for the sake of vindicating the principles of its organization. But these wise and patriotic men unquestionably perceived, that the liberties of Englishmen in Britain would not stand firm, if the liberties of Englishmen in America were trampled under foot. "In order to prove that the Americans have no right to *their* liberties," said Mr. Burke, in that all but inspired oration upon Conciliation with America, delivered, alas, not a month before the blood shed at Lexington, "we are every day endeavouring to subvert the maxims, which preserve the spirit of *our own*. To prove that the Americans ought not to be free, we are obliged to depreciate the value of freedom itself; and we never seem to gain a paltry advantage over them in debate, without attacking some of those principles, or deriding some of those feelings, for which our ancestors shed their blood."* So too Lord Chatham, a few months earlier, as heard and reported by a spirit of kindred fire; "My Lords, there are three millions of whigs in America. Three millions of whigs, with arms in their hands, are a very formidable

* Burke's *Works*, Vol. I. p. 189, edition of 1834, London.

body. It was the whigs, my Lords, that set his Majesty's royal ancestors on the throne of England. I hope there are yet double the number of whigs in England, that there are in America. I hope the whigs of both countries will join and make common cause. Ireland is with the Americans, to a man. The whigs of that country will, and those of this country ought, to think the American cause their own. They are allied to each other in sentiment and interest, united in one great principle of defence and resistance against tyranny and oppression. They ought, therefore, and they will, run to embrace and support their brethren. The cause of ship-money was the cause of all the whigs of England. 'You shall not take my money without my consent,' is the doctrine and the language of whigs; it is the doctrine and voice of whigs in America and whigs here. It is the doctrine in support of which, I do not know how many names I could — I may call in this House, — among the living, I cannot say how many I could call, — to join with me and maintain these doctrines with their blood; but, among the dead, I could raise a host innumerable! And, my Lords, at this day, there are very many sound, substantial, honest whigs, who ought and who will consider *this American Controversy*, AS A GREAT COMMON CAUSE." *

When the objection presented itself to Mr. Burke's mind, that these views would go much further than merely to exempt Americans from British taxation, — that they would authorize a claim to representation in Parliament, — he met it with the argument "*Opposuit natura;* a great flood stops me in my course. I cannot remove the eternal barriers of creation." How would it stand with this argument, now that these barriers are broken down by modern art, and this mighty flood is bridged over by the steam-engine? It is now as easy to reach London from New York, as to reach Washington from Louisiana or Wisconsin. How will statesmen of the present day, in England, meet a demand of a share of parliamentary representation, on the part of colonies of English origin and descent, and deemed capable of self-government by local assemblies?

We hold it to be impossible to govern colonies without violating the principles and spirit of constitutional government

* Memoir of Josiah Quincy, Jr., pp. 325, 326.

in the mother country. The attempt to do it is beset with constantly recurring embarrassments. The first step in the administration of Lord Durham, a British constitutional statesman of the most liberal school, brought him directly into conflict with the constitutional laws of England. Remote and barbarous dependencies may be governed by military power ; and constitutional governments, at home, may perform with vigor the part of arbitrary governments abroad. But if proximity, or the modern facilities of intercommunication, or the press, bring the colonial administration to the familiar notice of the metropolitan public ; if the colony purports to be, not a garrison nor a camp, but a free community, it must have assemblies, and discussions, and parties, and laws ; it must have something more, which cannot be granted without severing the colonial bond, nor be denied to it consistently with either the theory or the safety of the domestic constitution. It was not Julius Cæsar who overturned the republic of Rome. Her liberties were, in fact, subdued by the famous old warriors of an earlier stage. Paulus Emilius conquered, not merely the Macedonian monarchy, but the Roman commonwealth, when he broke through the defiles of Pindus. Scipio Africanus saved his country from Carthage, but gave her up a prey to the bribes and violence of all the pampered proconsuls, that were thenceforth to fatten on Africa. To the eye of the philosopher, the liberties of Rome suffered more at Zama than at Cannæ ; and Pompey, when he conquered Tigranes, the king of kings, became scarcely less formidable to the ancient freedom of his country, (had it, indeed, not already perished under Marius and Sylla,) than Cæsar when he conquered Pompey.*

But, *Qui nous délivrera ?* M. Guizot sketches, with a masterly pen, the auspices under which the Revolution in America commenced ; the support which it received from those in England who opposed the measures of the ministry ; the favor and the alliances which it acquired on the continent ; the difficulties and embarrassments which assailed it at home ; the want of unanimity which beset the progress of the contest, and which degenerated, in some of the States, into the worst extremes of civil war ; the decline of the active spirit of re-

* Sallust mentions the period of the maritime and Mithridatic wars of Pompey, as that in which "plebis opes imminutæ, paucorum potentia crevit." — *Bellum Catilin.* 40.

sistance, and with it the immense difficulty of recruiting and supporting the armies ; and the necessity which devolved on Washington, of watching over, combining, or rather creating, at every step, the elements of the new political and military system.

Thus brought upon the stage, Washington is briefly described in his early history, and personal relations, and youthful entrance upon the duties and cares of active service and command. That M. Guizot has rightly apprehended the early maturity of his character is evident from the following passage.

" In 1754, he was just appearing in society, and entering upon his military career. It is a young officer of two-and-twenty, who commands battalions of militia, and corresponds with the representative of the king of England. In neither of these relations does he feel any embarrassment. He loves his associates ; he respects the king and the governor ; but neither affection nor respect alters the independence of his judgment or of his conduct. By an admirable, instinctive power of action and command, he sees and apprehends, by what means and upon what terms success is to be obtained in the enterprise he has undertaken on behalf of his king and his country. And these terms he imposes, these means he insists upon ; from the soldiers he exacts all that can be accomplished by discipline, promptness, and activity in the service ; from the governor, that he shall discharge his duty in respect to the pay of the soldiers, the furnishing of supplies, and the choice of officers. In every case, whether his words or opinions are sent up to the superior to whom he is rendering his account, or pass down to the subordinates under his command, they are equally precise, practical, and decided, equally marked by that authority which truth and necessity bestow upon the man who appears in their name." — *Ibid.*, pp. 55 – 57.

After repeating the beautiful anecdote of the inability of Washington, through diffidence, to reply to the complimentary address of the Speaker of the House of Burgesses in Virginia, M. Guizot makes the following fine and discriminating remarks on his character ;

" However, to say nothing of eloquence, Washington had not those brilliant and extraordinary qualities, which strike the imagination of men at the first glance. He did not belong to the class of men of vivid genius, who pant for an opportunity of display, are impelled by great thoughts or great passions, and

diffuse around them the wealth of their own natures, before any outward occasion or necessity calls for its employment. Free from all internal restlessness, and the promptings and pride of ambition, Washington did not seek opportunities to distinguish himself, and never aspired to the admiration of the world. This spirit, so resolute, this heart so lofty, was profoundly calm and modest. Capable of rising to a level with the highest destiny, he might have lived in ignorance of his real power, without suffering from it, and have found, in the cultivation of his estates, a satisfactory employment for those energetic faculties, which were to be proved equal to the task of commanding armies and founding a government.

"But, when the opportunity presented itself, when the exigence occurred, without effort on his part, without any surprsie on the part of others, indeed rather, as we have just seen, in conformity with their expectations the prudent planter stood forth a great man. He had, in a remarkable degree, those two qualities which, in active life, make men capable of great things. He could confide strongly in his own views, and act resolutely in conformity with them, without fearing to assume the responsibility."—*Ibid.*, pp. 59, 60.

It is plain here, that M. Guizot has seized with delicate perception the prominent traits of Washington's character. It is necessary, however, to proceed with great caution, in denying him even the qualities which strike the imaginations of men. It would, perhaps, be more accurate to affirm, that his own powers of imagination had been sternly subjected to his judgment. The history of his whole career shows, that, with scarce any display on his part of the powers of the imagination, he possessed, in an unusual degree, the power of influencing the imaginations of others. Of that mysterious magnetism of character, by which an individual from early life attracts attention, inspires confidence, and rises at once to the most arduous and responsible stations, Washington possessed a share which is seldom equalled. This may or may not consist in the display of what are called brilliant endowments. In the military career, the manifestation of personal courage is an indispensable part of the secret. The soldier must have exhibited the fearlessness of his heart in such a manner, as henceforward to put that quality beyond all doubt, or he can never reign in the hearts of others. The annals of war do not afford brighter examples of this quality, (which, though moralists affect to underrate it, claims at least the importance of an influence of the greatest power in human affairs,) than were

exhibited by Washington in the very outset of his career. Two horses were killed under him, and his coat perforated with bullets, at Braddock's defeat. But, as personal bravery is a quality exhibited by many a soldier and officer in every campaign, so far from explaining the wonderful ascendency of Washington over the minds of other men, it becomes necessary to resort to other causes of his influence. We know not where they are to be found, if not in the perfect *proportions* of his entire character, moral and intellectual; his possession, in an eminent degree, of all the qualities which invite confidence and command respect, without any counterbalance of weaknesses or vices. If it be difficult to single out, in his composition, the individual capacities which are called brilliant, it only becomes so much the more necessary to ascribe to him a most rare and admirable union of all the higher qualities of our nature. Glowing eloquence, a fervid pen, a miraculous faculty for acquiring and applying knowledge, the irresistible contagion of enthusiasm, the captivating insinuation of manners; these may be reckoned among the chief of the brilliant qualities, which strike the imagination of men. Not wholly destitute of any of these, in none of them is Washington supposed to have excelled. How, then, in the absence of all these brilliant and fascinating endowments, do you account for that awe-inspiring character, before which levity is repressed and pretension silenced; which, seeking, desiring, neither place nor power, is forced into the possession of every office and honor which the country's institutions can confer; which, more than any other man's character has ever done, appeases malignity and unites party, and carries him triumphant through the most arduous and invidious duties?

Perhaps the single quality, which, more than any thing else, contributed to this result, was the moral quality of unsuspected disinterestedness. M. Guizot makes a just and beautiful remark on this subject;

"Men had, moreover, the most thorough conviction of his disinterestedness; that great light, to which men so willingly trust their fate; that vast power, which draws after it their hearts, while, at the same time, it gives them a sense of security as to their interests, which, they are certain, will not be surrendered, either as a sacrifice or as instruments to selfishness and ambition." — *Ibid.*

We have, on a former occasion, spoken of the harmony of

Washington's character as the foundation of his influence, and hazarded the opinion, that the developement of any of the faculties, in a more brilliant degree, would have impaired its serene beauty. His qualities, moral and intellectual, were mingled and blended like the light of day. The developement and cultivation of single endowments, in great men of the ordinary cast, produces a sort of scenic effect, which may be compared to that of the prismatic separation of the colors. The eye is fatigued while it is delighted, and turns, for relief, to that equably diffused mixture of all the beams, which forms the cheerfulness and joy of creation.

The following remark of M. Guizot, on the character of Washington, is of uncommon depth and beauty.

"It is a privilege of great men, and often a corrupting one, to inspire affection and devotedness, without feeling them in return. This vice of greatness Washington was exempt from. He loved his associates, his officers, his army. It was not merely from a sense of justice and duty, that he sympathized in their sufferings, and took their interests into his own hands with an indefatigable zeal. He regarded them with a truly tender feeling, marked by compassion for the sufferings he had seen them endure, and by gratitude for the attachment which they had shown to him. And when, in 1783, at the close of the war, at Frances's tavern, in New York, the principal officers, at the moment of their final separation, passed in silence before him, each one pressing his hand as he went by, he was himself moved and agitated, at heart and in his countenance, to a degree that seemed hardly consistent with the firm composure of his spirit."—*Ibid.* pp. 82, 83.

We pass, of necessity, over much that is of high interest, touching the career of Washington during the progress of the war, the interval between the peace and the adoption of the Constitution, and his accession to the presidency. The following remarks, on the parties which prevailed when the Federal Constitution went into operation, will be read with the attention due to the judgments of a philosophical and unprejudiced foreigner.

"At the first glance, the names of these parties excite surprise. Federal and democratic; between these two qualities, these two tendencies, there is no real and essential difference. In Holland in the seventeenth century, in Switzerland even in

our time, it was the democratic party which aimed at strengthening the federal union, the central government ; it was the aristocratic party which placed itself at the head of the local governments, and defended their sovereignty. The Dutch people supported William of Nassau and the Stadtholdership against John de Witt and the leading citizens of the towns. The patricians of Schweitz and Uri are the most obstinate enemies of the federal diet and of its power.

"In the course of their struggle, the American parties often received different designations. The democratic party arrogated to itself the title of republican, and bestowed on the other that of monarchists and monocrats. The federalists called their opponents anti-unionists. They mutually accused each other of tending, the one to monarchy, and the other to separation ; of wishing to destroy, the one the republic, and the other the union.

"This was either a bigoted prejudice or a party trick. Both parties were sincerely friendly to a republican form of government and the union of the States. The names, which they gave one another for the sake of mutual disparagement, were still more false, than their original denominations were imperfect and improperly opposed to each other.

"Practically, and so far as the immediate affairs of the country were concerned, they differed less, than they either said or thought, in their mutual hatred. But, in reality, there was a permanent and essential difference in their principles and their tendencies. The federal party was, at the same time, aristocratic, favorable to the preponderance of the higher classes, as well as to the power of the central government. The democratic party was, also, the local party, desiring at once the supremacy of the majority, and the almost entire independence of the State governments." — *Ibid.*

The history of the parties, which have existed in the United States since the adoption of the Constitution, is a very curious subject. It is, perhaps, too early to treat it. This task must be left to the candid inquirer in future years. The first great distinction was that of Federalists and Anti-federalists, meaning, of course, the friends and opponents of the Federal Constitution. The Constitution once adopted and made the undisputed law of the land, the term *anti-federal* lost its appropriateness as a party designation, and great changes took place in the composition of parties. Before the adoption, and pending the discussions to which it

gave rise, the Federalists and Anti-federalists were almost equally balanced. In the Convention, held in Massachusetts, to decide the question of adopting the Constitution, the vote stood 187 yeas and 168 nays. In the Convention of Virginia, the division was 89 yeas and 79 nays ; and these proportions, perhaps, obtained through the country.

After the Constitution was adopted, and with the immediate demonstration of its happy working, a new division of parties gradually arose, built, in some measure, on the preceding, but far from being identical with it. Of those who had opposed the adoption of the Constitution, multitudes became its ardent friends. Of those who favored its adoption, some, from the first, ranged themselves with those who were for giving the most limited construction to its powers, for the same reason that led them, originally, to oppose the adoption. Thus the two new parties differed, mainly, on the construction of the Constitution, in reference to such measures as the funding system, the assumption of the State debts, and the incorporation of a national bank. The name of Federalists was retained by the party who advocated a liberal construction of the fundamental law, and was considered as an honorable designation. Anti-federalism, having originally denoted opposition to the new frame of government, fell gradually into disfavor, and no other name was immediately substituted. Although the term *democratic* was, no doubt, unquestionably sometimes used, at this period, by individuals of the party, of which Mr. Jefferson was the leader, we think it would not be easy, till long afterwards (not, in fact, while he was on the stage of affairs) to find instances of its use in the authentic documents of that party. It was made intensely odious to the mass of the people by the Democratic Societies, which were founded by Genêt. Patrick Henry, in July, 1795, says, "Though a democrat myself, I like not the late democratic societies."

We believe it may be correctly stated, that, after the name of Anti-federalists was dropped as unpopular, that of *republicans* was the first denomination which was assumed by Mr. Jefferson and his friends. In his correspondence he sometimes calls his friends "the whigs" ; but *republican* is the party name, which may be said to have been officially adopted ; and it is a little singular, that, on both sides, there was a disposition to deny the right of the opposite party to

the name they had thought fit to assume. Mr. Jefferson, evidently considering the name of *federalists* as an honorable one, and belonging of right to all the friends of the Constitution, in a letter to Mr. Gerry, of the 26th of January, 1799, alludes to the party, supporting the administration of President Adams, as "the Federalists, self-called"; * while General Washington, in writing to his nephew, the late Judge Washington, on the 5th of May of the same year, on the subject of changes in opinion, in Virginia, favorable to the same administration, says; "As the tide is turned, I hope it will come in with a full flow; but this will not happen, if there is any relaxation on the part of the Federalists. We are sure, there will be none on the part of the Republicans, as they have very erroneously called themselves." †

Here we understand the meaning of Washington to be, that the party, then opposed to the administration, were not warranted, by assuming the name of *republican*, to intimate, that they were the exclusive friends of republican government; and we conceive Mr. Jefferson, in designating the friends of Mr. Adams's administration as "self-called Federalists," to mean, that this name, importing, as it did, both historically and significantly, a friend to the Constitution, belonged, of right, to all of all parties that were friendly to it. Accordingly, we find him, on his accession to the presidency after a very strenuous and embittered struggle, using, in his inaugural address, this remarkable language, not less deserving of note for its philosophical accuracy, than for its personal moderation; "Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called, by different names, brethren of the same principle. We are all republicans; we are all federalists." Mr. Jefferson's meaning plainly was, that all are entitled to the name of *republican*, because all are friendly to republican government; and all are entitled to the name of *federalist*, because all are friendly to the union of the States.

It does not belong to this place to enter more minutely into the history of our parties. We will only observe, that, from the breaking out of the French revolution till the close of the war in 1814, they turned, almost wholly, upon ques-

* Jefferson's *Works*, Vol. III. p. 612.
† Washington's *Writings*, Vol. XI. p. 425.

tions connected with the foreign relations of the country. The old controversies, as to the construction of the Constitution, lost much of their interests. On the change of place of the two parties, in 1801, the Federal party became, in practice, much less favorable to the exercise of the powers of the general government; the republican party much less jealous of the same powers. Most of the questions, which divided public opinion, were questions of expediency, as to the best method of protecting the interests of the country in the convulsed and unprecedented condition of the world. With the close of the war in 1815, these questions ceased to present themselves. New interests had sprung up. Some old controversies were, at that time, deemed to be settled by time, acquiescence, and public convenience, — such as the necessity of a national bank. The growth of the West gave rise to the question of internal improvements. The capital, which had sought investment in manufactures, during the restrictive system and the war of 1812, called for protection. The war had led to the creation of a large national debt, to the establishment of a competent military power, to the great enlargement of the navy and an entire change of sentiment on the part of those originally opposed to it, and had shown the necessity of permanent fortifications for the defence of the coast. Out of these various establishments, grew the necessity of a liberal system of public expenditure, and a larger measure of executive discretion. It was no longer possible to administer the government on the principles, upon which the opposition to the second term of President Washington's administration, and the administration of President Adams, had been conducted. Every thing, at home and abroad, looked to a fusion of the parties; and, on occasion of the elevation of Mr. Monroe to the presidency, in 1817, General Jackson took upon himself the honorable task of urging the policy of amalgamation. In his famous letter to Mr. Monroe, in anticipation of that event, he counsels him to seize the auspicious moment to exterminate "the monster, party," and, as a step calculated to promote this end, advised him to appoint a union cabinet.

It did not need these liberal counsels, even on his high authority, to produce a result, which was daily growing out of the changed state of the country, and the condition of its newly developed interests. We imagine it would appear,

on consulting the Journals of Congress during the administrations of Mr. Monroe, that not a single question was decided in reference to former party divisions, or under the array of the old party names. The course of public men, in and out of Congress, was regulated by the views entertained by themselves and their constituents, and by the people at large in the different sections of the country, on the new questions of magnitude, which had presented themselves. With the exception of a single vote, Mr. Monroe was reëlected unanimously, a circumstance which had never occurred before since the days of Washington.

The existing organization of parties runs back to the struggles for the succession to Mr. Monroe; but this is a chapter in our political history not to be discussed in these pages.

The following judgment of M. Guizot, pronounced upon the characters of Jefferson and Hamilton, will be read with interest.

"Hamilton deserves to be ranked among those men, who have best understood the vital principles and essential conditions of government; not merely of a nominal government, but of a government worthy of its mission and of its name. In the Constitution of the United States, there is not an element of order, strength, and duration, to the introduction and adoption of which he did not powerfully contribute. Perhaps he believed the monarchical form preferable to the republican. Perhaps he sometimes had doubts of the success of the experiment attempted in his own country. Perhaps, also, carried away by his vivid imagination, and the logical vehemence of his mind, he was sometimes exclusive in his views, and exaggerated in his inferences. But, of a character as lofty as his mind, he faithfully served the republic, and labored to found, and not to weaken it. His superiority consisted in knowing, that, by a law inherent in the nature of things, power is above, at the head of society; that government should be constituted according to this law; and that every contrary system or effort brings, sooner or later, trouble and weakness into the society itself. His error consisted in adhering too closely, and with a somewhat arrogant obstinacy, to the precedents of the English constitution; in attributing, sometimes, in these precedents, the same authority to good and to evil, to principles and to the abuse of them; and in not attaching due importance to, and reposing sufficient confidence in, the variety of political forms and the flexibility of human society.

There are occasions, in which political genius consists, in not fearing what is new, while what is eternal is respected.

"The democratic party, not the turbulent and coarse democracy of antiquity or the middle ages, but the great modern democracy, never had a more faithful or more distinguished representative, than Jefferson. A warm friend of humanity, liberty, and science; trusting in their goodness as well as their rights; deeply touched by the injustice with which the mass of mankind have been treated, and the sufferings they endure, and incessantly engaged, with an admirable disinterestedness, in remedying them or preventing their recurrence; accepting power as a dangerous necessity, almost as one evil opposed to another, exerting himself, not merely to restrain, but to lower it; distrusting all display, all personal splendor, as a tendency to usurpation; a temper, open, kind, indulgent, though ready to take up prejudices against, and feel irritated with, the enemies of his party; a mind bold, active, ingenious, inquiring, with more penetration than forecast, but with too much good sense to push things to the extreme, and capable of employing, against a pressing danger or evil, a prudence and firmness, which would perhaps have prevented it, had they been adopted earlier or more generally.

"It was not an easy task to unite these two men, and make them act, in concert, in the same cabinet. The critical state of affairs at the first adoption of the Constitution, and the impartial preponderance of Washington, alone could accomplish it. He applied himself to it with consummate perseverance and wisdom. At heart, he felt a decided preference for Hamilton and his views. 'By some,' said he, 'he is considered an ambitious man, and therefore a dangerous one. That he is ambitious, I shall readily grant, but it is of that laudable kind, which prompts a man to excel in whatever he takes in hand. He is enterprising, quick in his perceptions, and his judgment intuitively great.'* But it was only in 1798, in the freedom of his retirement, that Washington spoke so explicitly. While he was in office and between his two secretaries, he maintained towards them a strict reserve, and testified the same confidence in them. He believed them both to be sincere and able; both necessary to the country and to himself. Jefferson was to him, not only a connecting tie, a means of influence, with the popular party, which was not slow in becoming the opposition; but he made use of him in the internal administration of his government, as a counterpoise to the tendencies, and especially to the lan-

* Washington's *Writings*, Vol. XI. p 312.

guage, sometimes extravagant and inconsiderate, of Hamilton and his friends. He had interviews and consultations with each of them separately, upon the subjects which they were to discuss together, in order to remove or to lessen beforehand their differences of opinion. He knew how to turn the merit, and the popularity of each with his own party, to the general good of the government, even to their own mutual advantage. He skilfully availed himself of every opportunity to employ them in a common responsibility. And when a disagreement too wide, and passions too impetuous, seemed to threaten an immediate rupture, he interposed, used exhortation and entreaty, and, by his personal influence, by a frank and touching appeal to the patriotism and right-mindedness of the two rivals, he at least postponed the breaking forth of the mischief, which he could not prevent." — *Ibid.*

Our limits do not permit us to accompany M. Guizot through the residue of his discourse, embracing, as it does, some of the most interesting topics in the history of the country during the administration of Washington. Our extracts, already made, will have answered the purpose which we have proposed to ourselves, in engaging the interest of our readers for the entire discourse. A single additional passage must bring our article toward a close.

"But who has succeeded like him? Who has seen his own success so near and so soon? Who has enjoyed, to such a degree and to the last, the confidence and gratitude of his country?

"Still, at the close of his life, in the delightful and honorable retirement at Mount Vernon, which he had so longed for, this great man, serene as he was, was inwardly conscious of a slight feeling of lassitude and melancholy, a feeling very natural at the close of a long life employed in the affairs of men. Power is an oppressive burden; and mankind are reluctant to be served, when one is struggling virtuously against their passions and their errors. Even success does not efface the sad impressions which the contest has given birth to; and the exhaustion, which succeeds the struggle, is still felt in the quiet of repose.

"The distaste of the most eminent men, and of the best among the most eminent, to taking part in public affairs, in a free democratic society, is an important fact. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, all ardently sighed for retirement. It would seem as if, in this form of society, the task of government

was too severe for men capable of comprehending its extent, and who are desirous of discharging the trust in a proper manner. Still, to such men alone this task is suited, and ought to be intrusted. Government will be, always, and everywhere, the greatest exercise of the faculties of man, and, consequently, that which requires minds of the highest order. It is for the honor, as well as for the interest, of society, that such minds should be drawn into the administration of its affairs, and retained there ; for there are no institutions, no securities, which can take their place. And, on the other hand, for men who are worthy of this destiny, all weariness, all sadness of spirit, however it might be permitted in others, is a weakness. Their vocation is labor. Their reward is, indeed, the success of their efforts, but still only in labor. Very often they die, bent under the burden, before the day of recompense arrives. Washington lived to receive it. He deserved and enjoyed both success and repose. Of all great men, he was the most virtuous and the most fortunate. In this world, God has not higher favors to bestow." — *Ibid.*

This weariness of public life, which was so early felt by Washington, and was equally expressed by Jefferson, when he retired from the Department of State, is a phenomenon worthy of the investigation of the philosopher and the patriot. Such is the greater simplicity of our forms of government, that it might be expected, that the task of administering public affairs would be proportionably easy and pleasant. Is not the effect precisely the reverse ? The natural and necessary effect of this simplicity is to give a political omnipotence to public opinion. To ascertain, to concentrate, and to guide opinion (except in calamitous times, when it is concentrated and directed by the irresistible force of events), is the difficult task of those who fill responsible stations in republican governments. There are, of course, always difficulties in wielding great organized powers. The task of the admiral of a fleet, or the commander of an army, is not light. Firm must be the heart, true the eye, steady the hand, which is to sway the thunderbolts of power. But if the commander, by sea or land, were compelled to consult the force under him, and take a vote as to every point of duty and every part of the service, his labors would immeasurably increase. While the despot rules at all, he rules with ease. He sits upon a magazine ;

but till it explodes, he governs empires with a nod. But to carry on the affairs of a mighty confederacy, organized under republican institutions, requires a study so vast, so profound, so untiring ; such a stretch of vigilance, such a versatility of attention, such a steadiness of labor ; that the disinterested and conscientious are speedily exhausted.

Then comes in the ferocity of party in free States ; the bitterness of detraction, which, since it spared not Washington, cannot be expected to spare any humbler name. To this unmitigated scourge of republican government, may be attributed, perhaps, more than to any other cause, the sadness and lassitude, which form the subject of M. Guizot's closing remarks. Whether there is any hope in the resources of modern civilization, that this foul spirit, which drove the ancient republics, and those of the Middle Ages, to madness, and which perpetrated the sickening horrors of the reign of terror in France, can be exorcized in our favored land, is a problem which coming ages must settle. For ourselves, we are strongly inclined to the bright side of the question. It is not possible, that Providence should destine this blessed inheritance of Christian liberty to that miserable failure, which has, in darker ages, overtaken our struggling race in its efforts to be free. We place an unshaken reliance in the ultimate triumph of goodness and truth. The diffusion of knowledge must have its natural effect of softening the hearts, while it enlightens the understandings, of men ; and we are persuaded, that, though the progress of improvement, in this respect, may be subject to those vicissitudes, which belong to all human things, — though we may, at times, under the pressure of the unremedied evil, think that we have fallen on worse days than our predecessors, — yet we have an undoubting faith, that, in the long course of events, this will prove to be an error, and that a calmer and happier growth of republican freedom, than has ever before been known, is gradually ripening on our soil.

We look, for some auspicious influence on its progress, to the kind action of enlightened minds in Europe. The voice of truth is rarely spoken with greater force, than when uttered by an impartial foreigner. No small portion of the malignity of our party conflicts, at a former period, was traceable to a direct foreign agency. There can rarely be a

motive for direct foreign interference in domestic politics; rarely a state of things when it is practicable. On the contrary, however, a generous tone of international politics, on the part of distinguished men in the three great free countries, is among the influences, which will most tend to break down, in all, the injustice of party prejudice, and redress the wrongs done by domestic factions. By this splendid eulogium on the character of Washington, M. Guizot has acquired a title to be regarded as a distinguished friend of the constitutional liberties of America. The position, to which he has been recently called, will enable him to exercise a happy influence over the public mind in England, and promote the kind feeling between that country and France, which has taken the place of the senseless animosities of other times and other institutions. Whatever has the effect, in however small a degree, to bring France, and England, and the United States, into a cordial and mutually cherished good understanding, while it promotes the domestic prosperity of each, will be powerfully operative in extending the civilization of the age, and hastening the diffusion of liberal institutions.

We cannot close this notice of M. Guizot's discourse, without saying a word of the American translation. The extracts, which we have taken from the discourse, will afford our readers a satisfactory specimen of the style in which the translation is executed. It is no easy task, to render into another language, with spirit and fidelity, a writer like M. Guizot; for, though he thinks with precision and expresses himself with clearness, (which are great aids to a translator,) he possesses the *curiosa felicitas*, in the choice of words, which can seldom be transfused. The American translator has, however, brought to his task a general intelligence; a capacity of penetrating the meaning of his author, and feeling the beauties of his style; a knowledge of the French language and a mastery of the English, which leave little to be desired.

ART. V. — *A Gazetteer of Illinois, in Three Parts; containing a General View of the State, a General View of each County, and a Particular Description of each Town, Settlement, Stream, Prairie, Bottom, Bluff, &c., alphabetically arranged.* By J. M. PECK, A. M., Author of a "New Guide for Emigrants," &c. Second Edition. Philadelphia, 1837.

IT is a singular circumstance in the early history of this country, that, at a time when the settlements on the Atlantic were yet few and isolated, struggling for existence against penury, sickness, and the hostility of the natives, and all along their western border lay a repulsive and unexplored wilderness, the enterprise of the French should have penetrated, by the way of the northern Lakes, to the country bordering on the Mississippi, and, more than a hundred and fifty years ago, established colonies, which have existed uninterrupted to the present day. In the villages of Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher, Cahokia, and their vicinity, are yet to be seen the descendants of the men, who followed La Salle, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, in his adventurous exploration of the course of the Mississippi. Here, in these regions of beauty and fertility, existed for many years, secluded from, and almost unknown to, the rest of the world, a community of as light-hearted and as mirth-loving individuals, as ever emigrated from the father land of mercurial spirits. At peace almost always with the Indians, whom they were content to defraud of their furs, without seeking to drive them from their country; basking under a genial climate, and deriving an easy subsistence from a soil fertile beyond all prior experience, the French of Illinois, for more than three quarters of a century, vegetated in colonies, which nothing but their indolence and love of ease prevented from rivalling those, in which the energy of the settlers on the Atlantic was laying the foundations of this republic.

An observer of the latter part of the seventeenth century, possessed of the most correct information with regard to this country, may well have doubted where, eventually, the strength of population would preponderate. On the one hand, the adventurers on the seaboard, though obliged to derive a support from a soil comparatively barren and unkind, and to contend

with the undying hostility of the natives, with the most disheartening sickness and mortality, possessed the advantage of more easy access to the mother country, and greater facilities for foreign commerce. On the other, the French colonists were in possession of the two natural outlets of the West, the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence. They had ingratiated themselves, by their facility of adaptation and careless ease of manner, with the Indians. They found a climate which, whatever it may have proved to other Europeans, was to them singularly congenial, and the kindliest and most fertile soil that was ever taxed for the support of man. In addition to all these advantages, the mother country, at different times, lavished large sums of money for their assistance, and her government was, to the last degree, kind and parental.

With these lights, would not such an observer have been justified in predicting, that the *cordon* of French settlements along the Mississippi and on the borders of the Lakes would increase and tighten, till it had forced the inhabitants on the other side of the Alleghanies into the sea, or compelled them to submission? And may we not now speculate upon the probability, that, had the circumstances of the rival nations, who were contending for this part of the continent, been reversed, the result would have been very different? Had the Anglo-Saxon emigrants originally penetrated to the lakes and ascended the Mississippi, may we not presume, that their dense and thriving communities in the West would soon have ousted the Frenchmen, who might have been hunting crabs, and eating oysters, on the shores of the ocean?

As it turned out, while the descendants of the English were toiling for a subsistence on the sands of Virginia, or on the bleak hills of New England, they were acquiring, at the same time, the habits of industry, the energy of character, and the love of independence, which carried them triumphantly through the war of the Revolution; the Frenchman, on the banks of the Mississippi, was dreaming away his life, happy, so long as the village musician would "pipe for him to dance," and only caring to vary its monotony by a trading voyage, up some of the branches of the great river, among the Indians, to whom he felt no repugnance to assimilate himself in manners and indolence.

There is, nevertheless, something captivating to the imagination, in the primitive simplicity of manners, and innocent

habits of these secluded colonists, in the refreshing contrast of their *insouciance* and easy contentment, with the busy, toiling, thriving generation which has succeeded them. Tormented by no longing for wealth, for office, or for conquest, they were content with the produce of their "common fields," and with the few foreign luxuries which their peltries (procured from the Indians) enabled them to obtain after a tedious voyage up the Mississippi. What was it to them, that the frantic ambition and insane vanity of the "grand monarque" was impoverishing and desolating their native land, and entailing bloody and ruinous wars on his imbecile successor; or that their fellow-colonists, on the borders of the St. Lawrence, or on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, were engaged in harassing conflicts with the English and Spaniards? The unpenetrated wilderness by which they were surrounded, was a barrier, which even the persevering hate of that deplorable period of universal war and violence could not surmount. And, while the demoniacal spirit, with which the discovery of the New World seems to have inspired the nations who participated in it, was displaying itself in the ferocious piracies and murders of the buccaneers of the West Indies, retaliating upon the Spaniards the cruelties which they had exercised upon the natives; in the perpetual wars between the eastern settlers and the Indians; and in the vindictive folly of the rival nations, who met in a new world (wide enough for them all) but to stain the wilderness with their blood, and to exhaust, in efforts for mutual extermination, the energy which would have been so much better expended in cultivating and peopling the country, — the sunshine of peace and happiness in this remote spot was unclouded. And, while we contemn the indolence, and laugh at the want of energy, of this unsophisticated people, we are forced to admit, that they were innocent and happy.

The first Europeans, who are known to have visited Illinois, were the French missionary Marquette and his companion Joliet, who, in the year 1673, descended the Mississippi, from the mouth of the Wisconsin to the mouth of the Arkansas, and, returning, entered the mouth of the Illinois, and explored that river to its source. La Salle was the first to establish colonies within its borders. In 1679, he led a small band of adventurers down the Illinois, and built Fort Crèvecœur, no vestige of which now remains. He returned to Canada, and revisited the country in 1683. Shortly afterwards, but pre-

cisely when is not known, the villages of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, &c., were founded on the banks of the Mississippi. La Salle afterwards descended that river, and discovered its mouth.* His efforts, during the remainder of his life, were mainly directed to the establishment of colonies in the vicinity of his new discovery on the Gulf of Mexico, and in endeavouring to accomplish this object he lost his life.

Of the subsequent history of the French villages in Illinois, down to the period of the cession of the country to England at the treaty of Paris, in 1763, but little is known. Doubtless much information might be gleaned from papers in the possession of the French government; and it is possible, that, as the curiosity of the people of the State shall become interested in their early history, an effort will be made to procure and publish such documents. At present, we know little more, than that they flourished, as has already been stated, in peace and in obscurity. Some of the villages attained to a respectable size, but they never seem to have desired to occupy and cultivate the country, manifesting a propensity (yet to be seen in the inhabitants of their native land) for assembling together in villages. A large enclosure in the vicinity, called "the common field," in which each inhabitant had a right to a certain designated portion, furnished them with such agricultural products as they chose to raise, and the tracts which belonged in commonalty to the town (no one having an exclusive right to any part of them), were their grazing ground. One circumstance, however, proves that the colonists had advanced beyond the providing only for their own subsistence and were able to export a surplus. They had commenced sending wine of a good quality, made from the wild grapes with which the country abounded, to France. But the French government, crazed by the success of Spain in discovering the precious metals in the New World, looked mainly to this object in founding its colonies, and, dreading the effect of the rivalry of a few poor colonists, five thousand miles off, upon the vineyards of France, expressly prohibited the importation of the Illinois wine!

The capture of Fort Massac shows, that the amicable intercourse of the French with the Indians was not entirely unin-

* Respecting Hennepin's claim to the honor of discovering the mouth of the Mississippi, see *North American Review*, Vol. XLVIII. pp. 78–81, XLIX. pp. 258 *et seq.*

terrupted. That fort had been erected on the Ohio river, near its mouth, and was taken by a singular stratagem. Some Indians, disguised in the skins of bears, appeared on the opposite side of the river, and imitated so successfully the motions of those animals, as to decoy the whole garrison out in pursuit of them. Another party of the savages, who had previously concealed themselves in the vicinity, took possession of the fort, and massacred all of its defenders. The name which is still given to the spot commemorates the catastrophe. But this appears to have been an isolated act of treachery, and was most probably perpetrated by some wandering band. We hear of no such difficulties with the settlements on the Mississippi.

We have already, in a previous article of the present Number, given some attention to the question what tribes of the aborigines were at this time in possession of the country.* We may further advert to the fact of the amicable intercourse of those tribes with the French, as militating against the claim of the Iroquois, or Six Nations, to the conquest of the whole country as far as the Mississippi ; for the devotion of that tribe to the English and their hostility to the French are a part of their history, which is well known, and forms a singular exception to the success, with which the latter nation generally cultivated the friendship of the aborigines.

The cession of the country to England in 1763, and her subsequent occupation of it in 1765, were so distasteful to the inhabitants, that many of them crossed the river, preferring the jurisdiction of Spain, to whom France relinquished about the same time her possessions on the west side of the Mississippi, then known by the general name of Louisiana. And their dislike of the change appears to have been justified by the conduct of the new commanders, and their myrmidons ; four of whom, in the short space of three years, each took pains to show to the inhabitants, the difference between the easy, parental rule of the old governors, and the arbitrary measures and insolent bearing, which so generally characterized the men, to whom England delegated her authority in the New World.

Great Britain, however, retained possession of this part of her new acquisitions but a short time. In 1778, George Rogers Clarke, at the head of a body of troops acting under

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* See pp. 57 *et seq.*

the authority of the State of Virginia, obtained possession of all the British posts on the Mississippi, as well as of Vincennes on the Wabash, accomplishing a feat, which, for the brilliancy of its conception, the hardships which were undergone, and the gallantry and perseverance with which they were overcome, may well rank among the most remarkable episodes recorded in the history of the Revolutionary war.* The importance of the acquisition and subsequent occupancy of these posts is not correctly appreciated at this day. There is no doubt but it is owing mainly to the fact of this occupancy, insisted on by our commissioners at the treaty of 1783, that Great Britain agreed to relinquish her claims to all the country north and west of the Ohio river. It was with no little surprise and mortification that we learned, at Washington, in the session of 1838–39, that the drafts of Clarke on the governor of Virginia, in favor of some of the inhabitants of this region, for sustenance furnished by them to his army, had been protested in that State, and were not yet paid by the government of the United States, to whom, since the cession of the territory by Virginia, application had been frequently made. We heard some of the most eloquent senators appealing to inattentive ears, for justice to the legal representatives of those, who, by the advancing of a few hundred dollars, enabled Clarke to maintain the little army, which conquered for this government a territory now containing nearly two millions of inhabitants. A melancholy tale was told of some of the original creditors, who, ignorant of our laws and language, had ventured across the wilderness and the mountains, to prefer their claims to the legislature of Virginia, where, wearied with delays, their small funds exhausted, they were supported several years, literally by the charity of some benevolent individuals; until the government of that State, convinced of the justice of their claims, but unable to meet them otherwise, discharged a part of the debt by a payment in slaves, horses, and tobacco.†

For many years subsequent to the Revolution, Illinois attracted but little attention. The legislature of Virginia, in 1778, organized there a county, to which they gave the name

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* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLIII. pp. 1 *et seq.*

† Remarks of Mr. Preston in the Senate, 22 January, 1839, on the bill for the relief of Pierre Menard, and others.

now borne by the State, and appointed a magistrate, whom they called a Lieutenant-Governor ; and, in 1784, they ceded it, with the rest of the Northwest Territory, to the United States.

If we hear but little of Indian disturbances in that territory, it is because there were but few settlements to suffer. We do not know of any difficulties, even yet, between the Indians and French, though the village of Peoria, inhabited by the latter nation, was abandoned in 1781, from apprehensions from that quarter, which proving unfounded, the inhabitants returned, and occupied the site till 1812, when it was destroyed by Captain Craig, of the Illinois militia. But, for the ten years succeeding 1786, the Kickapoos were hostile and troublesome to the American settlers, who were principally men engaged in the Indian trade, being some of the officers and soldiers who accompanied Clarke, and, pleased with the beauty of the country, had taken up their residence there. The benefits of the ordinance of the 13th of July, 1787, extended of course to Illinois, in common with the rest of the Northwest Territory.

After Wayne's treaty with the Indians, at Greenville, in 1795, the way seemed smoothed for the advance of population ; and, in 1798, the Turkey-Hill settlement was formed in St. Clair County, opposite St. Louis. Various other small settlements, about the same time, were made in the southern part of the Territory ; among the most remarkable of which was the establishment of a convent of monks, of the order of La Trappe, in 1806, on a mound, in the American bottom, opposite St. Louis, which is known as *Monks' Hill* to this day. They remained there till 1813, when they sold their possessions and returned to France.

In the year 1800, the Northwest Territory was separated into two divisions, the most western of which, comprising what we now call the States of Indiana and Illinois, went by the general name of Indiana. Within the limits of Illinois, there were, at that time, about 3000 people. In 1809, this portion of it was divided into the territories of Indiana and Illinois ; and, in the subsequent year, Illinois contained a population of 12,282. In 1812, in pursuance of the provisions of the act, which regulated the government of the Northwest Territory, Illinois entered upon what was called the second grade of territorial government, when

she was, for the first time, entitled to a legislature and a delegate to Congress.

This period brings us down to the time of the late war with Great Britain, and the concomitant struggles, between the citizens of the West and the Indians, along our whole northwestern frontier. In the summer following the battle of Tippecanoe (fought in October, 1811, before the declaration of war, which was not made till the 18th of June following), General Harrison, the governor of Indiana Territory, repaired to Kentucky, empowered by the war department to call upon the Governor for any portion of the contingent of the militia of that State, not in actual service, for the defence of Indiana and Illinois, and of this force he was authorized to take the command. The news of Hull's disasters at Detroit, however, changed the destination of Harrison, he having received, shortly afterwards, in compliance with the popular voice, the more important command of the army of the northwest, destined for Detroit and Malden.

The evacuation of Chicago, where Captain Heald had a very small garrison, was the inevitable result of Hull's surrender. Heald's little band was set upon, shortly after leaving the fort, on the 15th of August, 1812, by the Indians in the vicinity, who had hitherto appeared friendly, and the most of them were massacred ; he himself, with his wife and lieutenant, escaping almost by miracle. This circumstance greatly alarmed the governor of the Territory, the late Ninian Edwards ; and he was pertinacious in demanding troops of the government for the protection of a wide frontier, which he naturally concluded these events would leave unprotected. His efforts, however, were singularly unsuccessful. We have seen, that the general, intended to command upon that frontier, had received another appointment. Colonel Barbour's regiment of Kentucky volunteers, directed by Governor Shelby to proceed to Kaskaskia, was ordered by General Gibson, acting governor of Indiana, in the absence of Governor Harrison, to Vincennes, where a recent attack by the Indians on Fort Harrison, a post further up on the Wabash, had created great consternation. Governor Edwards's earnest intreaties prevailed upon the Secretary of War to order to his assistance Colonel R. M. Johnson's mounted regiment. But that officer had hardly started on his march,

when orders were received at head-quarters, countermanding him, and directing him to rejoin the main army under Harrison. The Governor was thus again disappointed ; nor, as it appeared, did the disasters, which he apprehended, follow from the absence of the troops. The fact was, that the concentration of the British army in the vicinity of Detroit, drew around it, by the distribution of provisions, presents, and whisky, the more troublesome and vagrant of the different tribes ; and the gangs of desperadoes, whom the Scotchman, Dickson, had gathered from the nations on the heads of the Illinois, and from around Prairie du Chien, after loitering awhile about Chicago, to the additional alarm of Governor Edwards, went off in the same direction to the aid of Proctor and their British allies.

Governor Edwards himself, in company with Colonel Russell of Indiana, in the autumn of 1812, made an incursion to the north, at the head of about four hundred men, and destroyed and plundered a Kickapoo village on Lake Peoria, killing about twenty of the warriors who defended it. At about the same time, General Hopkins, of Indiana, at the head of about two thousand mounted riflemen, started from Vincennes, intending to join Governor Edwards, and make a general attack upon the Kickapoos ; but the blunders of their guides, and their own ignorance of the country, discouraged the party, and they returned without having approached nearer to the country than sixty or seventy miles. The capture of Prairie du Chien, in 1813, where Governor Clarke, of St. Louis, had established in the spring a small force, was a serious calamity, as it left the northern frontier of Illinois still more exposed to the depredations of the savages ; but of the petty expeditions to which it gave rise we have no details. Fort Madison, which had been built on the west bank of the Mississippi, some six or eight miles above the lower Rapids, after having successfully resisted an attack of the Indians, was abandoned as being too remote from the settlements ; and Fort Edwards was erected at the foot of the Rapids, on the Mississippi, and Fort Clarke, at the outlet of Lake Peoria, on the Illinois.* The

* McAfee's *History of the late War in the Western Country*, passim. McAfee expresses his regret, that the correspondence and papers, forwarded to him by the governor himself, arrived too late to be made use of, in compiling his history. His account of the transactions in Illinois, during the

latter was long since destroyed, and on its site stands the flourishing town of Peoria. Fort Edwards is still standing, and overlooks the infant city of Warsaw.

Shortly after the war, public attention began to be directed decidedly towards this State. Up to this time, the settlements had been few and scattering, hardly perceptible upon the map of the southern part of the Territory, to which they were confined, the finest portion of it, in the centre and to the north, being utterly uninhabited. The act of Congress (of May, 1812,) bestowing three millions of acres, in the tract of country lying between the Mississippi and Illinois rivers, in bounties to the officers and soldiers of the late war, which has given to this region the name of the *Military Bounty Tract*, was the means of attracting attention to that quarter, while, at the same time, it seriously retarded its prosperity. The country was surveyed, and glowing accounts of its beauty and fertility were published.

Capitalists stood ready to buy of the patentees their claims to land, which was too far off for them to reach, and which, if on the spot, they had no means of cultivating. They sold their claims for a pittance ; and government parted with its land without benefiting the soldiers, and entailed, at the same time, a lasting injury upon the Bounty Tract, by placing the titles to the land in the hands of individuals residing at a distance, generally out of the knowledge of the settler, who, after ascertaining the owner of a given tract, could frequently get of him only a defective title ; while, in most of the other parts of the State, the government land offices allowed the securing of land with an indisputable title, in the simplest and easiest manner. This is only one of the many instances, which could be given of the folly of interfering, in any way, with the regular disposition of the public domain under the system as now organized ; a system, which, if not perfect, approaches perfection so nearly, that all attempts at alteration have resulted in mischief. We mean this eulogium upon the system to embrace all its parts ; and we are firmly persuaded, that any diminution or graduation of the price of the public lands, whether immediate or prospective, will be of no benefit to the settler, while it will tend to throw open the door to fraud and speculation, which has been so ef-

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war, are more meagre than of those in any other part of the Northwest. We are not aware, that any use has been made of these documents.

fectually closed by the present system of prices and cash payments. Thus much *par parenthèse*. We return to our subject.

Among the more remarkable efforts which were made, after the war, to promote settlements in Illinois, was the attempt of Morris Birkbeck, an Englishman of property, who, in 1817, settled in Edwards County, on the Wabash. He published a small volume of letters, written principally to his friends in England, setting forth, in strong terms, his admiration of his new location ; and, among other grounds for gratulation, he dwells, with no little emphasis, upon the exemption from the tythes and taxes, the payment of which, he avers, in the old country, was altogether distasteful. His death (he was drowned in attempting to ford a swollen stream) put an end to his projects. The name of *Albion*, the seat of justice for the county, is commemorative of his country. In 1819, some sea-captains established themselves in Madison County ; and their neighbourhood still bears the name of the *Marine Settlement*. But it was not by the efforts of individuals, however respectable or influential, that this great State was to be peopled.

In 1818, she was admitted into the Union ; and, about that time, the tide of emigration set decidedly for the new State ; a tide which has known no ebb, but which has flowed on with an annually increasing current, till it has poured over her prairies a population of half a million. For a series of years following the year 1819, the roads, from the mountains of Virginia and North Carolina, and across the States of Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio, were lined with wagons, conveying emigrants and their *plunder*, who would announce, that their destination was the Sangamon country. By this name, which is now confined to a single county, was designated that remarkably fertile tract, to the south of the Illinois river, comprised in the counties of Tazewell, Sangamon, Cass, Morgan, and Greene ; and, long before the land sales which took place in 1823, this region was occupied by a large population, and had many fine farms. It was a little later than this period, that the rush from New England took place ; but, their attention once directed to this quarter, that shrewd people were not slow to perceive and avail themselves of its advantages ; and whereas the emigrants, of whom we have just been speaking, came in their wagons,

with their wives and families and "much cattle," it seemed as if the stages and steamboats, by lake and river, were about to discharge upon the prairies "the universal Yankee nation."

We presume, that the population of no one of the States represents so fully the different sections of the Union. In the southern parts of the State, the mass of the inhabitants are from Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. In the centre, there is a pretty even mixture of people from these States with New-Englanders; and in the north the latter, including under this head settlers from New York, altogether preponderate.* We do not think, that sectional prejudices were ever very bitter. They were, to be sure, much stronger in early times than at present, and for many years the Kentucky or southern interest was decidedly in the ascendant; but that the times have changed, in this respect, we may well conclude from the fact, that, at the general election in 1838, the northern district gave nearly ten thousand more votes than both the others, comprising the middle and southern portions of the State combined. Indeed, the many beautiful villages, that are springing up in this region, partake so strongly of the New England character, that a citizen from that part of the country may feel himself at home in any part of it.

As a proof how far the growth of this portion of the State has outstripped the anticipations of the most sanguine, we will mention one circumstance, out of the many that occur to us. We had it from the lips of one of the early adventurers. He had sought the State with no other capital than his own shrewdness and capacity for labor, and, becoming dissatisfied with his original location, was about removing to a more favored spot, some forty or fifty miles further off on the frontier. When one of the fathers of the settlement he was about to leave, endeavouring to dissuade him from his project, asserted, that he would not have a neigh-

* The French population is so small, and is confined so entirely to their original villages, as hardly to be reckoned in classifying the population of the State. The very names that they bestowed, have been so strangely caricatured, that it requires no little philological acumen to trace some of them back to their origin. For instance, the *Marais d'Ogée* has become *Meredosia;* the *Mauvaise Terre* creek is the *Movistar; Chenal écarté, Snicarty; Au Kas, Okau;* and *Bon pas prairie* is cacophonized into *Bumpare,* &c. &c.

bour in twenty years, our young adventurer, rather warmed by the spirit of opposition, than with a genuine faith in his own prophecy, boldly predicted, that, in less than that time, his new settlement would support a printing press. A little more than half the prescribed time had elapsed, when two rival establishments were printing there, each of them, that respectable vehicle of news and venom, a party newspaper ; — their respective editors hating each other as cordially, abusing each other as roundly, and deriving, from the publicity of such doings, as comfortable an assurance of importance, as though they were moving in an older and a wider sphere ; and the prophetic adventurer could, from his spacious mansion, in the midst of his own domains, overlook a city of nearly three thousand inhabitants.

The progress of the whole northern part of the State was simultaneous. It seemed as though nothing could check it. Were the times at the East prosperous, hundreds, who had acquired a small property, came here to secure and enlarge it, while capitalists were anxious to invest their money where they were taught to look for an increase, more rapid than cent per cent. Were times *hard*, still more rushed to the West, to save the remnants of their fortunes, or to reëstablish themselves and their families in a country too new to have felt the reverses of the times.

A few years before the period of which we have just been speaking, many of the inhabitants, on the Ohio, had acquired a reputation, altogether unenviable, for lawlessness ; which gave to the whole population around them a character scarcely merited by the community at large. "The cave in the rock," was not the only receptacle for outlaws in that neighbourhood. The vicinity of the Mississippi, and the ease with which they could escape to the rough and uninhabited country opposite, both in Missouri and Kentucky, made the tier of counties, on the Ohio river, a favorite resort for several desperate gangs of counterfeiters and horse-thieves. It was to rid themselves of these desperadoes, that the inhabitants resorted to a measure, always at variance with the principles of civilized governments, and ever liable to the worst abuse ; we allude to the operations of the *regulators*, as they were then called ; whose proceedings, under the name of *Lynch Law*, have of late become painfully familiar to the public ear.

A plea, ever ready on such occasions, of the urgency of the case, and the inefficacy of the laws, could, to be sure, be urged here with some show of plausibility. But the outrages, perpetrated under its sanction, were not less flagrant, and their influence upon the character of the people not less evil, than they have been and ever will be, wherever carried on, and by whatever authority upheld. A troublesome or a vicious neighbour was, to be sure, often banished from the settlement; but the violence, by which it was accomplished, left a stain upon the community not easily effaced, and held out no inducements to peaceful and orderly emigrants to venture where what should be the penalties of the law were so freely inflicted without its sanction. A mistaken infliction of punishment, during which the leader of one of these bands was killed by the aggrieved party, tended as much, perhaps, as any other circumstance, to bring the whole system into disrepute; and, for many years, the administration of the law has been as regular here as in any part of the State.

Of the primitive dispensation of justice, during the transition-state, just as the administration of regularly appointed dispensers of law had succeeded to the discipline of the *regulators*, many curious particulars could be gathered. A citizen of the State, afterwards distinguished in its councils, and well known for his eccentricity of character, used to relate the following instance, which fell under his own observation. Hearing a disturbance, about bed-time, in the streets of a small town, where he was stopping for the night, he went out, and ascertained, that it was occasioned by the arrest of a peripatetic philosopher, whose ideas about the rights of property had become confused, and who, while under the influence of the hallucination, had opened the strong box of one of the inhabitants, and abstracted from it certain valuable contents. It happened, that the magistrate, before whom he was taken, was not, whatever may have been his other qualifications, "learned in the law"; and, moreover, he had never before had occasion to try his hand upon a culprit. He had provided himself, however, with a copy of the statutes, and, as the evil star of the present offender ordered, had opened at the chapter, affixing the pains and penalties to various crimes and misdemeanors. Finding that, to those guilty of offences such as the one in question,

had been meted out a certain number of stripes upon the back,* our worthy magistrate, totally overlooking the necessity of the preliminary steps of committal, trial, and conviction, simply observing, that there appeared no doubt of the prisoner's guilt (the *corpus delicti*, in the shape of a bag of dollars, being found in his possession), read to him the sentence of the court in the words of the statute, and ordered the constable, forthwith, to see it carried into execution; a mandate which that functionary lost no time in obeying, a neighbouring thicket furnishing the appliances. And long before daylight the soundly-cudgelled, if not penitent, thief was pursuing his course down the river, not caring, we may well suppose, again to infringe the laws, where their penalties were so promptly administered.

A circumstance not to be omitted, in the history of Illinois, though our limits will allow but a cursory notice of it, is the chartering of the old State bank, at the session of 1820–21. The radical defect in the charter of this bank was, that the State was the sole stockholder, and upon its credit the notes of the bank were issued. Loans, exceeding the amount of one hundred dollars, were required to be secured upon real estate. All experience has shown, that such connexion of the financial affairs of a State with banking operations must fail to secure public confidence. The notes of the Bank of Illinois, representing nothing but the credit of a new and very remote State, failed at once of acquiring any distant circulation, and rapidly depreciated in value even at home, where they sunk as low as fifty cents on the dollar, and but that they were received in payment of taxes, must ultimately have become entirely valueless. The legislature, however, very prudently resolved, that one class of the community, at all events, should not be sufferers by this depreciation; for, at the session of 1822–3, they enacted, that the pay of the Speaker of each house, which, up to that time, had been five dollars, should be increased to nine dollars per diem; while each member of the legislature, whose allowance had been three dollars and fifty cents, was allowed to fix the amount of his own compensa-

* This mode of punishment was much in vogue in early times, when jails were not so abundant as hickory saplings, and a diligent application of the one was thought, perhaps, to be as efficacious as incarceration in the other.

tion, by handing in a written rescript at the clerk's table, provided he did not estimate his services at a higher rate than seven dollars per diem ; and the rate of mileage, which had stood at three dollars and fifty cents for twenty miles, was advanced to seven dollars. Their provident care, however, ceased with these provisions ; for we do not learn, that the salaries of the officers of government received any addition ; and a judge of the Supreme Court, for example, found his allowance of six hundred dollars per annum juggled down to three by the inverted alchemy of this financial operation. As brighter times began to dawn, this paper was gradually called in, and it has long since, all of it, been redeemed and destroyed.

In 1826, the miners, who were digging lead ore, in the northwest part of the State, upon land which the Indians contended that they had never ceded, were alarmed by hostile demonstrations on the part of the Winnebagoes. A chief, called Red Bird, and his band, killed one white man ; and a keel-boat, descending the Mississippi, was fired upon, without, however, any injury being done to the crew. A small force of United States troops, sufficient to quell this petty disturbance (dignified, in the language of the miners, by the name of "the Winnebago War"), took into custody the murderers. The agreement of 1828, made by Governor Cass and Pierre Menard at Green Bay, and the treaty afterwards concluded at Prairie du Chien, in 1829, by Messrs. Menard, Atwater, and General McNeil, resulted in the purchase of the claims of the Chippeways, Ottawas, Potowotamies, and Winnebagoes, to the tract of country, extending, on the east side of the Mississippi, from the upper end of Rock Island to the mouth of the Wisconsin.

In the year 1831, the disturbance broke out, commonly known as the "Black-Hawk War." In the long list of wrongs and oppressions, endured by the Indians at the hands of the whites, we know of none less defensible in its origin, or less creditable in its progress, than this. A more wanton disregard of Indian rights, we do believe, was never manifested, than in the steps which gave rise to it ; more detestable poltroonery, or more cruel injustice, has seldom been seen, than marked its advance and termination ; and the same reckless expenditure of public money and waste of property, which seem inevitably to characterize similar trans-

actions everywhere else, signalized this. A few words will suffice to explain the grounds, and to give the history, of this transaction, and to show, whether the censure we have bestowed be merited.

By the treaty of 1804, made at St. Louis, the Sac and Fox Indians sold to the United States a large tract of country on both sides of the Mississippi river, including the country which was the scene of this war ; but, inasmuch as the nation was but a handful even then, a stipulation in the same treaty allowed them the privilege of "*living* and hunting on these lands." Under the sanction of this stipulation, Black Hawk and his party, commonly known as "the British band," had continued to occupy their village, at the mouth of Rock River, and to cultivate their fields, which were unusually large and productive. While thus living, under the solemn sanction of this treaty, without any warning given, or any complaint made of intrusion or trouble, — for they were notoriously peaceable, and the white settlements had not yet advanced within fifty miles, — orders were suddenly given for selling a few detached sections of land on Rock River, the most valuable of which were covered by their lodges and cornfields. Immediately after their sale, thus made, without the knowledge of Black Hawk, the whites commenced taking possession, and the Indians found themselves intruded upon, their fields and lodges sometimes occupied, and occasionally destroyed. But, even under these circumstances, they committed no act of hostility ; they even made no effort to resist aggression, but remained, with a dogged resolution not to quit their houses and the graves of their fathers, till they were forcibly expelled. But this was, it seems, enough to excite the apprehensions of the State authorities. The governor wrote forthwith to the Indian agent at St. Louis, and to the major-general at Jefferson Barracks, informing them, in mock heroics, that the State was invaded by blood-thirsty savages, that he had ordered out seven hundred of the militia of the State (a force, by the way, fully double the number of fighting men in Black Hawk's band), and that he was determined to put them, dead or alive, on the west side of the Mississippi. Receiving information, that companies of regular troops were on their way to the scene of disturbance, he put himself at the head of the militia thus ordered out, determined to coöperate with the

United States troops in expelling this murderous band, who were, all the while, peaceably occupied in their village, raising the usual crops. For it must be borne in mind, that, throughout the whole of this campaign, the Indians were guilty of no act of aggression, if we except from this general policy of non-resistance, a single deed of Black Hawk, who, with a few of his men, at the imminent risk of producing collision and bloodshed, went to a cabin, and rolled out and destroyed a barrel of whisky which a white man was selling.

Not the least singular feature in this business, and it is one not to be passed over in its history, is, that Black Hawk had offered, and his offer was duly reported to the agent in St. Louis, for six thousand dollars, to relinquish, for himself and his tribe, all claim to a right of residence on the east side of the Mississippi. Thus, for the paltry sum of six thousand dollars, less by far than the value of their possessions at the village, the United States had an opportunity of purchasing of the Sacs their relinquishment, not only of the village in dispute, but of their reserved right, under the treaty of 1804, of living and hunting anywhere in the whole country ceded by that treaty. His offer was rejected. The militia and regulars united, a short distance below Rock Island, and advanced, the regulars by water, the militia by land, upon the village. The Indians made no show of resistance. They had retired across the Mississippi ; their town was occupied by the troops ; their cabins were burned, and their cornfields destroyed. We have heard more than one eyewitness describe the neatness of their houses, the flourishing appearance of their fields, the richness and beauty of their blue grass pastures, and the wanton destruction wrought upon them in a few hours. General Gaines, shortly afterwards, concluded with them one of those transactions, which are pleasantly enough, in our histories and by our government, nicknamed *treaties*, wherein they consented, not being able to help themselves, to abandon this much-loved spot, and confine themselves to the west bank of the Mississippi. Thus, the campaign of this season, though it commenced in injustice, and terminated in oppression, closed without bloodshed. Blood, however, was destined to flow before the struggle was finally closed.

For the proceedings of Black Hawk the next season,

in 1832, we have never been able satisfactorily to account. He was dissatisfied with the compulsory treaty, which forced him to remain and starve (his crops of corn and beans having been destroyed) on the west of the Mississippi. But with a mere handful of men (for the feeble efforts he made to procure the aid of other tribes entirely failed), in a country so open, presenting no impenetrable thickets nor any impassable swamps to shelter him from the pursuit of the overwhelming force which he must have known would swarm around him, to have attempted a hostile invasion would seem to indicate the last writhings of imbecile despair. In fact, though he recrossed the Mississippi, and ascended Rock River, contrary to his agreement in the hard bargain forced upon him the past season, yet, as his band was accompanied by their women and children, and as they committed, until attacked, no overt act of hostility, we may conclude, that the statement, made by himself and his fellow-chiefs, is true; that they hoped, by their pertinacious adherence to the territory, which they considered had been most unjustly wrung from them, to manifest the sense of the wrong, and perhaps prevail upon our government to give them some compensation for their property, which had been destroyed. Or, at any rate, they thought they would be allowed to join a band of Winnebagoes on the head waters of the Illinois, and raise with them a crop of corn.

Certain it is, that, even at this late day, it would have been extremely easy to quiet the disturbance, by the payment of their just demands, and by the exercise of a little forbearance. And let it not be said, that, having violated their agreements and invaded our territory, it was beneath the dignity of the nation to treat with them until after unconditional submission. Considering their wrongs and their utter insignificance in point of strength, it is nothing less than farcical, to talk of maintaining the dignity of the government. It might answer the purpose of patriots aspiring to popularity, of demagogues seeking office, or of adventurers craving excitement, to talk loudly of the invasion of our territory, and the necessity of punishing the intruders. But the nation would have been saved an additional stain upon its character, a wanton waste of blood, and expenditure of money, if the dictates of magnanimity, of humanity, and of justice, had been listened to, and this poor, deluded band of half-starved

savages had been counselled with, their demands listened to, and a trifle, in money and food, given them, to procure their removal across the Mississippi. We have no intention of going into the details of this campaign. Our limits will not allow it, and the transactions are too recent, some of them too discreditable, to be spoken of with the coolness and impartiality of history.* We can only state, that, after chasing the fugitive band over the northern part of the State, utterly refusing, at all times, to receive their flags of truce (of which several were sent to beg a conference, and which were, constantly, either fired upon, or otherwise maltreated), the united forces, regulars and militia, at the battle of the *Bad Axe*, drove them literally into the Mississippi, shooting, destroying, and *scalping*, without mercy or remorse.

Of the spirit, which animated some of the leaders in these affairs, we may judge from the fact, that the commander-in-chief of the militia in this campaign had, during the previous season, while commanding a company of pioneers, given his men orders to kill, without ceremony, any Indian who might approach them, no matter what might be his tribe, or what his errand, with or without a white flag.

Black Hawk was taken. The campaign was ended. Fairly-worded and grandiloquent reports were forwarded to the proper departments. The high officers met in treaty with the captive Indians, and six millions of acres of fertile land, on the west of the Mississippi, were added to the domain of the United States. In due time the Secretary of War transmitted his own and the President's approval of these transactions, and there the matter rests.

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* For instance, the affair known as *Stillman's Defeat*, or *Stillman's Race;* where a large body of mounted riflemen fled, panic struck, before less than one fourth of their number of Indians, who, when the rangers came in sight, had no intention of fighting, and had actually sent to them a flag of truce, requesting a conference. The bearers of the flag, after being taken prisoners, were fired upon, and one of their number killed. Afterwards, when a part of the main body of the Indians, (not exceeding forty or fifty, their own number being two hundred and seventy-five,) came in sight, the whole detachment took to flight, leaving those of their number, whose horses were not of the fleetest, to the mercy of the Indians; who, enraged at their treachery, and encouraged by their poltroonery, butchered some ten or a dozen, while the officers and men vied in their efforts to reach the camp of the main army, at some thirty miles' distance; a space, which the best mounted overcame at a speed which would have won them renown at a steeple chase. But there is no incentive to speed like the pursuit of fierce and vindictive savages.

The tragedy was followed by a farce. Black Hawk and some of his fellow-chiefs, after having been ignominiously and cruelly loaded with chains, were all at once set at liberty, and paraded in a progress, which soon became triumphal, through the Eastern States. They were the lions of the day; all, even the ladies, vieing for the honor of a notice from him and his handsome son. We cannot dismiss the subject, without expressing our inability to understand the policy which dictated the show, or our astonishment at the taste, which made it the vogue.

Black Hawk sleeps in death, but not with his fathers. A city is growing up over their graves, where soon no vestige will remain of what was once the favored residence and the burial-ground of this luckless tribe. We are tempted to repeat the exclamation of the most patient of men, "O that mine enemy had written a book!" Could this untutored son of the forest have committed his thoughts and his experience to paper, he might have left behind him a valuable legacy, in which our people could read a lesson, unpalatable but wholesome, of broken faith, of cowardice, of usurpation, and of wanton aggression, which might moderate, occasionally, our self-gratulation and complacency.*

It is hardly in the nature of things, that hostile Indians should ever again invade the territory of Illinois; for, since these events, she has ceased to be a frontier State. The tide of emigration has rolled onward, bearing before it the relics of the Indian tribes, who would now have to penetrate, before they could reach her borders, a country as large, and as thickly peopled, as was Illinois in 1832.

The State of Illinois, whose history we have thus briefly sketched, is bounded on the north by the Territory of Wisconsin; east by Lake Michigan, and the States of Indiana and Kentucky; south by the latter State; and west by the State of Missouri, and the Territory of Iowa. It extends north and south from 37° to 42° 30′ north latitude, and east and west from 10° 32′ to 14° 33′ longitude west from Washington city. Its extreme length is three hundred and

* See *The Life and Adventures of Black Hawk, with Sketches of Keokuck, the Sac and Fox Indians, and the late Black-Hawk War*, by Benjamin Drake. Cincinnati. 1839; a work, which, for the soundness of its principles, and the independence with which they are expressed, deserves a better dress than the publisher has given it.

eighty miles ; its breadth in the north is about one hundred and forty-five miles, but extends in the centre to two hundred and twenty miles, whence it contracts towards the south to a narrow point. The area of the whole State, including that part of Lake Michigan belonging to it, is about fifty-nine thousand square miles, of which fifty thousand square miles, or thirty-two millions of acres, are considered to be capable of cultivation.

A glance at the maps of the United States will show, that, though placed in the very heart of the interior, no State in the Union has such facilities for navigation around and through it. This will be more clearly perceived, when it is known, that of eleven hundred and sixty miles, which is the extent of the circumference of the State, eight hundred and fifty-five miles are navigable waters. It is penetrated, besides, by rivers allowing a steamboat navigation of five hundred miles. Most of these waters afford the best and most permanent navigation in the West. It is only necessary to mention the Mississippi, with a depth and volume of water enough to float the commerce of the world ; but there is besides, the Ohio, which, for nearly the whole space in which it washes the shores of Illinois, affords some months more of navigation, than it offers to the States nearer to its sources. The Wabash on the east, and the Illinois river in the centre, can either of them, but more especially the latter, boast of a navigation as easy, as safe, and as permanent, as the Ohio itself. And Lake Michigan, on the northeast, enables it to participate in the advantages of the northern outlet.

We very much doubt whether a spot can be found on the globe, remote from the ocean, furnishing any thing like the same amount of natural commercial advantages. When it is considered, in addition, that its position is between the 37th and 43d degree of north latitude, the climate best adapted for developing the energies, and most favorable to the constitution, of man, and that its soil is of unsurpassed and inexhaustible fertility, nothing would seem to be wanting but a wise and virtuous government, to fill it with a population dense, affluent, and happy. The destinies of the State are in the hands of its inhabitants.

The prairies constitute the most striking feature in the appearance of Illinois. Few of our readers but have read (many of them, perhaps, *usque ad nauseam*) accounts, varied accord-

ing to the ingenuity of the writers, of these magnificent natural lawns ; but we can assure those who may never have looked upon them for themselves, that they can form no idea of the feelings, with which they would probably contemplate for the first time the unique and placid beauties of a prairie landscape. It is not our intention to enter the lists ourselves with an attempt to indite any thing like a description. We lately heard a great statesman, whose intercourse with, and mastery over, men had not blunted his perception of the beauties of nature, sum up his admiration of these scenes (whence he had recently returned) by declaring, that he had never beheld any thing, which so completely realized his conceptions of beauty and fertility.

It has been thought, however, that these same prairies, how much soever they may add to the beauty of the landscape, and notwithstanding the richness of their soil, are serious impediments to the settlement of the country. Ten years ago, this objection was urged much more zealously than at present ; for, in that space of time, many a prairie has been converted into farms, upon which the doubters of early times predicted that no settler would ever venture ; and in ten years more, that such an objection ever existed will be matter of tradition. In fact, a simple calculation would always have shown that it is cheaper, in the proportion of three to one, to transport fencing timber five miles (which is the utmost distance, that in nine-tenths of the prairies would be necessary), than to clear the heavily timbered land of most of the other Western States ; while the coal, with which the whole State abounds, precludes all apprehension from scarcity of fuel. We here leave out of view, what is nevertheless a well known fact, that the timber is increasing faster than the population. The precautions, taken by the settlers against fires, enable the undergrowth, which annual burnings had kept down, to grow and extend ; and, in fact, the rapid and pertinacious growth of some of the less valuable kinds of timber becomes frequently a nuisance, against which the farmer has to contend. If the sod of a piece of prairie be turned up, and it be not afterwards cultivated (we speak from actual observation), a few years will see a growth of thrifty young timber covering the spot, whose seeds the tough sward and the fires had prevented from vegetating.

In the discussion as to the origin of these prairies, we have no desire to participate, believing, that, though much has been

written, little is known about it. Whether, as some have contended, the whole continent was originally one vast prairie, upon which our lofty and apparently primeval forests are intruders; or whether the autumnal fires have deprived these plains of the wood with which they were originally covered, are questions upon which we will not venture to decide, being willing, after the example of Sir Roger, to allow, that "much may be said on both sides." They form by far the larger part of the surface of the State, and are of every variety of size, from twenty miles to half a mile in diameter, being much larger and more abundant in the north and middle, than in the southern parts of the State. Their surface is hardly ever flat, excepting in the *bottoms*, and seldom too undulating for cultivation.

The soil of Illinois is based upon the same secondary limestone formation, that underlies a great part of what is commonly called the Mississippi valley. Though never seen on the surface proper, it lies sufficiently near to be exposed by the action of the streams, to the vicinity of which the inhabitants have recourse for stone.

The bottom lands, created, so to speak, by the streams of the West, generally form a striking feature in the face of the country. In proportion to the size of the stream, is in general the extent of these alluvial deposits. Of their importance, in an estimate of the varieties of soil in this State, we may form some opinion from the facts, that there is no stream that is not skirted in this manner; and that the larger rivers, the Mississippi, the Illinois, the Kaskaskia, and the Wabash, have alluvions on their borders of from one to eight miles in width, much of which is now fit for cultivation, and all of which will be made so, whenever the value of the land will justify the expense of a very moderate amount of embankment. The soil, we need hardly add, is of exuberant fertility.

The most remarkable tract of this description is the *American Bottom*, opposite St. Louis, a name which it received when it formed the western boundary of the United States. This extends from the mouth of the Kaskaskia to a point opposite the mouth of the Missouri, a space of more than eighty miles, containing two hundred and eight-eight thousand acres. It was to this beautiful and fertile spot, that the early French settlers first resorted. Here they established all their villages.

Whether the miasmata, from the swamps and lagoons with which the bottom abounds, and which are regularly filled with water at every rise of the Mississippi, and then left to stagnate and corrupt, with the rank vegetation that fringes and covers them, ever produced among the French people the same diseases with which they afflict the emigrants of all other nations, we have no means of ascertaining. Certain it is, that, at present, the exemption of the French from intermittent fevers and agues is entire and enviable. And, could we suppose the honest-hearted creole capable of so selfish or unkind a feeling, we have often fancied, that he might laugh with great contentment, as he smoked his short pipe and ate his gumbo, in defiance of the noxious effluvia, which had prostrated three-fourths of all the strangers who had ventured into his neighbourhood.

It has been, unfortunately, too much the case, not only in this State, but throughout the West, that emigrants, seduced by the exuberant fertility of these wide alluvions, have so often selected them for their residence ; and the diseases, which almost invariably punish this deviation from the rules of prudence and common sense, have given to the country at large a reputation for insalubrity, which, we are persuaded, it would never have acquired, had the early settlers consulted less their cupidity, than their health, in making settlements.

As a proof of the durability, as well as fertility, of these soils, we may mention, that fields around Kaskaskia have been planted, since the first settlement of the place (without intermission, and without manure), with Indian corn, one of the most exhausting of crops, without any perceptible diminution in the product.* As there are none of these bottoms but may be drained of the stagnant water, which is now the whole cause of their sickliness, the time will come, when their natural advantages, among which we must not forget their proximity to navigation, will cause them to be covered with a denser population than any other part of the West. Neither do we speak altogether in this matter, without the advantage of precedent. Cincinnati is now no-

* " Sir, to leave things out of a book, merely because people tell you they will not be believed, is meanness." — *Dr. Johnson*, as reported by Boswell. Encouraged by this *dictum*, we will state, and are prepared to prove, that parsnips have been taken from the ground, in a garden in Kaskaskia, six feet in length!

toriously one of the healthiest cities on our continent; yet we have it on the authority of one of her oldest citizens (who may truly say, *Pars magna fui*, as to all the wonderful changes which have passed around him), that the swamps and frog-ponds around old Fort Washington filled the chambers and lofts of the then petty village with an abundance of feverish and shaking sufferers.* The bluffs, which skirt these low-lands, generally abound in springs, and they are, consequently, better watered, than most other parts of the State.

The character of the uplands, which form, of course, the great body of the State, varies astonishingly little. A small section of country in the south is rough and hilly; other portions, in the north, are flat and boggy; but, as a whole, the country may be said to be gently undulating; the highest and smoothest land being in the centre of the prairies, from whence there is a gradual fall to the rougher timbered lands, which almost invariably skirt the streams. As these prairies are most easily brought under cultivation, so are they generally the richest land; the soil upon them varying in depth from one to four feet. This soil indicates, by its color, the fertility for which it has become proverbial. It is a black and friable mould, freely intermixed with sand, and is exceedingly easy to work, or, in agricultural phrase, *kindly*. A soil so loose, that one horse will suffice to draw the plough through it; which crumbles to pieces as it is turned over; in which no stone is ever encountered to impede the plough, or jar the ploughman, needs only the crowning glory of the *lætæ segetes*, which will wave over it in due season, to realize all that can be asked of a "land of promise." It has as yet, in no instance that we have seen, given evidence of impoverishment from use or abuse. Whenever manure shall be needed (and we are not prepared to say, but that it would, even now, pay the farmer for applying it), lime, which is everywhere easily attainable, will be found most efficacious.

The whole face of the country is covered with a luxuriant growth of natural grass, which, though nutritious, and abundantly serviceable to the early settlers, can never be depended upon for permanent use. It is late in coming forward in the spring, and the first frosts of autumn destroy its sub-

* Judge Burnet's *Letters*. Historical Society of Ohio.

stance, and reduce it to a harsh and combustible straw. A very moderate amount of pasturing, moreover, utterly eradicates it. Artificial grasses have, however, succeeded entirely, wherever their cultivation has been attempted.

We believe, that the prevalent opinion of the height and vigor of this prairie grass is altogether exaggerated. The public imagination, following the lead of certain fanciful writers, has pictured the wide plains, covered with a growth so rank and lofty, that the foot traveller can only see far ahead, by attaining some casual eminence ; and we read of animals destroyed by, and horsemen escaping but by dint of speed from, the fierce conflagration, which annually sweeps, with the wings of the wind, over so vast a mass of combustibles. Now we are satisfied, that the average height of the grass on the upland prairies, does not exceed twelve inches, and the fires, which annually consume it, though sufficiently destructive to the timber and to unprotected fences, stacks, and cornfields, destroy or endanger no animal more active than the snake,* numbers of which, but not more than can be well spared, thus perish. It is only in the wet prairie bottoms, which are seldom traversed, and of no great extent, that the grass attains a height sufficient to produce such consequences as we have alluded to.

No geological survey of this State has ever been undertaken, but, in the absence of any regular or scientific investigation, a vast deal of volunteer hypothesis has been hazarded. "The cosmogony, or creation of the world," which was an enigma to the renowned Mr. Ephraim Jenkinson and his host of philosophers, has addled many a brain since his time ; and recent geological discoveries have been so surprising as to justify almost any extravagance of conjecture.

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* Not wishing to bring down upon our heads the wrath of any naturalist who may chance to read this article, and wonder, what peculiarity of constitution enables the snakes of Illinois to wander upon the face of the earth so late in the season, as after the frost has destroyed vegetation, while their *congeners*, in other parts, are immured in dens and caves deep and dark below it, we may as well state, that it is customary, in many neighbourhoods, to keep, as far as possible, the fire out from the prairies, during the fall and winter ; and, after the young grass has attained a height of some three or four inches, generally in May or June, they set fire to the decayed herbage, consuming, at the same time, the new crop, which is succeeded, late in the season, by a growth fresher, and more palatable to stock. It is in these burnings, that the snakes are sometimes destroyed.

Hardly any traveller laying the least claim to scientific acquirement has ever visited the State, but he has treated us to a theory of his own. Many have fancied, that they perceived evidences throughout the State, of comparatively recent submersion, and more than one outlet, by which the imaginary lake has discharged itself, is pointed out. This theory, we doubt not, will share the fate of most others, based upon casual observation, or derived from detached appearances, however plausible. It is impossible to suppose for a moment, that this State, or any part of it, was ever the scene of an inundation, which did not extend to all the contiguous territory. No continuous range of high land exists which could have formed the shores, necessary to contain the waters even of an hypothetical lake.

In the summer of 1839, however, Drs. David D. Owen and John Locke, under the authority of a resolution of the House of Representatives of the United States, of the preceding February, made a geological survey of the mineral lands owned by the United States on the waters of the Upper Mississippi; and though but a small part of the State of Illinois came within the strict purview of their investigations, yet a general knowledge of the formation of the State was obtained; and when their report, which is now in the hands of the proper authorities at Washington, shall be published, we are authorized to say, that much valuable information will be found on this subject. In fact, the well-known and justly merited reputation of these gentlemen will impart a value and an authority to their observations upon this interesting region, — hitherto a *terra incognita*, — which we hope will have its due weight in quickening their publication. In the mean time, we are permitted to state, that the great coal basin, of which Illinois covers the centre, underlies the soil of portions of five of the States and Territories, to wit, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa, and embraces a greater space than the whole island of Great Britain. In crossing the State from Louisville to St. Louis, it first shows itself on the surface at the town of Paoli, in Indiana. It *outcrops* again near the Upper Rapids of the Mississippi, its axis perhaps being considerably southeast of the centre of the State. The coal is found in a coarse sandstone and limestone formation, superincumbent upon an oolitic limestone, which is the principal building stone of the State, and

which again rests, at its western edge, upon a layer of fine-grained sandstone, upon another of black slate, over which the Ohio river precipitates itself at Louisville, but which two last strata, as they do not show themselves on the other edge of the basin, on the banks of the Mississippi, most probably terminate and are merged in the great stratum of cliff limestone, which dipping from Louisville, underlies the whole, and shows itself again in the mineral region of the Northwest, of the thickness of six hundred feet, and is the matrix in which the veins of lead are deposited, or injected. All these formations are superincumbent upon, and of course more recent, than the blue fossiliferous limestone, of the southwestern part of Ohio. The coal of this basin is pronounced by the same competent authority, to be too freely impregnated with pyrites, and for that reason is much inferior for the working of iron, and other manufacturing purposes, to the coal of the great basin of Ohio and Western Pennsylvania.* Those singular boulders of granite, which are found throughout the West, are frequently seen on the surface in this State. They are of all sizes, from a few pounds to as many tons, and their structure is so hard, that they are often wrought into mill-stones.

Among the mineral productions, which the slight investigation to which the soil has as yet been subjected has brought to light, are lime, coal, lead, salt, iron, and perhaps copper, and silver; rating in abundance in the order in which we have enumerated them. Lime of course must be plenty, and easily made, as the whole State rests upon a bed of limestone. Coal we believe to be dispersed throughout the State. We never remember to have made inquiry anywhere, without learning that it was found in the neighbourhood. It

* Professor Hitchcock, in his resurvey of the geology of Massachusetts, gives the following as the result of his analysis of some specimens which had been sent to him, of soils from Illinois.

Places whence taken.	Soluble Geine.	Insoluble Geine.	Sulphate of Lime.	Phosphate of Lime.	Carbonate of Lime.	Granitic Sand.	Water of Absorption.
Rushville, . .	7.4	2.5	3.4	.6	1.5	84.6	6.3
Sangamon Co. .	4.9	5.6	1.2	.4	1.3	86.6	6.3
La Salle Co. .	7.6	13.8	1.4	.4	3.3	73.5	9.5
Peoria Co. . .	3.1	4.8	3.5	1.0	——	87.6	5.7

is of vast importance in a country where fuel is so scarce, not only for domestic use, but for generating steam, which, from the general scarcity of water power, must become the principal manufacturing agent.

The great northwestern deposit of lead extends as far south into the State, as the waters of Rock River; and Galena, the great mart of this mineral, is barely within its borders. It is found also in the hilly country to the south, bordering on the Ohio River, where it is a continuation of the same deposit that is found on the west side of the Mississippi, in the southern counties of Missouri. The salt springs in Gallatin and Vermillion counties, which had been reserved from sale, were given up by the United States to Illinois, upon its admission into the Union. According to Mr. Schoolcraft, three hundred gallons of water produce fifty pounds of salt. They fall very far short of supplying the wants of the State, nor has the salt hitherto been esteemed of a very good quality; owing, probably, to some defect in the mode of preparation. Neither iron, silver, nor copper, whatever there may be of either, has, we believe, been worked, unless an exception be made as to silver, on the strength of a statement,* that a portion of it was found many years ago, and converted into *counterfeit* dollars, — a piece of information we see no reason to doubt, but that the accompanying assertion, that they "were purer than the Spanish dollars," seems to presuppose in those concerned a *penchant* for felony altogether unaccountable, except upon the supposition that the force of habit in the early citizens of the region where it was found was so strong, that they were unwilling to dispose even of an ingot of silver, without imparting to the transaction the relish of an affair in their ordinary way of business, and giving to the pure metal a "counterfeit presentment."

In a country so level, where there are no ridges of mountains, nor hardly any thing approaching the dignity of a hill, not much can be expected in the way of the more striking curiosities in nature. Precipices and ravines must be looked for in regions whose broken surface offers more diversity to the eye, and fewer attractions to the husbandman. Whatever there may be of either is confined to the river bluffs. The precipitous rocks which in some places line the shores of the

* *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, Vol. I. p. 45.

Mississippi, though striking and picturesque, are not sufficiently lofty to lay any claim to the magnificent or terrific. Their perpendicular height is less than a third of the Palisades upon the Hudson. The "Starved Rock," on the Illinois, and the tale of Indian warfare, whence it takes its name; the "Grand Tower," and its opposite promontory, with their reminiscences of plundered boats and murdered crews; the cave in the rock on the Ohio, and the legends of pirates and counterfeiters, who made it their place of refuge; and the tradition of the Piasa, and the rude painting on the rocks, above Alton, now fast fading away, by which the Indians endeavoured to commemorate it; are among the few remarkable spots to which the attention of the stranger is directed.

Until we are in possession of more facts than have been yet collected, it seems useless to speculate much upon the climate. Covering as it does, five degrees and a half of latitude, the State may be supposed to offer a great variety of temperature and productions. But it must be borne in mind, that the whole extent is within the more favored latitudes, its northern limit stopping far short of the repulsive confines of perpetual winter, and its southern extremity being as far removed above the debilitating influence of the tropical summer. Perhaps we cannot better convey an idea of this felicity of position, than by a simple statement of the fact, that while it is too far north for the successful cultivation of cotton, wheat and Indian corn both attain, in every part of it, their greatest perfection.

It appears to us, that, from the first peopling of the West, a disposition has been manifested to believe, that the climate in winter is milder than in the same degree of latitude at the East. The luckless Frenchmen, who were inveigled by Mr. Barlow to the banks of the Ohio in 1791, were taught to expect a climate where frost and snow were unknown; and almost every writer on the subject since, if not proceeding quite so far, has nevertheless struggled hard to persuade himself into the belief, that a favorable difference existed. This opinion is utterly at variance with any conclusion which would be drawn from analogy. The sunny lands of Italy and the South of France, lie in the same latitude with the Middle States of the East, where frosty skies and snowy landscapes are no rarity. Nor is it easy to see why this law of analogy

should be reversed in the country west of the mountains, where the distance of the ocean, that great meliorator of temperature in its vicinity, would lead us to look for no such result.

How far this prevalent opinion is erroneous, a series of carefully taken meteorological observations, only, can satisfactorily show. In the mean time, a few facts, which have fallen under our observation, have entirely shaken our faith in the correctness of the hypothesis. We know, that, during the last ten years, there has been no winter when the thermometer has not sunk, in the central parts of Illinois, as low as 12° below zero of Fahrenheit's thermometer. We have known it as low as 26° below this point, and for a week at a time we have seen it never once rise above zero. We have known the frost to penetrate the earth, in exposed situations, three feet below the surface, whence it had not entirely come out by the middle of April. Hardly a winter passes but the Mississippi at St. Louis, in the same parallel of latitude with Washington, is frozen over, and passable on the ice. When we consider its width at this place, and the velocity and turbulence of its current, we may form some idea of the intensity of cold, requisite to bind it in fetters of ice. Further up, above the mouth of the Missouri, it is a thoroughfare for weeks, we had almost said months, every winter. The intense coldness of the blasts, which at this temperature sweep over so open a country, may be well conceived. But with this candid allowance, our objections to the climate cease. This extremity of cold is of but short continuance, seldom lasting a week. The winters are in general dry, and late in setting in. It is not unusual for the bland temperature of the Indian summer to linger till Christmas, nor are the latter months of winter deformed by the frequent thawings and freezings, which render that season at the East a period of endurance. The open prairies, which allow free scope for the bitter blasts of winter, give equal freedom to the breezes of summer, which play unimpeded over their surface, bringing health and coolness on their wings.

A question of vital importance connected with this topic, one upon which every prudent emigrant would wish to be well informed, yet remains to be spoken of. We allude of course to health. If the New-Englander, who has reared, in poverty upon the rugged hills of his native clime, a family of

sturdy, healthy children, is to see their cheeks pale, and their limbs totter, upon the rank soil to which he has taken them with a hope of bettering their condition, the fertility of that soil, or perhaps even the acquisition of property, would be, in his eyes, a poor compensation for the difference.

It is not often practicable in this case to elude the plain question, "Is the country healthy?" by reverting to the fact, that all newly settled countries have been sickly. We may assure the emigrant, that in early times the much dreaded scourge of fever and ague was no stranger in the valleys of New England. He can reply, that, at any rate, it is not known there now. Nor will it afford him any consolation to know, that, after his own and his children's strength shall have failed, in opening the virgin soil, and draining the adjacent morass, his successor will reap the benefit of his labors, and will occupy, with a healthy family, the spot which was the grave of himself and his kindred.

We think that, in the hints which we have already thrown out, in the course of this article, something like a solution may be found to these questions. If the emigrant, seduced by the fertility of the bottom lands, shall venture into the vicinity of the swamps and lagoons, with which they abound; or if, on the upland, tempted by some fine spring, or the convenience of timber, he shall disregard the neighbourhood of a stream with its accompanying morasses, and there take up his residence, common sense may predict, what experience will teach him, that he must inevitably pay the penalty of these advantages. If, on the other hand, he is willing to forego some of these privileges, which are frequently mere temptations to idleness, and, selecting the high grounds which are everywhere in sight, make his home there, upon land as rich as heart can desire, he may with great certainty calculate on as good a share of health as is to be enjoyed on this continent. And why should it be otherwise? The exciting causes of sickness are nowhere near. A dry and undulating upland, destitute of any decaying vegetation, is around him, over which there is nothing to impede the circulation of the air.

Unfortunately for the reputation of the State, the commercial towns, which are necessarily upon the water-courses, are most accessible to travellers. And here, it is too true, the causes we have already enumerated, have prostrated many a strong man, and cut off many a valuable life. Nor

will it be otherwise, except in towns singularly favored in position, until the wealth and energy of their citizens shall enable them to drain every lagoon, and substitute cultivated fields for every swamp in the vicinity; when the results, which have followed like proceedings at Cincinnati and Louisville, will, of course, be their reward. We do not speak without much confidence in this matter. Hundreds of residences are, to our own knowledge, selected as we have above recommended, where the ruddy children and healthy parents need fear no comparison with the denizens of the hills of New England or the mountains of Virginia.

A state, so surrounded by navigable waters, so fertile, and intersected by so many channels of communication, natural and artificial, should include, within its borders, towns and cities, large and many. The last ten years have, in fact, seen an inconceivable number of towns, projected on every point, where ingenuity could find room, or cupidity promise a reward; and, in some of them, the *mania* of speculation has run as wild a career, and come to as sudden and disastrous an end, as in the older parts of the country. But the same causes, which produce such a multiplicity of towns, make it difficult to predict, which are to acquire the ascendency. A long line of river-coast offers, at innumerable points, desirable town sites; but, where the back country is equally fertile, fortuitous circumstances must decide, which of them are to attain to the dignity of cities. Nor would the attempt at such vaticination be a gracious task; for, perhaps, there is no one subject, upon which the citizens of these rival towns are more sensitive, than their relative importance; and to hint, that any one, in the race for metropolitan wealth and consequence, is likely to outstrip its competitors, would give mortal offence to all the others. No jockey at a horserace could take greater umbrage at an attempt to jostle or ride foul the favorite on which he had staked his money.

Under these circumstances we will only venture to surmise, that, on the upper Mississippi above the mouth of the Illinois, the vicinity of this river running nearly parallel, as it does, to the former, and offering an abundance of town sites, will prevent, for nearly two hundred miles, any one place from engrossing the trade of a very wide extent of country. Further up on that beautiful stream, some one or more large

cities must spring up, and with those that get the start in the race will most probably be the victory. The point of junction of two large rivers has long been thought a favorable spot for the growth of a large city ; and, at the mouth of the Ohio, efforts are now making to remove, by art and labor, the obstacles that nature has placed in the way. The grounds for this supposition we have never been able to see. Certain it is, that no one of the large cities of the West is thus situated, except Pittsburg ; and it is obvious, that this city owes its importance, not so much to the fact of its being at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela, as that it is at the head of navigation on the Ohio, and surrounded and overtopped by coal, inexhaustible in quantity, and unsurpassed in quality. No necessity exists for the stoppage or transfer of goods or produce at any of these points. Boats, that descend the one, can most commonly ascend the other ; nor, at any rate, would the transfer of goods from larger to smaller boats, alone, afford business to support a city. Neither can any reason be assigned for the accumulation of produce here, beyond what is incident to any other landing. In fact, its very position exposes it to a greater extent of rivalry, from the vicinity of the two rivers, and the extent of river-coast in proportion to the back country.

The position of Chicago, at the foot of Lake Michigan, and at the termination of the Illinois and Michigan canal, gives that place great advantages, which will tell in proportion to the growth and prosperity of the State.

Of inland towns there must be many, and those beautiful. Some of them, even now, are as handsome as we have ever seen ; and, as the wealth of their citizens increases, we may look for a correspondent display of taste in ornamenting sites, which are very often happily chosen. Springfield, the new capital of the State, will probably be among the largest.

In the civil polity and legislation of Illinois, we know not, that there is much to distinguish it from the rest of the Western States. Its constitution was adopted, after many others had been in operation long enough to show defects which should be avoided, or to serve as models for imitation. Of course, the freest democracy, consistent with a representative government, pervades the system.

Various acts of different legislative bodies, as the act of cession by Virginia, in 1784, the different ordinances of

Congress, and the act for the admission of the State into the Union, impose certain terms and restrictions, which, by its entrance into the Union, the State bound itself to perform. Virginia stipulated, that the inhabitants of the French villages should have their possessions and titles confirmed to them, and be protected in the enjoyment of their rights and liberties ; and that all the land she ceded to the United States should be considered as a common fund for the use and benefit of the whole, and that they should be disposed of only for the benefit of the whole nation, and for no other purpose. The ordinance of Congress, of 1787, provides, that the inhabitants of the Northwest Territory shall be subject to pay a part of the federal debts, and shall defray their portion of the expenses of the government. It prevents the legislature of the Territory from interfering with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States, declares the navigable waters, leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, public highways, and free to all the inhabitants of the United States, and prohibits slavery within its limits.

Upon its admission into the Union, Congress required, that the State should exempt all land, purchased of the United States, from taxation for five years ; the bounty lands, provided they are held so long by the patentees or their heirs, for three years ; and that no higher tax be imposed on non-resident, than upon resident proprietors. And, in return, they gave up to the State all the salt springs within its limits, prohibiting the legislature, however, from selling or leasing the same for a longer time than ten years ; and they gave the State five per cent. of the proceeds of all sales of their land within its limits, two-fifths to be disbursed by Congress in making roads leading to the State, and three-fifths to be appropriated by the legislature for the encouragement of learning, one-sixth whereof is exclusively reserved for founding a College or University ; and they gave, besides, a section of land, in each township, for the use of schools.

The principal peculiarities in the constitution are the following. The legislature meets but once in two years. The governor of the State, and the judges of the Supreme Court, compose a council of revision, whose duty it is to examine all acts passed by the legislature, and either approve them, in which case they become laws, or return them with their objections in writing. A majority of all the members, agreeing to

pass an act, can, notwithstanding the dissent of the council of revision, make it a law. The right of suffrage is universal, and almost unlimited, six months' residence in the State being all that is required; and even unnaturalized foreigners, who have been so long in the State, claim and exercise the privilege of voting. The right of the people to instruct their representatives is expressly affirmed. No bank, besides those existing at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, except a State Bank, and its branches, is allowed to be chartered. There have never been any alterations, or amendments, of the constitution; and the ultra-democratic tendency, which characterizes it, has likewise marked all the legislation of the State.

The funds possessed by this State, for the purposes of education, are exclusively derived from grants made by the United States, either of lands, or of money, the proceeds of land sold in the State. The funds accruing and likely to accrue from these sources are ample, and their reservation by the Congress of the United States shows a wise and benevolent forethought of the wants of the new State. But the rigid exaction, by that body, of an equivalent in the exemption from taxation, not only of land held by themselves, but of all land for five years after it is sold, gives to the whole transaction the air of a bargain, and may on that score exempt the State from a sense of obligation; for it has been insisted, that the amount of taxes thus relinquished by the State, is a full *quid pro quo* for the grants.*

The means placed at the disposal of the State for the purposes of education, are derived, — in the first place, from the grant of a section of six hundred and forty acres in every township, which is placed, not under the control of the State (and consequently is not embraced in the estimate of the school fund), but is at the disposal, and for the benefit, of the inhabitants in each township † *per se;* the inhabitants of which, under the provisions of a general law of January 22d, 1829, regulate the time of selling the land, the proceeds of which are funded by a commissioner, suitably appointed; — and secondly, from

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* Hall's *Statistics of the West*, p. 171.

† The township in Illinois is not a civil division of territory; it is simply a phrase adopted by the surveyors, and is a square of six miles, containing thirty-six sections. The counties are divided, for civil purposes, into "precincts."

the three per cent. of the proceeds of all the public land sold in the State, the legislature moreover has set apart, for purposes of education, one half of its share of the surplus revenue of the United States, by an act passed in the session of 1836–37.

The amount of the school, college, and seminary fund, the Auditor of the State, in his report to the legislature of the 13th December, 1838, gives as $719,784·61. Mr. Peck, at page 65, estimates the total probable amount of the fund, when all the land in the State shall have been sold, at $2,764,097. This estimate includes the value of the school, or sixteenth section in each township. Up to the year 1825, nothing was done by the legislature towards organizing a system of common schools; and the smallness of the fund, then in the hands of the State, compelled the introduction into the bill passed at that time, of a clause requiring the levying of a tax for their support, which made the act unpopular, and caused its repeal by the subsequent legislature. The result of considerable legislation, since that time, has been the erection of a system, somewhat as follows; but it is no easy matter, as it has not yet gone fairly into operation, to disentangle the precise details, through the mazes of temporary, frequently repealed, and sometimes contradictory, enactments.

It is the duty of a board of school commissioners to take charge of the fund, and to apportion the interest annually among the different counties, according to their population. From the first part of their duties they have been mainly relieved by the legislature, who, by the act of February 6th, 1835, ordered them to lend the whole amount of the fund to the State. In each township a school commissioner, appointed by the county court, having given the requisite security, is authorized to sell, upon a petition signed by three-fourths of the inhabitants, the section granted by Congress to each township (the section numbered 16 is the one designated), and invest the proceeds. A board of three trustees, likewise appointed by the county court, takes charge of the school lands. Each township may, by a vote of two-thirds of the voters, become incorporated, the polls to be held by the trustees of the school lands. After securing such a vote, the corporate affairs of the township are lodged in a body of five new trustees, whose duty it is to take charge of all matters relating to schools in the township. They have a treasurer, who is also secretary; they lay off school districts in the township, build

schoolhouses, employ teachers, call meetings of the voters, adopt by-laws for the schools, purchase libraries, and take care of township school funds and property. The school commissioner, on the incorporation of a township, gives up to their treasurer all the property of the township in his hands. A report is submitted to the legislature from each township, of the amount of funds, principal and interest, in such township, the number of schools kept, and the number of scholars. The trustees of schools in the township are once a year to call a meeting of the inhabitants, and give an account to them of the same things, reported as above, whereupon they may adopt such resolutions and prescribe such rules for promoting the cause of education, not inconsistent with the law, as they may think fit.

In the sketch we have undertaken to give, of the history and prospects of this State, some allusion to the gigantic scheme of internal improvement, now in progress there, seems unavoidable ; nor are we willing to confine ourselves to a mere abstract of what has been done, and what is intended. The brief review, which we shall take of the internal improvement system of the State, and the remarks upon it, which we shall submit, will many of them be of wider application than the limits of the State to which they owe their origin.

We are very far from thinking, that the returns in tolls on works of internal improvement, (be they railroads, canals, or turnpike roads,) should be the only basis upon which to calculate the propriety of commencing them. Increased facilities of communication among the citizens of the Commonwealth ; the opening of rich, and otherwise inaccessible, agricultural districts to a market ; or the giving vent to the products of mines and furnaces, may, in the improvement of manners and morals, and in the increased value given to property, and the general impulse imparted to business and prosperity in the State, remunerate the community far beyond the tolls they may yield at the collectors' offices. Nay, we are willing to go further, and say, that, a system of internal improvement once completed and in successful operation, we doubt not but it would be better policy for the State, having thus accomplished their works, to put down the tolls so low, as barely to pay the interest of their cost, and defray the expense of keeping them in repair, than to look to them as a

source of revenue ; and this is an opinion not hastily advanced, and one which, did our space permit, we are prepared to defend. But then the propriety of undertaking works where there is any doubt of a profitable return in tolls, should be rigidly tried by the ability of the State to carry them through, and keep inviolate the public faith, in the worst emergencies.

The truth however is, that the whole internal improvement system of the country, has run most sadly, to use an appropriate metaphor, "off the track." The necessity of adopting the compromise, or, as it is more commonly called in the West, the "log-rolling" system, reflects but little credit on the intelligence or patriotism of the people. In digesting a plan of improved internal communication for a State, more especially one whose resources are small, and profit from the works consequently indispensable, and where every thing of the sort is new and experimental, common sense and common prudence would seem to require, that some one great route, the thoroughfare between important points, should be first completed, and that lateral branches, on less important routes, should come in their turn, and be constructed leisurely as they may be needed, or as the income yielded by the greater work already finished may justify their being undertaken. Such is the course which reason and common sense, and, — if the word, or the impulse that it implies, be not obsolete, — patriotism, would dictate ; but unfortunately the opposite course is generally, almost invariably, pursued. No sooner is a plan of this sort agitated, than a thousand conflicting influences are brought into play. The inhabitants of each section look only to their own advantage ; and their representatives adhere with a dogged pertinacity to the interests of their immediate constituents, utterly regardless of the true interests of the country at large, and reckless what unprofitable expenditure of public money they induce, provided they can, on returning to their electors, point to some absurd road, or preposterous canal, running through their own neighbourhood, with which their obstinacy has succeeded in burdening the improvement fund. This same selfishness is equally active in afterwards selecting and locating routes ; and many an expensive work, many a deviation from the direct and economical course, can be traced to the influence of some village, ambitious to become a city, or of some petty squire or landholder, potential at the polls.

If in addition to these evil influences, thus standing frequently at the threshold of such undertakings, they should unfortunately be commenced at a time when party strife is running high, and the dominant party, engrossing the power and controlling the action of the State, in the belief that the measure will be popular, determine to monopolize to themselves the credit of originating and carrying it through, — why, then, we may conclude that suggestions of prudence, and hints for moderation, will be weighed, not according to their merit, but to the side in politics from which they emanate ; and that the same principle will predominate, not only in the selection of officers and agents to carry it into execution, but in estimating the manner in which they afterwards discharge their duties.

How far any of these remarks may be applicable to the policy of Illinois, will be seen in the short statement we shall proceed to make of the origin, progress, and prospects of her system of internal improvement now in operation. The public works in the State are included under two distinct heads, controlled by separate sets of officers, each entirely independent of the other ; a board of three canal commissioners, for the construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, appointed under the law of 1835 – 36, and a board of fund commissioners, and of commissioners of public works, consisting, the one of seven, the other of three individuals, who have charge of the system of railroads, &c., created at the session of 1836 – 37.

The project of connecting, by a canal, Lake Michigan with the waters of the Mississippi, was early suggested, — so early, in fact, that it is difficult to say to whom the credit of first mentioning it is due. Canoes, passing with only the interruption of a short portage, from the Fox River of Lake Michigan into the Wisconsin, or from the flooded country about Chicago, into the Des Plaines, one of the sources of the Illinois, seemed to point out both of these routes as capable of being made the channels of a permanent artificial water communication. As the latter of them only is within the bounds of Illinois, so likewise does it connect the lake with more permanent and valuable river navigation. Of the importance of such a canal to the whole northern part of the State, and to the extensive country west of the Mississippi, and north of the mouth of the Ohio, there can be but one opinion.

The extreme uncertainty of the navigation of the Ohio, during the period of low water, which not unfrequently includes the whole summer, is throwing already a large amount of the travel and freight destined for St. Louis and the upper country, into the northern Lakes, even while laboring under the disadvantage of considerable overland travel.

As early as 1823, engineers and commissioners examined the route under the authority of the State; but their report contemplated a canal of much less extent and smaller dimensions than the one afterwards agreed upon, nor did they contemplate the difficulties of excavation, since encountered; and they consequently placed the probable cost at less than one-tenth of the estimate, which, upon subsequent investigation, has been submitted. In 1825, the legislature chartered a company for the construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, but, no stock being taken, the charter was afterwards repealed. After a variety of surveys and estimates, made since then, and some vacillation as to the propriety of constructing a railroad instead of a canal, the legislature, at a special session in the winter of 1835–36, determined to embark resolutely in the business, and to construct a canal, the dimensions of which, as agreed upon by the commissioners, are, 60 feet wide at the top, 36 feet wide at the bottom, and 6 feet deep, and in length a trifle over 100 miles. The total estimated cost of this was the enormous and unprecedented sum of 8,654,337 dollars; subsequent experience and investigation, however, have induced the chief engineer to reduce this estimate to 7,621,442 dollars,* which it will probably cost. Thus a canal, of less than one third of the length of the Erie Canal of New York, will require nearly two millions more of money. This difference in cost is owing not only to the increased price of labor, and the greater dimensions of this canal, but to the quantity of rock excavation, and the depth to which it is necessary to cut down at the summit level, it having been decided to use the waters of Lake Michigan to supply the canal. The act of Congress of March 2d, 1827, giving to the State every alternate section of land within five miles of the canal, we may presume was the inducement to this bold undertaking. As to the value of these

* *Report of Chief Engineer of Illinois and Michigan Canal, to Board of Commissioners*, December 10th, 1838, included in the Report to the Governor, of December 13th, 1838, p. 26.

lands, we know of no better authority than the Report of the commissioners of December 13th, 1838. "If these lands and town-lots be very gradually and cautiously brought into market, reserving the chief part until the canal shall have been completed, and all its advantages clearly understood, there is more than enough to build it on the present capacious and permanent plan. But, on the contrary, if sales be forced, and all the lands be disposed of before their true value be known, there cannot fail to be a deficit of several millions of dollars." *

In the mean time, the credit of the State is pledged for money already borrowed and expended; and it must of course be pledged still further to complete the work, which cannot now well be stopped or delayed, as the value of these lands and town-lots, and the existence of the prospective manufacturing towns on its route, depend upon the completion of the canal, which is to make the former accessible, and to supply the latter with their water power.†

In Illinois, great interest has always been felt in the success of the railroad system. At about the time of its first introduction into the United States, the intelligent part of her people were beginning to look anxiously for some improved means of communication with the seaboard. The great natural outlets, the Mississippi and the Lake, afforded wonderful facilities for the exporting of her products, and conveniences for travel, which a few years ago would have been thought ample. But still, no citizen of the State could look at the mass of the country without seeing that the circuitous nature of these routes required a voyage double the length of a straight line, between the centre of the State and the seaboard, and it is well known that even these circuitous routes are closed for several months in each year, either by ice or low water. Under these circumstances, the discovery of a means by which not only travellers, but even merchandise, could be transported through the heart of the country with a speed rivalling the flight of birds, at all seasons and at all

* *Report of Chief Engineer of Illinois and Michigan Canal, to Board of Commissioners*, December 10th, 1838, included in the Report to the Governor, of December 13th, 1838, p. 16.

† The commissioners think, that the canal can be finished in four years from the date of their report, — 1838. They say, that there had then been expended $ 1,432,445·43, and that, in the year 1839, will be required a provision of a million and a half, and, in 1840, of two millions of dollars.

hours, in defiance of ice, independently of high or low water, without fatigue, and almost without risk, was hailed as supplying the desideratum so eagerly sought.

This State seemed too, by its even and sound surface, peculiarly adapted for the cheap and easy construction of railroads. Many were the inducements besides, to be acting in the matter without delay. Population was needed ; it was desirable to offer facility of access to emigrants. The State was new ; fewer obstacles from established interests would interfere with the adoption of a judicious system. The right of way could be purchased upon easy terms. And above all, a plan once laid down, the State would have the advantage of *growing to it ;* and with reference to it, all new towns and improvements would be made. This last consideration will have the more weight with those, who have seen how much the usefulness and the profits of railroads are impaired, in the older States, by the necessity of consulting so many rival interests ; and, moreover, how sadly these roads cut and carve through the established improvements of the country, so that a traveller, thus seeing it for the first time, must receive as unfavorable an impression as he would, were he introduced to a large city by the alleys and by-ways, where, instead of wide and clean streets and handsome buildings, he would encounter shabby tenements, noisome odors, and squalid wretchedness.

All these causes had been, no doubt, at work, acting as a stimulus to the State to be up and doing, when the legislature assembled, in the autumn of 1836. Yet it is very certain, that the people at large, who elected this legislature, though, as we have just stated, wide awake to the importance of the subject, did not contemplate the adoption of any very decided measures. We think we may very safely say, that the desire was rather for information and discussion. Such, however, proved not to be the temper of the legislature. They thought the time had arrived for action. There was, to be sure, a drawback ; the State had no funds, and but few resources. But the discovery had been made, that the people of the East, and more especially of Europe, were laboring under a plethory of the purse, from which they would rejoice to be relieved by the phlebotomizing process of a loan to any, who could promise to relieve them from the care of their money for a good long while, and offer approved secu-

rity. To be sure, it was admitted, that foreign capital was dangerous to our liberties, and ought to be pronounced contraband. But there is no rule without exceptions; the pulse of enterprise was at fever heat; and when speculators, public or private, can have plenty of money on a long credit, it must be some very uncommon scruple that will stand in their way.

A glance, here, at the resources and financial condition of the State, may not be amiss, as it will show, what were its intrinsic abilities to bear additional burdens. The income of the State from taxes, up to the passage of the act* of February 26th, 1839, was derived from the non-resident owners of land. All taxes, derived from the citizens, whether from land or other sources, were levied and expended in the counties. The State, besides, had a small income from bank bonuses and dividends. Both sources of revenue had, however, latterly failed to defray the current expenses, and loans had been resorted to, as well from individuals, as from the school-fund.

The auditor of public accounts, in his report to the legislature of December 12th, 1838, gives the joint amount, from both these sources, at $67,500, viz. land $46,000, bank bonuses, dividends, &c., $21,500, and adds, that "these are the only sources of revenue which the State possesses, except the school-fund, which ought not to be regarded as a legitimate source of revenue. On the first day of January next, $43,571·52 must be paid out of the State treasury for the interest on the school, college, and seminary fund, and the expenses of the legislature, for the present session, may be estimated at $80,000. These two expenditures, alone, form the sum of $123,571·52, a sum nearly twice as large as the annual revenue of the State." The other current expenses, amounting to $36,270, swell the excess of expenditures over the income to $92,241·52.

It is superfluous to remark, that, under such circumstances, prudence and honesty would dictate, that no debt should be incurred for works, from which a certain income might not be calculated, sufficiently large to relieve from all apprehension of subsequent embarrassment.

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* That act imposes a tax of twenty cents on every hundred dollars of taxable property (including lands), for State purposes; and authorizes the county commissioners to impose a tax to the amount of fifty cents on the hundred dollars, for county purposes. Lands are, by this law, and always have been, liable to be sold for taxes.

Whatever weight these various considerations may have had with the legislature, and we may presume they were duly considered, they passed, on the 22d of February, 1837 (selecting an auspicious birthday), "An act to establish and maintain a general system of internal improvement." The most striking features of this act are, that it provides for the construction of 1342 miles of railroad; it appropriates a large sum of money ($200,000) for the use of those few counties in the State, which no stretch of ingenuity could penetrate with either railroad or canal; it requires, that the work should be commenced, simultaneously, upon all of the roads, at their intersection with navigable waters, contemplating their joint completion at the same time, so as to give no one the preference over another; and it specifies certain towns through which the proposed roads must pass.* Of these roads, one runs through the State, in its whole length, from Galena to the mouth of the Ohio, *parallel to the course of the Mississippi;* four cross the State from west to east, three of which diverge from Alton, and one starts from Quincy on the Mississippi; all of these (except one which runs to Shawneetown on the Ohio) strike the line of Indiana, with which State no agreement exists, as yet, to continue any of them. Besides these, several shorter roads are provided for, which are to intersect and connect the main routes, at different points, till the whole State "will be scarred and furrowed," as has been said of England, "by railways, resembling the straight, cross-barred lines, tattooed across the countenance of the New Zealander." †

Of the funds necessary to carry out this stupendous project, every dollar has to be borrowed. The State had in its possession, or under its control, no funds which could be legitimately applied to this purpose. The school and seminary fund, — that part not already borrowed to defray the current expenses of the State, — was first lent by the State to itself, and the fund commissioners were authorized forthwith to obtain money on the best terms practicable. But, what appears to have been thought the master-stroke of

* In many instances, the fee simple of such towns could be bought for less money, than the deviation (necessary to visit them) from the direct and economical line will cost.

† *London Quarterly Review*, for January, 1839.

financiering, a State stock of about three millions was created, the proceeds of which were invested in the stock of the State bank and of the bank of Shawneetown,* which institutions had their charters expanded for the reception of this influx. Of the profits from this participation in a venture, which proved so disastrous on a former occasion, the most sanguine anticipations are indulged. They have been estimated (after paying the interest on the loans which the stock cost) as high as $180,000 per annum.

The following estimate of the cost of these works, and of the resources of the State, embodies the latest authentic information that has been given to the public. They are extracted from the report of the committee on internal improvement to the House of Representatives of the State, submitted on the 16th of February, 1839. The total cost is set down at $14,000,000. The gross amount of interest, that will have accrued on the loans, which will constitute the above sum for eight years, including 1846 (when the works will have been in operation one year), is $4,327,518. The gross receipts for that period are estimated at $3,829,349, showing a deficit to be provided for of $498,169. Of the foundations upon which these estimates rest, we may judge, when we learn, that, of these receipts, $720,000 are calculated as the profits to arise to the State from its banking speculation; $236,000 are set down as the proceeds of premiums and exchanges; and, most monstrous of all, $2,385,000 are to be gathered from tolls, that is, this sum is to be the net proceeds of the tolls, after paying the cost of collection and repairs; and the works are to commence yielding a small net income on the total expenditures, even so soon as the third year from their commencement (when, from the very nature of the system, no one road is to be completed, except for a few miles at the termination of each). This income is gradually to increase, till, in the year 1846, it is to equal the amount of interest due on the whole $14,000,000 of debt, and, in connexion with the bank dividends, yield the State a clear profit of $90,000 for that year's operation!

Now, of these three sources of revenue, the first two are

* By this increase of the capital of the Shawneetown bank, the legislature undoubtedly infringed the *spirit* of that part of the constitution, which (excepting those already in existence, whereof this was one,) prohibits the chartering of other than the State banks.

altogether hypothetical, and depend upon contingencies over which the legislature has no control. And the third we have no hesitation in pronouncing utterly fallacious. What grounds the committee can have for calculating so large an income from these roads, even after they are all completed, we are not told. Certain it is, that the experience of railroad profits, even in wealthy and thickly-peopled parts of the country, would not justify any thing like so large a calculation; but to estimate these profits at so large a rate in a country new and thinly settled, from roads traversing districts, where, in some instances, the traveller may now ride for half a day without seeing a human habitation, and to calculate, that they will begin to yield an income before the connexion, which alone can make them serviceable, is completed, argues a sanguineness of anticipation, but seldom indulged by sober-minded men.

Nor are we apprehensive, that these remarks will be construed into a hostility to railroads, or a doubt as to the benefits they are destined, ultimately, to bestow upon the human race, and more especially upon the citizens of this republic. It is our strong conviction of their utility, which induces us to lament, that rashness or extravagance should, by grasping too eagerly at so great a good, embarrass the concerns of a young and enterprising State, and postpone, as we much fear they will, a consummation, which prudence and economy would otherwise have accomplished.

"The valley of the West," says M. De Tocqueville, "is the most magnificent dwelling ever prepared by God for man's abode." Not intending to say aught in disparagement of any of the other western States, which are advancing, *pari passu*, in the race to greatness, — and each of which has its admirers, and has found its advocates, — we may be allowed to say, that none of them better deserves to share in the above eulogium than Illinois. Possessed of a fertile soil, a fine climate, and unexampled natural facilities for navigation, and occupied by an intelligent, and, we think we may say, a well-meaning population, she may present her claims to favorable consideration as freely as any of her sisters. And emigrants, who come with sound views and industrious habits, may be as safe from disappointment here as in any part of the West.

We are well convinced, that mistaken calculations and

exaggerated hopes have taken to the West many a family, who have never ceased to mourn over what experience has taught them was a false step. People, to whom the gratification of the artificial wants and an enjoyment of the refinements of a high state of civilization have become matters of prime necessity, have, in many instances, — dreaming of the Arcadian freedom and easy abundance of the prairies, — broken up their establishments and severed the bonds of early association, and have gradually and painfully awoke to the conviction (when return was impracticable), that labor, arduous, and perhaps unusual, was necessary for their support; that society, such as they had been accustomed to, was not to be found, in which to enjoy their hours of relaxation; and that sickness was to be encountered far from the friends and relatives, to whom they had formerly looked for assistance and sympathy. And it has been with no little astonishment, that, in the face of so many instances of this kind, we have seen the tide of emigration swelling and rolling on, in the vigorous and permanent stream which we still witness.

Fortunately, however, for the reputation and for the prosperity of the West, the bulk of the emigrants have been of a different sort, have been made of sterner stuff. The operative farmer, who expects to till the soil with his own hands, may be assured, that the value of a year's wages will make him the owner of as much land as he can cultivate, as fertile as he can desire, which every year will be increasing in value; while he can settle his children around him, who will be here, by the way, aids to him in the acquisition of property, and not drawbacks upon his progress. The merchant, of small means and of active habits, here finds a field, where personal enterprise and industry supply the want of capital. The young professional man, without patronage, and hopeless of success in the older States, repairs eagerly to a country, where all are upon the same footing with himself, where he has to work his way up against no overshadowing reputations, and where, supposing him industrious and honest, if the country grow, he must rise with it. It is of materials such as these, that the emigration, which is now covering the prairies of Illinois, is mainly composed.

ART. VI. — *Two Ways of Dying for a Husband.* 1. *Dying to keep him, or Tortesa the Usurer.* 2. *Dying to lose him, or Bianca Visconti.* By N. P. WILLIS, Esq., Author of "Pencillings by the Way," "The Slingsby Papers," "Melanie," &c. &c. London: Hugh Cunningham. 1839. 8vo. pp. 245.

THE variety and versatility of Mr. Willis's literary abilities have been strikingly displayed within the last few years. He writes a prose style, which, for splendor of diction, brilliancy and tastefulness of ornament, and musical flow, will bear a favorable comparison with that of any author in the walks of elegant literature, whether in England or in the United States. His language possesses that curious but indescribable felicity, that clearness and graphic power, and that gracefulness of racy idiomatic expression, which wind their way into every reader's mind, and enchant his senses by their manifold fascinations. His works have had an almost unprecedented circulation, in spite of certain grave faults, which drew down upon them the heavy censure of some of the British critics. But the critics are not omnipotent; and the writings of a man of genius, like Mr. Willis, however light and transient the theme, will be popular, will be read. His "Pencillings by the Way," therefore, notwithstanding their offences against the laws of society in some instances, continue to be republished, adorned by all the luxury of the British press. We understand that a new edition of his collected "Poems," is about to appear in the style of Rogers's magnificent volumes.

But, as we have, on a former occasion, presented our view of Willis's poetry at some length, we do not intend to repeat the observations we then made;* we shall simply give a brief account of the two dramatic poems, the somewhat whimsical titles of which are placed at the head of this paper. They are marked by the usual excellences of the author's style. The dialogue is spirited, rising sometimes to a high strain of poetry; the words are aptly chosen, and the lines are constructed according to the true dramatic style; that is, they are elevated beyond the language of prose, without having the stately march of the heroic measure. The

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLIII. pp. 384 *et seq.*

story of Tortesa is as follows. He is a usurer, who has purchased the lands of Count Falcone, an impoverished Florentine nobleman, but has agreed to restore them, on condition of receiving Isabella de Falcone, the Count's beautiful daughter, for his wife. The first scene of the play opens just after the bargain has been concluded. The Count is about to set forth with the Duke of Florence ; and the miser demands, that the nuptials shall be celebrated immediately on his return, and that, in the mean time, Isabella shall be kept in privacy.

" Seal your door up till you come back again !
I 'd have no foplings tampering with my wife !
None of your painted jackdaws from the court,
Sneering and pitying her ! My lord Falcone !
Shall she be private ? " —p. 2.

The Count consents, and leaves him ; whereupon Tortesa breaks out into the following soliloquy.

" Oh, omnipotence of money !
Ha ! ha ! Why, there 's the haughtiest nobleman
That walks in Florence. *He !* — whom I have bearded, —
Checked, — made conditions to, — shut up his daughter, —
And all with *money !* They should pull down churches,
And worship it ! Had I been *poor*, that man
Would see me rot ere give his hand to me.
I, — as I stand here, — dressed thus, — looking thus, —
The same in all, — save money in my purse, —
He would have scorned to let me come so near
That I could breathe on him ! Yet, that were little, —
For pride sometimes outdoes humility ;
And your great man will please to be familiar,
To show how he can stoop. But halt you there !
He *has* a jewel that you may not name !
His *wife* 's above you ! You 're no company
For his most noble *daughter !* You are brave, —
'T is nothing ! comely, — nothing ! honorable, —
You are a phœnix of all human virtues, —
But, while your blood 's mean, there 's a frozen bar
Betwixt you and a *lady*, that will melt, —
Not with religion, — scarcely with the grave, —
But, like a mist, with *money !*" —pp. 3, 4.

The usurer is now visited by a tradesman, and the glover's daughter Zippa, bringing his wedding gloves. A spirited dialogue follows ; and Zippa resolves to try her hand at a

counterplot for the purpose of breaking off the match. The next scene opens in the *studio* of Angelo, a poor painter. The contrast, between the aspiring genius of the artist and the practical views of the servant Tomaso, is very amusingly carried out. We subjoin a part of the dialogue.

"[*The Painter's Study. Angelo Painting. Tomaso in the foreground, arranging a meagre repast.*]

Tomaso. A thrice-picked bone, a stale crust, and — excellent water? Will you to breakfast, Master Angelo?

Angelo. Look on this touch, good Tomaso, if it be not life itself, — (*Draws him before his easel.*) Now, what think'st thou?

Tomaso. Um, — fair! fair enough!

Angelo. No more?

Tomaso. Till it mend my breakfast, I will never praise it! Fill me up that *outline*, Master Angelo! (*Takes up the naked bone.*) *Color* me that water. To what end dost thou dabble there?

Angelo. I am weary of telling thee to what end. Have patience, Tomaso!

Tomaso (*coaxingly.*) Would'st thou but paint the goldsmith a sign, now, in good fair letters!

Angelo. Have I no genius for the art, think'st thou?

Tomaso. *Thou!* ha! ha!

Angelo. By thy laughing, thou would'st say *no!*

Tomaso. Thou a genius! Look! Master Angelo! Have I not seen thee every day since thou wert no bigger than thy pencil?

Angelo. And if thou hast?

Tomaso. Do I not know thee from crown to heel? Dost thou not come in at that door as I do? — sit down in that chair as I do? — eat, drink, and sleep, as I do? Dost thou not call me Tomaso, and I thee Angelo?

Angelo. Well!

Tomaso. Then how canst thou have genius? Are there no marks? Would I clap thee on the back, and say good morrow? Nay, look thee! would I stand here telling thee in my wisdom what thou art, if thou wert a genius? Go to, Master Angelo! I love thee well, but thou art comprehensible!

Angelo. But think'st thou never of my works, Tomaso?

Tomaso. *Thy* works! Do I not grind thy paints? Do I not see thee take up thy pallette, place thy foot thus, and dab here, dab there? I tell thee thou hast never done stroke yet, I could not take the same brush and do after thee. Thy works, truly!

Angelo. How think'st thou would Donatello paint, if he were here ?

Tomaso. Donatello ? I will endeavour to show thee ! (*Takes the pallette and brush with a mysterious air.*) The pictures should be there ! His pencil, — (*throws down Angelo's pencil, and seizes a broom*), his pencil should be as long as this broom ! He should raise it thus, — with his eyes rolling thus, — and with his body thrown back thus !

Angelo. What then ?

Tomaso. Then he should see something in the air, — a sort of a hm — ha — r — r — rrrr, — (you understand.) And he first strides off here and looks at it, — then he strides off there and looks at it, — then he looks at his long brush, — then he makes a dab ! dash ! flash ! (*Makes three strokes across Angelo's picture.*)

Angelo. Villain, my picture ! Tomaso ! (*Seizes his sword.*) With thy accursed broom thou hast spoiled a picture Donatello could ne'er have painted ! Say thy prayers, for, by the Virgin ! —— " — pp. 12 – 15.

The scene is interrupted by the arrival of the Duke and his attendants, by whom old Tomaso is mistaken for the artist. The Duke, delighted with the artist's work, requires Falcone to commission him to paint a portrait of Isabella for the Duchess. Falcone consents ; and thus the youthful artist is introduced into the presence of the peerless beauty. The character of the enthusiastic artist is well conceived and highly wrought. Of course, he falls in love, and, of course, his love is returned ; and here the plot begins to be unfolded. The old miser comes unexpectedly upon them, in this their first interview, and very naturally falls into a towering passion at the disregard of his demand, that his bride should be kept in privacy.

In the next act the plot grows more complicated. Old Tortesa is half enamoured of Zippa ; Zippa is desperately in love with Angelo, whom she has long known ; Isabella is already enchanted with the lofty genius and imaginative character of the painter ; so that things have really come to a serious pass. Zippa presents herself to Isabella, and offers her services ; and the dialogue between the high-born lady and the lowly damsel, who are, unknown to each other, passionately in love with our friend Angelo, is full of poetical beauty and natural feeling. On the Count's return from riding with the Duke, he finds the miser awaiting him. Soon

after, a page from the Duke comes in, with a letter for the Count, commanding him to reserve his daughter, to wed the young Count Julian, the Duke having secretly been informed,

" By what means yet I know not, that my need
Spurs me to marry an unwilling daughter.
He bars the match ! redeems my lands and palace,
And has enriched the young Count Julian,
For whom he bids me keep my daughter's hand ! " — p. 56.

But, for reasons of her own, the daughter is not at all satisfied with this new arrangement, and claims of Tortesa the fulfilment of their troth, not less to the astonishment of that worthy gentleman, than to the indignation of her father ; and here ends act second. The third act begins with a scene between Angelo and Tomaso, showing the change which two hundred ducats had wrought in the servant's estimation of his master's genius.

" [*Angelo discovered in his studio, painting upon the picture of Isabella.*]

ANGELO.

My soul is drunk with gazing on this face.
I reel and faint with it. In what sweet world
Have I traced all its lineaments before ?
I know them. Like a troop of long-lost friends,
My pencil wakes them with its eager touch,
And they spring up, rejoicing. Oh, I 'll gem
The heaven of Fame with my irradiate pictures,
Like kindling planets, — but this glorious one
Shall be their herald, like the evening star,
First-lit, and lending of its fire to all.
The day fades, — but the lamp burns on within me.
My bosom has no dark, no sleep, no change
To dream or calm oblivion. I work on
When my hand stops. The light tints fade. Good night,
Fair image of the fairest thing on earth,
Bright Isabella !

(*Leans on the rod with which he guides his hand, and remains looking at his picture.*)

[*Enter Tomaso with two bags of money.*]

Tomaso. For the most excellent painter, Angelo, two hundred ducats ! The genius of my master flashes upon me. The Duke's greeting and two hundred ducats ! If I should

not have died in my blindness but for this eye-water, may I be hanged. (*Looks at Angelo.*) He is studying his picture. What an air there is about him, — lofty, unlike the vulgar! Two hundred ducats! (*Observes Angelo's hat on the table.*) It strikes me now, that I can see genius in that hat. It is not like a common hat. Not like a bought hat. The rim turns to the crown with an intelligence. (*Weighs the ducats in his hand.*) Good heavy ducats. What it is to refresh the vision! I have looked round, ere now, in this very chamber, and fancied that the furniture expressed a melancholy dulness. When he hath talked to me of his pictures, I have seen the chairs smile. Nay, as if shamed to listen, the very table has looked foolish. Now, all about me expresseth a choice peculiarity, — as you would say, How like a genius to have such chairs! What a painter-like table! Two hundred ducats!

Angelo. What hast thou for supper?

Tomaso. Two hundred ducats, my great master!

Angelo, (*absently.*) A cup of wine! Wine, Tomaso! [*Sits down.*]

Tomaso. (So would the great Donatello have sat upon his chair! His legs thus! His hand falling thus!) (*Aloud.*) There is nought in the cellar but stale beer, my illustrious master! (Now, it strikes me, that his shadow is unlike another man's, — of a *pink* tinge, somehow, — yet that may be fancy.)

Angelo. Hast thou no money? Get wine, I say!

Tomaso. I saw the duke in the market-place, who called me Angelo, (we shall rue that trick yet,) and with a gracious smile asked me if thou hadst paid the twenty flasks.

Angelo, (*not listening.*) Is there no wine?

Tomaso. I said to his grace, No! Pray mark the sequel: In pity of my thirst, the Duke sends me two, — ahem! — *one* hundred ducats. Here they are!

Angelo. Didst thou say the wine was on the lees?

Tomaso. With these *fifty* ducats we shall buy nothing but wine. (He will be rich with fifty.)

Angelo. What saidst thou?

Tomaso. I spoke of *twenty* ducats sent thee by the duke. Wilt thou finger them ere one is spent?

Angelo. I asked thee for wine, — I am parched.

Tomaso. Of these *ten* ducats, think'st thou we might spend one for a flask of better quality?

Angelo. Lend me a ducat, if thou hast one, and buy wine presently. Go!

Tomaso. I 'll lend it thee, willingly, my illustrious master. It is my last, but as much thine as mine.

Angelo. Go ! Go !

Tomaso. Yet wait ! There 's a scrap of news ! Falcone's daughter marries Tortesa, the usurer ! To-morrow is the bridal.

Angelo. How ?

Tomaso. I learned it in the market-place ! There will be rare doings !

Angelo. Dog ! Villain ! Thou hast lied ? Thou dar'st not say it !

Tomaso. Hey ! Art thou mad ? Nay, — borrow thy ducat where thou canst ! I 'll spend that 's my own. Adieu, master ! " — pp. 62 – 66.

Tortesa enters with a look of self-complacency ; and the irritated painter makes a violent assault upon him, and beats him at last off the stage. Angry at the apparent fickleness and falsehood of Isabella, the artist turns her portrait to the wall, and replaces it with Zippa's. Isabella enters, under the disguise of a monk. They converse about the pictures ; and Isabella, to test his feelings with regard to herself, undertakes to point out blemishes in the face. We give part of the dialogue.

" *Isabella.* Fair signor, by your leave, I 've heard it said
That in the beauty of a human face
The God of Nature never writ a lie.
Angelo. 'T is likely true !
Isabella. That howsoe'er the features
Seem fair at first, a blemish on the soul
Has its betraying speck that warns you of it.
Angelo. It should be so, indeed !
Isabella. Nay, — here 's a face
Will show at once if it be true or no.
At the first glance 't is fair !
Angelo. Most heavenly fair !
Isabella. Yet, in the lip, methinks, there lurks a shadow, —
Something, — I know not what, — but in it lies
The devil you spoke of !
Angelo. Ay, — but 't is not there !
Not in her lip ! Oh no ! Look elsewhere for it.
'T is passionately bright, — but lip more pure
Ne'er passed unchallenged through the gate of heaven.
Believe me, 't is not there !
Isabella. How falls the light ?
I see a gleam not quite angelical
About the eye. May be the light falls wrong —

Angelo, (*drawing her to another position.*)
Stand here! D' ye see it now?
Isabella. 'T is just so here!
Angelo, (*sweeps the air with his brush.*)
There 's some curst cobweb hanging from the wall
That blurs your sight. Now, look again!
Isabella. I see it
Just as before.
Angelo. What! still? You 've turn'd an eyelash
Under the lid. Try how it feels with winking.
Is 't clear?
Isabella. 'T was never clearer!
Angelo. Then, old man!
You 'd best betake you to your prayers apace!
For you 've a failing sight, death's sure forerunner, —
And cannot pray long. Why, that eye 's a star,
Sky-lit as Hesperus, and burns as clear.
If you e'er marked the zenith at high noon,
Or midnight, when the blue lifts up to God, —
Her eye 's of that far darkness!
Isabella, (*smiling aside.*) Stay, — 't is gone!
A blur was on my sight, which, passing from it,
I see as you do. Yes, — the eye is clear.
The forehead only, now I see so well,
Has in its arch a mark infallible
Of a false heart beneath it.
Angelo. Show it to me!
Isabella. Between the eyebrows there!
Angelo. I see a tablet
Whereon the Saviour's finger might have writ
The new commandment. When I painted it
I plucked a just-blown lotus from the shade,
And shamed the white leaf till it seemed a spot, —
The brow was so much fairer! Go! old man,
Thy sight fails fast. Go! go!
Isabella. The nostril 's small, —
Is 't not?
Angelo. No!
Isabella. Then the cheek 's awry so near it,
It makes it seem so!
Angelo. Out! thou cavilling fool!
Thou 'rt one of those, whose own deformity
Makes all thou seest look monstrous. Go and pray
For a clear sight, and read thy missal with it.
Thou art a priest and livest by the altar,

Yet dost not recognise Heaven's imprest seal,
Set on that glorious beauty !
Isabella, (*aside.*) (Oh, he loves me !
Loves me as genius loves, — ransacking earth,
And ruffling the forbidden flowers of heaven
To make celestial incense of his praise.
High-thoughted Angelo ! He loves me well !
With what a gush of all my soul I thank him, —
But he 's to win yet, and the time is precious.)
(*To Angelo.*) Signor, I take my leave.
Angelo. Good day, old man,
And if thou com'st again, bring new eyes with thee,
Or thou wilt find scant welcome.
Isabella. You shall like
These same eyes well enough when next I come ! "
— pp. 74 – 79.

Meanwhile the scheme contrived between Zippa and Isabella, to make the usurer marry the former, has been completed ; but, when Zippa learns that Angelo is the object of Isabella's passion, she rushes in anger to her presence. A dialogue between these lovelorn persons, of high wrought poetic beauty, follows. Isabella finally, after the example of Juliet, resolves to take a composing draught, and so escape the marriage with Tortesa. The wedding pomp and preparation, and the terror caused by the supposed death of the bride ; the funeral services, the artist following the corse, the usurer lagging behind, and his interview with Zippa, who persuades him that Angelo means to steal the body by night ; the setting of guards, the lady's recovery, and her reappearance at the door of her father's palace, who thinks it to be his daughter's ghost; her being taken up by Tomaso, Angelo's servant, and conveyed to his master's house, fill up the fourth act.

The fifth act discovers Angelo in his *studio*, with Isabella. In the mean time, the disappearance of the body has created terror, and fixed suspicion upon the artist. Tortesa approaches with officers and a guard, to search the premises. A scuffle ensues, but Angelo is disarmed. Isabella, however, has removed the picture from the frame, and taken its place herself. Tortesa is deceived by the *tableau*, and gazes with admiration and wonder upon the supposed portrait. One of the soldiers, however, finds Isabella's veil, that

" Was o'er the face of that unhappy lady
When laid in sanctuary."

Upon the strength of this evidence, the artist is seized and carried before the Duke. The witnesses have been arrayed against him, but

" He makes no defence
Beyond a firm denial."

when, just as sentence is going to be passed upon him, Isabella, who has followed him to the court, under the disguise of a monk, throws off the cowl, and falls at the feet of the Duke. Of course everybody is highly surprised. Falcone exclaims, " My daughter." Angelo groans out, " Lost," and Tortesa says, " Alive ! " and Zippa, " Tortesa 'll have her ! " but she is mistaken. A wonderful change is working in Tortesa's heart, and after a few preliminary twistings and turnings in the dialogue, during which he makes a very handsome speech to Isabella, so very handsome that she really begins to entertain some relenting thoughts, he gives Angelo a deed

" Of the Falcone palaces and lands,
And all the moneys forfeit "

by Isabella's father, and the lady seems, for some time, to be at a loss how to act. But after a little jealous extravagance on the part of Angelo, in which Tortesa finds it necessary to fight with him and disarm him, the trouble is ended by Tortesa's proposing to take Zippa, in the following very sensible lines.

" Fair Zippa ! in this crossed and tangled world
Few wed the one they could have loved the best,
And fewer still wed well for happiness !
We each have lost to-day what best we love.
But as the drops, that mingled in the sky
Are torn apart in the tempestuous sea,
Yet with a new drop tremble into one,
We two, if you 're content, may swim together !
What say you ? " — pp. 138, 139.

And what could a discreet young woman say, under such circumstances ?

" I have thought on it before,
When I believed you cold and treacherous ;
'T is easy when I know you kind and noble."

It cannot be denied, that this piece shows a good deal of dramatic genius; but still, when we look carefully into the plot, we must admit that it is very imperfectly constructed; that the parts are not well harmonized; that it has violent changes of character and transitions of feeling, which may pass unnoticed amidst the hurry of the stage and the display of scenic pomp, but which stand prominently forward, when the play is subjected to the reader's unclouded judgment. How, for instance, when the guards were set around the sanctuary which held the supposed body of Isabella, to prevent Angelo's entrance, could the lady herself escape? how could she get out, when Angelo could not get in? And how could Tortesa be so wrought upon, first by the supposed death of Isabella, and, secondly, by her unexpected return to life, by which it appeared that he had been deceived; how, under all these circumstances, could he be so wrought upon as to fall actually in love with the lady, and through the influence of this very love, to do a deed of munificent generosity for the purpose of promoting her marriage with his rival? It seems to us, that this is a revolution of character which sets dramatic propriety and probability at defiance.

We pass to "Bianca Visconti." The principal characters of this piece are historical. Francesco Sforza was the second of this name, son of the celebrated peasant warrior of Cotignola, who was the chief support of Joanna Second, the queen of Naples. But Mr. Willis has connected his drama by very slight threads with the actual history of the times in which the scene is laid. We do not undertake to decide how far the poet is bound to follow the course of history step by step. We would not condemn him to the task of hunting up all the musty records in the Ducal libraries of Italy, and of studying all the volumes of the "Art of verifying Dates." Undoubtedly, if a decided poetic effect is to be gained by sacrificing a lesser historical truth to a greater truth of art, the poet is justified in doing so. And there are many subjects which blend so much of fiction with historical truth, that the poet may use them as he pleases, consulting only his own judgment and the requisitions of his art. At the same time, the well-established facts of history are not to be distorted; nor are they to be forced out of their places, for the purpose of forming more striking poetical groups and combinations than would otherwise be possible. Whenever this is done,

it is a defect in the poetical work, let it be sanctioned by ever so many great literary names. The plays of Shakspeare and the novels of Walter Scott exhibit examples of this, but they cannot justify it.

Now in the play before us, Mr. Willis has well filled out the historical outlines of the character of Francesco Sforza; but the principal events of his life, those on which the drama turns, are taken wholly out of their actual connexion; in short, history is falsified, in order to work out the dramatic effect which the author was aiming at, when he selected this portion of Milanese history. The drama opens with a threatened attack upon Milan by the army of Sforza, who has been promised for many years the hand of the daughter of Philip Maria Visconti, the reigning duke. But according to history, Bianca Visconti was a natural child of the Duke, and had married Sforza some years before. The marriage takes place, but Sforza treats his bride with indifference, having been made, by the intrigues of Sarpellione, the Neapolitan ambassador, to believe that she has loved another. Sforza forms ambitious hopes of being raised to the sovereignty of Milan; but unexpectedly Bianca's page, young Giulio, proves to be the Duke's son, and of course heir to the crown. Bianca overhears a conspiracy to assassinate her husband, as he lies asleep in the afternoon. Resolved to secure her husband's love at all hazards, she contrives to draw him away, and to manage that her brother shall take his place. Giulio is slain, mistaken by the assassin for Sforza. But according to history the last Duke Visconti had no other child but Bianca; the existence of Giulio, and his murder through the instrumentality of Bianca, are fictions. The plot proceeds. Bianca's reason is overthrown by remorse; but still she is determined that her husband shall have the crown. And the last thing she does is to place it upon his head. The facts are, that, after the death of old Visconti, the magistrates of Milan attempted to restore to their country her ancient liberties; that Sforza was employed by them at the head of the Milanese armies, and that they were finally compelled, being unable to maintain themselves against the dangers that were threatening them on every side, to elect Sforza duke; and he established his family accordingly in the sovereignty of Milan, where they maintained themselves for the greater part of two centuries. Now, whether the real facts of history are sufficient to form the

basis of a drama, we do not know, having never made the attempt; but it is plain to us, that the poet has no right, in a case like the present, to put such a wholly wrong face upon history, as he has done here; and, in particular, that he has no right to attribute to Bianca Visconti a crime so horrible as consenting to the murder of her brother, merely to remove an obstacle from her husband's way to the throne.

But the drama is worked up with very great power. Some passages of it Mr. Willis has never surpassed. The short passage below, for instance, where Bianca gives vent to her feelings, when she is first told she is to be married to Sforza.

" *Bianca.* To marry Sforza !
My dream come true ! my long, long-cherished dream !
The star come out of heaven that I had worshipped !
The paradise I built with soaring fancy,
And filled with rapture, like a honey-bee,
Dropped from the clouds at last ! Am I awake ?
Am I awake, dear Giulio !
Page, (*half advancing to her.*) Noble Mistress !
Bianca. Thank God they speak to me ! It is no dream !
It was *this* hand my father took to tell me, —
It was with *these* lips that I tried to speak, —
It was *this* heart that beat its giddy prison
As if th' exulting joy new-sprung within it
Would out and fill the world ! . . . . .
. . . . . Wed him to-morrow !
So suddenly a wife ! Will it seem modest,
With but twelve hours of giddy preparation
To come a bride to church ? Will he remember
I was ten years ago affianced to him ?
I have had time to think on 't ! Oh, I 'll tell him, —
When I dare speak I 'll tell him, — how I 've loved him !
And day and night dreamed of him, and through all
The changing wars treasured the solemn troth
Broke by my father ! If he listens kindly,
I 'll tell how I fed my eyes upon him
In Venice at his triumph, — when he walked
Like a descended god beside the Doge,
Who thanked him for his victories, and the people,
From every roof and balcony, by thousands,
Shouted out, ' Sforza ! Live the gallant Sforza ! '
I was a child then, — but I felt my heart
Grow, in one hour, to woman ! " — pp. 165 – 167.

And the following, when her dream of love is first rudely broken by the apparent indifference of Sforza.

"*Bianca.* Dost think this ring a pretty one, my Lord !
Sforza. Ay, 't is a pretty ring ! I have one here
Marancio gave me, — Giacomo Marancio.
The ring his wife sent, — but you 've heard the story ?
Bianca. I think I never heard it.
Sforza. She 's a woman
The heart grows but to speak of. She was held
A hostage by the Milanese, (I pray you
Pardon the mention,) when 'twixt them and me
Marancio held a pass. Her life was threatened
If by his means I crossed the Adige. She —
(Brave heart ! I warm to speak of her !) found means
To send to him this ring ; wherein is writ
' He who loves most, loves honor best.' You 'll see it
Here o' th' inside.
Bianca. Did you see this lady ?
Sforza. I hazarded a battle three days after
With perilous odds, only to bring her off, —
And would have sold my life for 't.
Bianca. Did you *see* her ?
Sforza. I gave her to Marancio when I took
The ring of him.
Bianca. My Lord ! speak you so warmly
Of any other woman ?
Sforza, (*rising and taking his helmet.*)
Nay, I know not.
There are some qualities that women have
Which are less worthy, but which warm us more
Than speaking of their virtues. I remember
The fair Giovanna in her pride at Naples.
Gods ! what a light enveloped her ! She left
Little to shine in history, — but her beauty
Was of that order that the universe
Seemed governed by her motion. Men looked on her
As if her next step would arrest the world ;
And as the sea-bird seems to rule the wave
He rides so buoyantly, all things around her, —
The glittering army, the spread gonfalon,
The pomp, the music, the bright sun in heaven, —
Seemed glorious by her leave.
Bianca, (*rising and going to the window.*)
There 's emulation
Of such sweet praise, my Lord ! Did you not hear

The faint note of a nightingale ?
Sforza. More like
A far-heard clarion, methought ! They change
The sentinels perchance. 'T is time Rossano
Awaits me on the ramparts.
Bianca. Not to-night.
Go not abroad to-night, my Lord !
Sforza. For a brief hour, sweet ! The old soldier loves
To gossip of the fields he 's lost and won,
And I, no less, to listen. Get to bed !
I 'll follow you anon. [*Exit Sforza.*
Bianca. He does not love me !
I never dreamed of this ! To be his bride
Was all the heaven I looked for ! Not to love me
When I have been ten years affianced to him ! —
When I have lived for him, — shut up my heart,
With every pulse and hope, for his use only, —
Worshipped — O God ! idolatrously loved him !
. . . . . .
Why has he sought to marry me ? Why still
Renew the broken pledge my father made him ?
Why, for ten years, with war and policy,
Strive for my poor alliance ?
. . . . . He *must* love me,
Or I shall break my heart ! I never had
One other hope in life ! I never linked
One thought, but to this chain ! I have no blood, —
No breath, — no being, — separate from Sforza !
Nothing has any other name ! The sun
Shined like his smile, — the lightning was his glory, —
The night his sleep, and the hushed moon watched o'er
him ; —
Stars writ his name, — his breath hung on the flowers, —
Music had no voice but to say *I love him*,
And life no future, but his love for me !
Whom does he love ? Marancio's wife ? He praised
Only her courage ! Queen Giovanna's beauty ?
'T is dust these many years ! There is no sign
He loves another ; and report said ever
His *Glory* was his mistress. *Can* he love ?
Shame on the doubt ! 'T was written in the ring,
' He who loves *most* loves honor best,' — and Sforza
Is made too like a god to lack a heart.
And so, I breathe again ! To make him love me
Is all my life now ! to pry through his nature,

And find his heart out. *That* 's wrapped in his glory !
I 'll feed his glory then ! He praised Giovanna
That she was royal and magnificent, —
Ay, — that 's well thought on too ! How should an eye,
Dazzled with war and warlike pomp like Sforza's,
Find pleasure in simplicity like mine !
(*Looks at her dress.*)
I 'm a Duke's daughter, and I 'll wear the look on 't !
Unlock my jewels and my costly robes,
And, while I keep his show-struck eye upon me,
Watch for a golden opportunity
To build up his renown !
. . . . . And so farewell
The gentle world I 've lived in ! Farewell all
My visions of a world for two hearts only, —
Sforza's and mine ! If I outlive this change,
So brief and yet so violent within me,
I 'll come back in my dreams, O childish world !
If not, — a broken heart blots out remembrance."
— pp. 186 – 191.

We give but one extract more.

"*Bianca.* They who love stillness follow us ! The brain
Grows giddy with the never-wearying dance,
And music's pause is sweet as its beginning.
Shut the doors, Giulio ! Sarpellione ! enter !
You 're welcome to Trophonius' cave ! We 'll hold
The Court of Silence, and I 'll play the Queen.
My brave Lord, you shall doff that serious air,
And be court favorite, — sit you at our feet !
Sforza. Too envious a place and office both !
I 'll sit here with Rossano. Honor's flower, —
That lifts a bold head in the world, — at court
Looks for the lily's hiding-place.
Sarpellione, (*aside.*) (What trick
Lies in this new humility.) The lily
Is lowly born, and knows its place, my Lord !
Bianca. Yet is it sought with pains while the rose withers !
Sarpellione. The rose lifts to the sun its flowering tree,
And all its parts are honored, — while the lily
Upon one fragrant stem rears all its beauty, —
And its coarse family of leaves are left
To lie on th' earth they cling to.
Sforza, (*to Rossano, with whom he has been conversing apart.*) (I 've sure news

He was worse yesterday !)
(*Bianca rising with dignity, and descending from the ducal chair.*)
Bianca. Now, since the serpent
Misled our mother, never was fair truth
So subtly turned to error. If the rose
Were born a lily, and, by force of heart
And eagerness for light, grew tall and fair,
'T were a true type of the first fiery soul
That makes a low name honorable. They
Who take it by inheritance alone, —
Adding no brightness to it, — are like stars
Seen in the ocean, that were never there
But for the bright originals in Heaven !
Sarpellione, (*sneeringly.*)
Rest to the gallant soul of the *first* Sforza !
Bianca. Amen ! but triple glory to the second !
I have a brief tale for thine ear, Ambassador !
Sarpellione. I listen, Lady !
Bianca. Mark the moral, Sir !
An eagle once from the Euganean hills
Soared bravely to the sky. (*To Sforza.*) (Wilt please, my Lord,
List to my story ?) In his giddy track,
Scarce marked by them who gazed upon the first,
Followed a new-fledged eaglet, fast and well.
Upward they sped, and all eyes on their flight
Gazed with admiring awe, when, suddenly,
The parent bird, struck by a thunderbolt,
Dropped lifeless through the air. The eaglet paused,
And hung upon his wings ; and as his sire
Plashed in the far-down wave, men looked to see him
Flee to his nest affrighted !
Sforza, (*with great interest.*) Did he so ?
Bianca. My noble Lord, — he had a monarch's heart !
He wheeled a moment in mid air, and shook
Proudly his royal wings, and then right on,
With crest uplifted and unwavering flight,
Sped to the sun's eye, straight and gloriously.
Page. Lady, — is that true ?
Bianca. Ay, — men call those eagles
Sforza the First and Second ! " — pp. 203 – 206.

The passages we have given are sufficient to show our readers, that rare poetic and dramatic powers have been evinced by these two plays, and especially by the last. They

will probably join with us in regretting, that the author has not taken more pains with his plot, in both instances; that he has not labored more upon completing the characters, upon making the transitions more gradual and natural; that he has not given the pieces that unity of spirit and impression, without which no drama, however poetical in single parts, can stand the test of cool criticism when the applauses of the theatre have died away. We are not at all prepared for the desperate crime of Bianca; almost up to the very moment of the fatal deed, she has appeared to us

"A perfect woman, nobly planned;"

and, when she sacrifices her brother's life, we experience a violent revulsion of feeling. The poet has wrenched the character from its natural bearings, and we are very unnaturally and undramatically shocked. The plot is not well *motivirt*, to borrow a word from German criticism. The springs of action are not well studied, and the drama, therefore, with all its merits and exquisite beauties, is not an organic whole; is not what the ancients required by their doctrine of the unities. But no man can read these pieces without acknowledging that Willis has a genius for the drama, which, if he is willing to pay the price, which the highest dramatic excellence demands, the price of long-continued study and labor, — the labor lavished by the sculptor and painter upon their immortal works, — will set him among the foremost, if not at the very head, of the dramatists of our age.

ART. VII. — *Report of the Secretary of War, November 30th, 1839, accompanying the President's Message to Congress, December 2d, 1839.* 26th Congress, 1st Session. Senate Documents, No. 1. 8vo. pp. 530.

THE document, which we have made the subject of our remarks, is the annual exhibit of the Secretary of War to the President of the United States, of the military condition of the country. It is probably not much read by the people at large. A general impression may prevail that it is too professional to be well understood. With those who look

upon it with the appended reports, for the first time, this may be the case. To such, however, as are in the habit of reading, year by year, the documents on this subject, it becomes gradually familiar, and is easily comprehended in all its essential parts. Such a habit should undoubtedly pervade the whole community. Our *national defences* are of incalculable importance to every member of that community. They should be studied by every intelligent man as among the primary subjects that call for the attention of a true patriot. They embrace expenditures of great magnitude, and lead to results that are more permanent in their kind than almost any others that proceed from the administration of our government. This consideration should awaken reflection, and excite unusual interest. But it fails to do so. There is probably no subject which occupies the thoughts of a member of Congress, who takes his seat at Washington for the first time, so little as the provisions for national defence. One of the reasons may be, that State legislation, — the ordeal through which such members generally pass, — gives no experience in this respect. His want of acquaintance with them renders him dependent, *quoad hoc*, on any one who may be less ignorant than himself. He has some undefined notions of a proper distrust of all military institutions ; this distrust arising from what he may have read of by-gone times, exhibiting the spectres of usurpation, oppression, and other evils, that sprung from unprincipled ambition, wielding the power of the sword. This feeling often interposes obstacles in the way of just, of necessary legislation. It occasionally prompts a maiden effort, as presenting one of the most ready themes for a declamatory *début*. And what has thus been said in an unguarded hour, in the hour of inexperience, merely as a flourish to open one's career, may be thereafter a rule of conduct, even against the dictates of more ripened judgment, from mistaken notions of consistency. Better knowledge in the outset, such as would be obtained from an annual examination of the War Department documents, would be useful in these cases both to the legislator and his constituents.

Our systems of national defence have had to encounter impediments, thrown in their way by ignorance, indifference, or prejudice, from the commencement of the government. We have had but two Presidents that promoted them with a zeal corresponding with their importance, namely, General

Washington and Mr. Monroe. General Washington came out of the Revolution with lessons of experience deeply engraved on his mind. But the time was unpropitious for strong or expensive measures. Besides, the public leaned with a heavy weight against all military providence. The armour worn in the late struggle had been thrown off with impatience, as if all further necessity for using it had ceased. We stood in almost utter and defenceless nakedness for a few years. It was only when the savages, — still as unappeased as if the treaty of 1783 had never been ratified between Great Britain and the United States, — hung over our interior frontier with the uplifted tomahawk and scalping-knife, and had already drenched many a hearth among our border settlements with blood, that a most reluctant heed was given to his warnings, and a small measure of national defence was meted out for the common protection. The army that was raised was limited most scrupulously to the precise wants of the moment. Not a file was added in consideration of future exigencies, or to build up a system of national defence. The seaboard at the same time had scarcely a semblance of a fortification. Every port had been open during the Revolution, and the propriety of rendering them less accessible did not seem to suggest itself to Congress. Indeed, General Washington, with all his rich experience, weight of character, and great services, giving such force to his recommendations, could do little more, throughout his administration, than keep up a show of defence on the interior frontier, where British encroachments, and Indian threatenings, and actual barbarities, called for protection with a voice that would not be silenced.

The administration which followed, having the *quasi* French war to provide for, was able to make some advances in the way of maritime defence. But nothing like a system was adopted ; and all expenditures on this account were scrutinized with severity, and opposed with obstinacy. Indeed, the administration appeared to grow weak as the nation assumed an attitude of strength. Hence every measure that helped to build up the country, by promoting its ability to resist invasion, and avert injuries upon the national honor or interests, seemed likely to pull down the administration of the government in the same proportion.

Mr. Jefferson's administration began on principles that

warred strongly against any system of national defence. The party which carried him into power had been unfriendly to nearly every effort of the preceding administration, having for its object the support of such a system. Consistency called for an adherence to principles, which had been previously advocated with so much zeal, and which could not be abandoned, under the change of circumstances, without a just imputation of insincerity or vacillation. The army was reduced to a shadow, — a nominal force of about two thousand men. The injudicious concentration of the army of 1799 into "masses," — the encampments at Oxford, Carlisle, and other interior places having no apparent or immediate bearing on the national defence, — may have contributed to raise the strong feeling that then existed against "a standing army." The navy was also reduced ; each

> "tall anchoring bark
> Diminished to her cock."

Whether the character of the times justified this almost entire abandonment of self-defence, it is not our present purpose to inquire. We can hardly imagine a condition, however, which would authorize a nation to disarm itself, with a Quaker-like reliance on a non-combatant spirit throughout the world. Such a gentle spirit never yet has prevailed, and we have little ground for hoping that it is likely to prevail for generations yet to come. It was soon found to be so in the times we are referring to. All equivocal signs, all doubts of the hostile feelings of foreign countries, shortly disappeared. Angry bickerings strongly marked our diplomatic intercourse. Clouds gathered, and threatened a storm. It was evident, that the United States were not to prove an exception in the world's affairs. The common lot of nations belonged to them, though their situation was somewhat peculiar. Had they existed as a nation a century before, when maritime enterprise or maritime power was comparatively limited, the Atlantic might have been regarded as a barrier that would allow a domestic policy, having little reference to remote or European nations. But a new order of things had been introduced. Commerce had linked together far-separated shores ; and navies, by their force, distribution, and prowess, spread dominion over the ocean, and made the trident as efficient at sea as the sceptre on land. The United States were soon convinced, that their position in another hemi-

sphere did not exempt them from the necessity of being prepared to defend their rights, if they wished to have them respected.

Mr. Jefferson was a bold and ardent theorist. The severe collisions with European powers, and with the Barbary States, compelled him to depart from his pacific policy. With the latter, there being no alternative but offensive measures, these were resorted to with spirit and success. The naval prowess, exhibited before Tripoli, shed a brilliancy over his administration which had better suited that of his belligerent predecessor. But the difficulties with Great Britain seemed to admit a more peaceful remedy. We had a trade with her that was highly important. It was deemed probable, that she would rather abandon her system of "orders in council," her "impressment," &c. — the former infringing roughly on our commerce, the latter on our rights, — than lose our custom at her vast manufactories. It was an experiment to determine how far a nation could be brought to a sense of justice by an appeal to its pecuniary interests alone. Mr. Jefferson, in the sanguineness of his philanthropy, hoped so far to revolutionize the barbarous spirit of the age, as to make the *ultima ratio* of nations other than *bella*, *horrida bella*. If he had succeeded in establishing even one precedent in favor of this consummation so devoutly to be wished, his glory would have been as singular as elevated. But the experiment failed. The evil day would come. War was declared.

During the seeming delusion which preceded that event, when an opinion predominated that it might be averted, little preparation was, of course, made to meet it. The army had been somewhat augmented, and a few of the harbours were becoming fortified. This was done, however, rather to enforce the non-intercourse and embargo, than with a view to repel an enemy. And, when that enemy was designated by the declaration of war, had he, in the outset, manifested even ordinary enterprise in his offensive operations, there was not a city or town on our seaboard, that he might not have laid under contribution or destroyed. We were as vulnerable from head to foot as Achilles was in the heel. Efforts were made in the season of distress to remedy the evil. But while the storm is raging, the house cannot well be repaired. Fortifications could not be constructed under the batteries of hostile ships. Portsmouth, Boston, New York,

and Charleston were, fortunately, respected by the enemy, who could have penetrated, with some sacrifice, into the heart of each. It was only his unbelief in our helplessness that protected us at these accessible points. He saw the shield, and supposed it to be of triple brass, when one thrust of his spear would have proved it as permeable as the untanned hide.

As soon as we escaped from this war, Mr. Monroe, who was a thoroughly practical man, resolved to seize the opportune moment, when its warning lessons were still fresh in the public mind, to establish a system of national defence. He well knew, as a tried soldier, that parts of it would require the labor of years to accomplish; while others might be the work of a season. His efforts were directed to preserve the army upon a footing commensurate with the wants of the extended frontier. In this he did not fully succeed. He regarded this, however, as a subordinate consideration. The navy was more easily enlarged, or a consent obtained to provide for its gradual enlargement. This was much. But armies and navies are a locomotive defence, and comparatively perishable. Our seaboard called for a permanent defence, such as every well-ordered, well-secured maritime nation possessed. Without fortifications, troops and vessels had but half their efficiency. Such fortifications Mr. Monroe deemed of primary importance. He traversed the whole Union to judge for himself. The whole ground came under his view. Not that he looked into details, or expected to comprehend them. These he left for abler or more professional hands. But he wished to speak from observation, though generally, on the subject. Furnished with reasons drawn from these various sources, he led to the establishment of a system of permanent defence of the whole maritime frontier, (founded on actual surveys of every part, and profound considerations of their connexion and relative importance,) that found support in a large majority of Congress. Appropriations were made that advanced each class of works, step by step, according to their claims for precedence, towards completion. This was an honorable era for the United States. It was marked by a course of legislation in respect to the national defence, that looked to the country, and the whole country; to the future as well as the present. The works thus projected called for large appropriations, which annually awakened an opposition from the uninstructed or the

prejudiced. This opposition, however, was feeble and ineffectual. Our harbours gradually assumed an aspect of capability of strong defence. The large cities within their bosom began to look with confidence on these barriers around their wealth and prosperity, and to feel a security, in the event of war, against sudden and unexpected attacks.

We have formerly had occasion to speak of this system of fortifications in detail.* At this time we allude to it only to illustrate our remark, that only two Presidents have understood and promoted such a system, — General Washington most heartily but unsuccessfully, — Mr. Monroe with equal zeal and with triumphant success. But the latter could only establish the plan and begin the work. His successor carried it on, under the impulse it had received. Unfriendly feelings, however, were augmenting with each year, excited by the annual demand of new millions at each session of Congress, and occasionally acquiring great strength from signal errors in some of the engineers, which sometimes led to the waste of hundreds of thousands, before detection could arrest it. The *Pea Patch* long stood in the way of each appropriation, as a warning against confiding so large sums to miscalculation, carelessness, or ignorance, — all equally disastrous in their results. But just reasoning fortunately still prevailed. The harbours, gradually, grew stronger and more defensible with each year. An error in one part was not permitted to frustrate the whole plan. The valuable skill of the many was not discarded because of the deficiency of a few. Such errors were perhaps unavoidable, particularly in cases like the *Pea Patch*, where probably no plan of laying or forming a foundation, destined to sustain so heavy a superstructure, could combine with it a certainty of adequate strength.

These untoward circumstances often diminished the appropriations, and delayed the advance of the works ; but their progress towards completion was generally constant, until Mr. Cass, while in charge of the War Department, made his elaborate Report on the subject of our national defences, which was intended to show the inexpediency of pursuing the system established under Mr. Monroe, excepting in certain specified cases. This intention was fulfilled with great ingenuity, and an immediate reaction appeared to take place in the public mind. But this was not all. An attack

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XXIII. pp. 245 *et seq.*

was made, in the same Report, on the propriety of having ended some of the principal works embraced in that system, particularly those at Old Point Comfort and at Newport, tending to weaken the confidence of the public in those most important parts of our national defence, and to warrant a belief that most of the money expended upon them had been uselessly, if not wastefully, applied.

We have not space to examine fully these military heresies, though we cannot permit them to pass without a few animadversions, as they come from high authority, had much influence over public opinion at the time, and may still injuriously affect the progress of our fortifications. It is well known that the late Secretary of War has a strong and quick mind, enabling him to comprehend most subjects with unusual promptitude. A mere glance with him is often more than a deliberate survey with others. But there are some subjects, the full understanding of which depends so much upon experience, laborious calculation, and a long and minute examination of all their bearings, that those intuitive minds are often baffled, and left to random and specious conjectures. The critical remarks of the late Secretary of War, on the works at Old Point Comfort, show that he regarded them under one phasis only, when they present others that equally claimed his observation. He appears to have considered them as intended only to exclude an enemy from the country, who, he says, would turn aside from such a strong point, and thrust himself in at other accessible quarters, which are found above and below on the coast. Old Point Comfort, he admits, should be fortified, but only by a work that would resist a *coup de main*, not by one, like that which is now there, that embraces "about sixty-three acres" (to use the Secretary's own descriptive language).

Those who have only a slight recollection of the many strong reasons urged by the Board of Engineers, which digested this system of maritime fortifications, will bear distinctly in mind, that the "occlusion of this roadstead," that is, the exclusion of the enemy from it in time of war, was but a subordinate object among the many comprehended in the plan. Notwithstanding all the warnings of the approach of war, commercial enterprise or cupidity urges its efforts up to the last moment of safety, and the declaration can never take place in such a country as ours without finding, probably,

millions of property still afloat on the ocean. The reason may be, that profit increases with the danger. This, combined with the never-failing hope that peace may yet prevail, leaves an interest upon the high seas of an enormous amount at the breaking out of hostilities, calling for all such protection, or means of escape, as a government can bestow. Such protection could not be afforded by any naval force, as no system of convoys would be established at that early and perhaps unlooked-for season of trouble. Harbours of refuge alone can be effectual. Known to be ever open and in readiness to shelter all that claim security within them, they are the points to which the flying vessels, having snuffed the scent of danger afar off, direct their course. In arranging a system of maritime defence, not to have carefully provided such harbours, would have been a neglect, alike discreditable to the projectors, and injurious to the country. It was almost a primary consideration with the Board of Engineers. And yet the Report we are alluding to makes scarcely a mention of this object. It says, that no enemy would sit down before Fort Monroe, which it would cost much time and blood to besiege, when his purpose could be fulfilled by entering many other places on the Chesapeake. And this suggests a sufficient reason for having substituted for that work a small one, that would resist a *coup de main*, or preserve the place from hostile occupation. Little apprehension is entertained that Fort Monroe or Fort Calhoun will be besieged ; not that they are impregnable, particularly the first, against which regular approaches can be made. But a regular siege consumes many days, during which relief could always be afforded.

There was a double object in constructing these works. They were intended to mount a battery sufficient to command the entrance of the Roads, and to combine a strength — not a strength for merely resisting a *coup de main*, which might be found in a blockhouse, but such as should discourage all attempts at a siege. The Report says, that no enemy would deem it worth while to conquer Fort Monroe, when he could penetrate the country at other undefended points. If the object were merely to detroy a few towns, or lay them under contribution, or to make predatory incursions beyond the coast, we might readily admit, that the fortifications we have been erecting at so much expense, would be left to waste their strength in harmless distance. But

we may suppose a higher object in such a case. We may easily suppose that an enemy, powerful and enterprising, wishing to distress us in the highest degree at the opening of hostilities, would look to the possession of Hampton Roads as more likely to enable him to do so than any other attainable object. He might well expend much blood and treasure to obtain this possession, which, at certain seasons of the year, is the only certain harbour of refuge on the coast, as it would probably throw into his hands an amount of property, that would many times counterbalance the cost of the acquisition; besides the immense loss that would result to the other side, — a loss, we doubt not, that would equal the expense of constructing these important works, which are intended to avert such a disastrous event. It is inferable from this Report, that the late Secretary, if it were in his power, would undo, in a great measure, what has been done, both at Old Point Comfort and at Newport. Fortunately, — very fortunately, we think, — for the country, these cardinal parts of our system of maritime defence were too nearly completed to be affected by a condemnation, even in so high a quarter. Neither the present nor future generations can be deprived of the incalculable benefits that may, in the hour of war or danger, — and they are directly beneficial at no other time, — arise from their construction.

We cannot refrain from dwelling yet a moment longer on the apparent attempt to measure the utility of Fort Monroe, as a surveyor would a lot of land, by its number of acres. Fort Monroe is a large work, and may be even larger than any single work in Europe, as the Report states; though we see nothing in this comparison to prove that the American work is *too* large. It does not occur to us that there is any one work in Europe that is of equal national importance. But we doubt whether the Board of Engineers directed any inquiries to this point. It undoubtedly looked alone to the importance of the place to be defended, and to the number of guns required for such a purpose, and planned the work accordingly, without any reference to transatlantic precedents. The proposed armament of Forts Monroe and Calhoun is said to amount to about 650 guns, hardly two thirds of them intended for the former work. This would be the armament of several line-of-battle ships, and may not be thought excessive for the security of a roadstead

of such primary importance. The calculation could not, of course, be precise. It was proper to adopt a liberal maximum. Having determined the number of guns, the next step would be to dispose of them. In this case, it was determined to arrange them in two tiers, a greater number being objectionable on many obvious accounts. These guns, in a work like Fort Monroe, must necessarily be on one or two faces, — those which command the water. Enclosing the rear, or connecting the front batteries by a secure wall, was a subordinate part of the operation, but to be done according to fixed principles of engineering. This rear wall could not be run across over the shortest line, in order to diminish the number of acres to be included in the area. It must conform to certain angular prolongations, necessary to give it a defensible character. Fort Monroe thus came to embrace "sixty-three," or more "acres"; nevertheless, we may be permitted to regard it as a work that has no excess of armament, nor any unnecessary space within its walls. The great purpose for which it was constructed, — a purpose placing it far higher in the scale of importance than Gibraltar, with which, in point of "acres," it is compared in this Report, — demanded "ample room and verge enough" for these heavy batteries, and for the twenty-seven hundred men, who are to garrison it in time of war. This complement includes the men at the guns, and a thousand, or more, to spare for emergencies, to defend the rear walls, &c.

We have, perhaps somewhat out of season, made these remarks on this famous, and, in many of its parts, most excellent Report of the late Secretary of War, because we feel a conviction (felt at the time it came out), that it is a document, in other parts, of the most injurious tendency of any that has come from the War Department since its establishment. Mr. Calhoun, we are persuaded, will ever be regarded as a benefactor to his country, for lending the efforts of his strong mind to establish the present system of fortifications. No system of such magnitude, and embracing such a vast variety of ramifications, could be supposed to obtain universal assent. The present system was founded on actual and minute surveys, and after a most deliberate and able consideration of all its bearings and objects; and the public was satisfied that good reasons, such as an accomplished board of engineers concluded to be sufficient, had led to

its recommendation and adoption. All that remained was to fulfil the plan as fast as the resources of the country admitted; occasionally modifying its details, or parts, as new or unlooked-for circumstances demanded or warranted. Such circumstances occurred with respect to one of the classes of the fortifications, which could be so properly superseded by steam-batteries, brought into use since the Board finished its labors. If the Report had confined its recommendations to modifications like these, it would have received the approbation of all reflecting men. But, at a time when our foreign relations were growing more threatening, and our seaboard called for renewed exertions to strengthen its defences, this Report seemed to throw a doubt over the propriety of past expenditures, and unsettled much of the system for the future. Congress now proceeds with each appropriation reluctantly and doubtingly. It will be some time before a general impression can prevail, that we still have a system, which justifies the public confidence, and which, if carried out, will place the nation in a condition of comparative, if not positive, respectability and security.

When our harbours shall once be adequately protected by fortifications, more than half the battle will be fought. Garrisons are raised up with comparative facility. While forts, such as are suited to coast defence, are the result only of many years' labor, troops, of more or less competency, may be formed, if not with the promptitude of Cadmus, at least in a comparatively brief time. Let the armour be prepared, and those who may wear it will always be found.

The Report of the present Secretary of War is an important document on this subject. Mr. Poinsett has administered his department with great zeal. All his energies have been devoted to the advancement of the important interests confided to his care. He has a true military spirit, and has had some military experience. Perhaps the latter has led him, occasionally, to rely too much on himself, and less on the experience of others within his reach, than would have been expedient. We are led to think so from the failure of several of his prominent suggestions, which have generally proposed changes too abrupt, new, or extreme, to be successful. Much has been done by him, however, and more may still be expected from his active mind. By the Report we are now referring to, it appears that he has personally

examined many of the harbours, and he sums up his observations in this strong language, which should awaken a solicitude, and even alarm, throughout the whole country. "They," (the defences of our maritime frontier,) he says, "were found, as had been before stated, unfinished, unarmed, and totally inadequate to protect the harbours they are intended to guard from attacks of a comparatively small force." Again he says, "Our principal cities on the seaboard are at this time exposed to be laid under contribution, and our navy-yards to be destroyed without the possibility of defending them." If we could believe this to be true in its full extent, we should think the condition of the country deplorable indeed. We trust, however, that his language is unintentionally exaggerated. Indeed, we feel sure that it is unwarrantably strong. But what deserves our unreserved belief is enough to startle every mind, anxious for the welfare and honor of the country.

What is at this time, or what was at the time the Report was made, the condition of our harbour fortifications? The Report says, that, "when the works now in progress in Boston harbour are finished, that place will be perfectly secure." This does not inform us at what stage in this progress these works are. It would have been satisfactory to know how far they have advanced, though we believe that one of the old works, which has been extensively repaired, is in a good condition for defence. Portsmouth is said to be "entirely defenceless." We are aware, that Fort Constitution at that place is an old and imperfect work. Still, we think, with a proper garrison and a proper armament (and we presume it has its old armament at hand), the place would not be entirely defenceless. With no better defence, it was unassailed during the last war. "Pensacola is exposed,"—we still quote the Report, — "and the important city and harbour of New York are still indifferently protected, and will remain so even after all the works now in progress shall be completed and armed." "Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, Savannah, and the ports in the Gulf, all require further protection."

Under the system of fortifications established in Mr. Monroe's time, many works have been constructed, the most important of which are at Old Point Comfort, at Newport, at or near Mobile, at New York, and in the neighbourhood of New Orleans. Other works have been constructed in North

Carolina, near Philadelphia (though the Pea Patch work has proved a failure), and at Savannah. Others may also be in progress. Thus, starting from the northeastern angle of the coast, we have Eastport, Portland, and some other places in Maine, and Portsmouth in New Hampshire, with their old works, which, with proper garrisons, would, at least, keep up a show of defence. They did little more the last war, but most of them with good effect. We have before remarked on the condition of Boston. None of these places are properly fortified, but all of them could be put in an attitude of defence. They are now as open as a common highway. Give each of them a garrison, and their situation would be widely different. They all, no doubt, have their old armaments. Let there be troops to man them, and none of them would be "exposed to be laid under contribution," nor would the "navy-yard" at Boston "be without the possibility of being defended." We can hardly believe the fact as we record it, that not one of these places has had a garrison since the Florida war began.

New York is a vast portal, which opens into an interior of incalculable wealth. It moreover commands a river, which sends the tide waters some hundred and fifty miles into that interior. Much has been done to render this portal inaccessible, and, when the works on Throggs-neck are finished, it may be considered as capable of making a good defence; though the Narrows can never be looked upon as sufficiently secure until a proper work be constructed on Staten Island, the works that are now there not deserving the least regard. New York is, therefore, without its proper, its essential, permanent defence. It could, however, be made comparatively safe by a suitable garrison. During the last few years it has been nearly denuded of troops. Flitting garrisons have occasionally occupied the forts; but, like birds of passage, they have waited only the coming of autumn to seek the south. It will scarcely be credited, that one of these forts, with a full armament, has been for some time past, — we will not say how long, — confided to one man; while the main work, overlooking it, and both standing, as it were, on the outer wall, has had little more of the *personnel de guerre*. Has there been an overruling necessity, during all this time, of leaving this primary mart of our country in such weak condition, — so weak, that when a foreign vessel of war passes in

or out, and proposes an exchange of salutes, the compliment often cannot be accepted ? With the rapacious war of Florida in mind, one can hardly answer this question satisfactorily. Every object proposed by that war, if attained an hundred fold, could not counterbalance the deep injury, and the deeper disgrace, of such a hostile occupation of the defences of that great city, as could at any moment be made, while they remain as they now are, and have been for some time past. These defences should never be one day without a garrison.

Philadelphia is better defended by her interior position. So is Baltimore. Either could probably throw into the works in its vicinity a force from its own population, before danger stood at its door. Not so Old Point Comfort. This work, — the first in size and importance on our coast, — is, and has been for some time, nearly as defenceless and accessible as any "sixty-three acre" farm in its vicinity. North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mobile, New Orleans, — all have been stripped of their garrisons in the same manner as the more northern parts of the Union. Florida has been the Aaron's rod, which has swallowed up every thing.

We have confined ourselves, in these remarks, to the subject of works for the defence of the Atlantic coast. The manner of garrisoning such works, and the best disposition of the few regiments of the standing army in time of peace, present questions which we may find another opportunity to treat. The plan presented in the recent Report of the Secretary of War to the House of Representatives, on the reorganization of the militia, has important relations to the whole subject. That Report is under debate while we are writing ; and, for the discussion of its merits simply in the light of a scheme for an efficient national defence, we prefer to take a time when it will be more free, than it now is, from connexion with the policy of conflicting parties.

ART. VIII. — *Crania Americana; or a Comparative View of the Skulls of Various Aboriginal Nations of North and South America; to which is prefixed an Essay on the Varieties of the Human Species. Illustrated with Seventy-eight Plates and a colored Map.* By SAMUEL GEORGE MORTON, M. D., &c. Philadelphia: J. Dobson, Chestnut Street. London: Simpkins, Marshall, & Co. 1839. folio. pp. 296.

THE "Crania Americana" constitutes by far the most valuable addition, which has been made to the natural history of man since the learned and philosophical works of Blumenbach and Prichard. Enjoying rare opportunities for the pursuit of the study to which he has devoted himself with so much zeal and industry, Dr. Morton has furnished the scientific world with results of his labors, which are alike honorable to American science and to his own high and well-earned reputation. The work, however, has not been given to the public without having met with obstacles, which could have been overcome only by unwearied perseverance. No labor or expense has been spared to render it worthy of the subject. "Many of the plates have been drawn the second and the third time; and in several instances the entire edition has been cancelled, in order to correct inaccuracies which had previously escaped observation."

Although the object of the work is to give a comparative view of the skulls of various aboriginal nations of North and South America, there has been prefixed an introductory Essay, in which all the great varieties of the human species are accurately described. The chief merit of the treatise, however, as we think, rests upon the descriptions of the American variety and the deductions drawn from it; we shall, therefore, confine our remarks almost entirely to that portion.

We cannot pass by, without notice, the remarks of our author on the characteristic conformation of the ancient Egyptians, and on the supposed affinity between them and the Negroes.* Volney was of an opinion, that the two races were identical; and this view has been seized upon with avidity in more recent times, in order to place the African race

* See page 29, *et seq.*, note.

in a different position from that which it is usually considered to occupy. The advocates of these opinions appeal to the writings of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus in support of their views.

"Another point much insisted on is the following. Herodotus, speaking of the Colchians, says, that the Egyptians believed them 'to be descended from the troops of Sesostris.' He then adds, 'To this I was myself inclined, because they are black, and have hair short and curling.'" — p. 29, *note.*

Volney, looking upon the celebrated Sphinx, "hastily inferred from its flat features and bushy hair, that the Egyptians were real negroes;" obviously thinking, that if they worshipped a form which had the features of a negro, these same features must have characterized the people from whom the homage came. It is still further urged, that we often find depicted, on the ancient monuments and coffins, unequivocal representations of the African race.

On the other hand, we believe with Dr. Morton, that the evidence which is adduced in favor of the opinion, that the two races are radically different, is incontrovertible. The argument drawn from the configuration of the Sphinx, says Dr. Morton,

"have no weight when we recur to the fact, that the Buddhists of Asia (the most numerous sect in existence) represent their principal god with negro features and hair, and often sculptured in black marble; yet, among the three hundred millions who worship Buddha, there is not perhaps a solitary negro nation." — *Ibid.*

An argument in support of this side of the question, which we think would be alone amply sufficient to settle the point at issue, is that drawn from the millions of human bodies which were embalmed and buried in the Theban catacombs.

"Here are the very people who walked the streets of Thebes, they who built Luxor and the pyramids; and yet among the thousands, whose bodies curiosity and avarice have dragged from their tombs, I am not aware that a solitary negro has been discovered." — *Ibid.*

No unprejudiced person, who will take the trouble to compare the cranium of the ancient Egyptian with that of the Ethiopian, will, we are confident, for a moment contend, that they belonged to one and the same race of men.

"I have examined," says Cuvier, "in Paris and in various collections in Europe, more than fifty heads of mummies, and not one of them presented the characters of the negro or Hottentot. There is a remarkable resemblance among the innumerable heads sculptured on the temples of the Nile; and one who is accustomed to examine them, becomes so familiar with the Egyptian physiognomy, that, when other races are introduced, as the Jews and Negroes, the eye can mostly detect them. There is also a singular accordance in conformation between the sculptured heads and the real ones taken from the Theban catacombs. Two prominent varieties are discernible in each; one of these has the rather low and narrow forehead, while the other presents the full developement of the Caucasian head." — p. 27.

From the strong contrast which is shown to exist in the pictorial representations of these two races on ancient temples and tombs, it would appear, that "they were as distinct in that country three thousand years ago as at the present time."

Passing over what relates to the other races, we shall, before proceeding to notice the principal subject of the work, offer a few remarks on the American race, comprising the aboriginal inhabitants of the whole American continent. The American race is divided by Dr. Morton into two great families, one of which, designated as the *Toltecan*, had advanced to a state of demicivilization, as indicated by their architectural remains and the extent to which they carried the useful arts; the other embraced all the barbarous races of the new world, excluding, however, the Polar tribes or Mongol-Americans, inhabiting north of the 57th degree of latitude. The American family is subdivided into several subordinate groups or branches, which are arranged under the following heads.* First, the *Appalachian Branch*, including all the nations of North America, except the Mexicans, together with the tribes north of the river Amazon and east of the Andes. Second, the *Brazilian Branch*, whose geographical position may be indicated in general terms, as embraced between the rivers Amazon and La Plata, and between the Andes and the Atlantic. Third, the *Patagonian Branch*, which group includes the nations south of the La Plata to the Straits of Magellan, and the mountain tribes of Chili. Last-

* Page 64.

ly, the *Fuegians*, inhabiting Terra del Fuego, and usually called *Patagonians*, from whom, however, they are obviously distinct.

"In the Toltecan groups are embraced the civilized nations of Mexico, Peru, and Bogotá, extending from the Rio Gila, in the thirty-third degree of north latitude, along the western margin of the continent, to the frontiers of Chili. In North America, however, the people of this family spread from ocean to ocean, through the present intendencies of Mexico, Vera Cruz, Puebla, Oaxaca, Guatimala, Yucatan, Nicaragua, &c. In South America it was confined between the Andes and Pacific Ocean, its southern limit being the great desert of Atacama.

"In assigning geographical limits to the Toltecan family, it is not to be supposed that they alone inhabited this extended region; for, while successive nations of that family held dominion over it for thousands of years, other and barbarous tribes were everywhere dispersed through the country, and, whether of aboriginal or exotic origin, may have at all times contributed a large part of the population. During these periods of power and greatness, an organized feudal system divided the nation into two great classes of nobles and plebeians; and there appears to have been as much objection to the amalgamation of these classes as ever existed in an aristocratic state of Europe.

"It is in the intellectual faculties, that we discover a great difference between the Toltecan and American families. In the arts and sciences of the former we see the evidences of an advanced civilization. From the Rio Gila in California, to the southern extremity of Peru, their architectural remains are everywhere encountered, to surprise the traveller, and confound the antiquary; among these are pyramids, temples, grottoes, bas-reliefs, and arabesques; while their roads, aqueducts, and fortifications, and the sites of their mining operations, sufficiently attest their attainments in the practical arts of life."—pp. 83, 84.

The Toltecan race seems to have borne a relation to the different American groups, somewhat similar to that sustained by the ancient Egyptians to the rest of the then civilized world, and like them to have been unequalled in the useful arts. We have never ceased to wonder, while looking upon a collection of ancient Peruvian mummies, now in Boston, which give ample evidence of having belonged to a race of men, who had attained to no small advancement in

the useful arts of life. The implements of domestic industry, with which they were surrounded, seemed at once to carry us back to the family circle ; — needles and thread ; spindles, on which the marks of use are still obvious, though centuries have passed since they were deposited in the earth with those whom they served ; a work-basket, well supplied with needles and yarn, both of which would compare well with those found in the hands of modern ladies, enjoying as they do the advantages of modern art. There, too, were articles of the toilet, — combs, which, with broken teeth and entangled hair, gave evidence of faithful service, and a goodly supply of cosmetics, showing, that even they were by no means insensible to personal attractions. The texture of the cloth with which they were surrounded, and the richness and variety of colors with which it was dyed, seemed to equal, if not exceed, any which we have seen from the remains of the ancient Egyptians. The bows and arrows of the deceased, the plentiful supply of corn and other necessaries of life, would seem to be preparations for that new and unseen state of existence, which it appears they believed awaited all. It is matter of doubt, to what extent the process of embalming was carried by the ancient Peruvians. It is altogether probable, that they depended, almost altogether, upon the arid state of the climate, and the antiseptic properties of the salts with which the soil is impregnated.

"The arid region of Atacama was the favorite sepulchre of the Peruvian nations for successive ages ; for, while the climate tends rather to the desiccation, than the decay, of the dead, the mixed sand and salt of the desert have contributed to the same end ; and the lifeless bodies of whole generations of the former inhabitants of Peru may now be examined, like those from the Theban catacombs, after the lapse of hundreds, perhaps thousands, of years. The great number of the dead, thus remaining in Peru, has been a subject of surprise to all travellers, and serves to convey an idea of the vast population that has, at different periods, derived its subsistence from that country." — p. 96.

We hope, that, ere long, attempts will be made to explore the remains of this ancient and interesting race, promising, as they do, a rich harvest to him who would enter upon a fruitful, and as yet almost unbroken field.

For describing the cranial peculiarities of the American

Indians, as we have already intimated, Dr. Morton has enjoyed rare opportunities, having had access to a larger number of skulls of the different races of the two Americas, than has hitherto fallen to the lot of any one individual. He gives the anatomical characters, as well as accurate and careful measurements, of one hundred and forty-seven different specimens, seventy-two of which are carefully figured of the natural size. In connexion with them, we have interesting details of the history and habits of many of the races to which they belonged.

The crania from Peru and Mexico, and those from the numerous *tumuli* scattered through the Western and South-western States, belonging to races remarkable for the advances which they had made in civilization, particularly deserve our attention.

Commencing with the Peruvians, we are at once struck with the existence of two conformations, entirely distinct in their characters, which, with the aid of historical evidence, we are justified in referring to races who held, in turn, undivided sway over the territory where we now find their remains, and who had arrived at a far greater perfection in the arts, than any other nation inhabiting the American continent. So abundant were the remains of the Peruvians in the latter part of the seventeenth century, that Wafer tells us, that when he visited the town of Vermejo, in 1687, he found the whole neighbourhood of the town strewed with desiccated bodies, and, as he says, a man might walk for the distance of a mile and a half, and tread upon them at every step. Though a century and a half have elapsed since this traveller visited these regions, and although vast numbers of these remains must have been scattered to the winds, by exposure to the elements, or by the equally destructive curiosity and cupidity of man, yet we have sufficient evidence, that relics of this interesting race exist, even at the present time, in vast numbers. We have already alluded to a whole family of ancient Peruvian mummies now existing in Boston, which were exhumed from an extensive cemetery at Arica. Aware of these circumstances, Dr. Morton had long wished to procure a series of Peruvian crania, and ascertain, if possible, if there was any evidence of the existence of more than one great family. In pursuing this inquiry, he was so fortunate as to have the examination, in his own and other collections,

of nearly one hundred different Peruvian skulls. The result of his researches is, that there existed, as has already been stated, two races, characterized by entirely different conformations. These races, for reasons which we shall presently see, he denominates *Ancient* and *Modern* Peruvians; the first holding dominion over the country till invaded by the Incas, and the second, or Inca race, still retaining possession when it was first visited by the Spaniards. The ancient race had then become extinct, or merged in that of their conquerors, and their monumental remains and cemeteries afford us almost the only records of their history.

"Let us now glean, from the few sources that are open to us, what can be discovered of the physical and intellectual character of these people, their history and tradition.

"Our knowledge of their physical appearance is derived solely from their tombs. In stature they appear not to have been, in any respect, remarkable, nor to have differed from the cognate nations except in the conformation of the head, which is small, greatly elongated, narrow its whole length, with a very retreating forehead, and possessing more symmetry than is usual in the skulls of the American race. The face projects; the upper jaw is thrust forwards; and the teeth are inclined outward. The orbits of the eyes are large and rounded, the nasal bones salient, the zygomatic arches expanded; and there is a remarkable simplicity in the sutures, that connected the bones of the cranium." — pp. 97, 98.

It is only by a reference to the plates which accompany this work, or by an examination of specimens themselves, that we are enabled to form a just conception of this strange conformation of the skull. The great length of the head from before backwards, and the low and retreating forehead, would lead us to suppose, that these peculiarities were, in a great measure, artificial. But Dr. Morton thinks, that the cranium, which he has figured on the fourth plate as an illustrative type of the cranial peculiarities of this people, presents no marks of mechanical compression, and is unaltered by art; the same may be said of nearly all the others which have fallen under his observation.

"It must almost invariably happen, that when the forehead of a naturally-rounded head has been much compressed by art, the back and lateral parts of the cranium become proportionally expanded, in order to make room for the brain that has

been displaced from the anterior chamber. Thus, among all the specimens I have seen of this deformity, from the tribes on the Columbia river, the ancient inhabitants of Venezuela, the Charibs of the Antilles, and some tribes of Peruvians, I have met with no exceptions to this rule. All these nations have, naturally, spheroidal heads, and the result of mechanical pressure is such as above described ; a point on which the reader can judge for himself by comparing the illustrations in various parts of this work. Now the heads of these ancient Peruvians seldom present such lateral expansion, but, on the contrary, are as remarkable for their narrowness as for their length. In fact, their low facial angle, their sloping forehead, and their protruding face, might lead to a suspicion of a Negro origin, were it not for the unanswerable evidence derived from the texture of the hair. This is uniformly long and lank, and appears to have been worn at full length by both sexes, and its natural blackness is preserved notwithstanding centuries of inhumation. I am free to admit, that the naturally elongated heads of these people were often rendered more so by the intervention of art, but such examples are, for the most part, readily detected. It is a feature, both of civilized and savage communities, to admire their own national characteristics above all others, and hence, where nature has denied an imaginary grace, art is called in to supply the deficiency ; and, even where there has been no such deficiency, human vanity prompts to extravagance. Thus, I have seen some skulls of this race, which must have been naturally very low and long ; yet, in order to exaggerate a feature which was considered beautiful, compression has been applied, till the whole head has assumed more of the character of the monkey than of man." — p. 98.

What surprises us, more than all else, is, that a people with heads so small and badly formed, should have possessed other than a low degree of intelligence. For, whatever may be the views entertained with regard to the truth of the doctrine of the phrenologists, we are not apt to attribute a high degree of mental capacity to heads of an *anti-Caucasian* formation. Yet we have the strongest evidence, that the extraordinary skulls we are now considering belonged to a race, whose monumental remains still excite wonder and admiration.

Pedro de Cieca, an officer in the army of Pizarro, describing the town of Tiaguanico, its edifices, monuments, and gateways, speaks of them as follows ;

"What most surprised me, while engaged in examining and recording these things, was, that the above enormous gateways were formed on other great masses of stone, some of which were thirty feet long, fifteen feet wide, and six feet thick. Nor can I conceive, with what tools or instruments these stones were hewn out; for it is obvious, that, before they were wrought and brought to perfection, they must have been vastly larger than we now see them. Before I proceed to a further account of Tiaguanico, I must remark, that this monument is the most ancient in Peru; for it is supposed, that these structures *were built long before the dominion of the Incas*, and I have heard the Indians affirm, that these sovereigns constructed their great buildings in Cuzco after the plan of the walls of Tiaguanico, and they add, that the first Incas were accustomed to hold their court in this place. Another very curious fact is, that, in the greater part of this territory, there are no quarries nor rocks, whence the materials of these structures could have been derived." — p. 99.

These accounts, and many others, of Pedro de Cieca are confirmed by subsequent writers. The Peruvians themselves attributed these structures to a period long anterior to the accession of the Incas; for we are informed by tra ditionary history, that Tiaguanico did not fall into their hands until the reign of Mayta Yupanque, the fourth king, at which period the edifices in question must have been in existence for a long series of years, as they were then in a state of ruin and decay. Garcilaso de la Vega, himself a descendant of the royal Peruvians, admits, that these structures existed long before the conquest of the country by his ancestors. The innumerable tombs and monuments of similar Cyclopean dimensions, with which the country abounds, invariably contained those remarkable crania of which we have already spoken.

From what has been stated above, some idea may be formed, both regarding the physical characters of the ancient Peruvians, and the advances which they had made in the arts of civilization. Having existed for centuries in a state of comparative splendor, they were at length brought under the dominion of another race, the Incas, or Modern Peruvians, who were in power when the Spaniards first visited the country.

Much obscurity hangs around the origin of the Incas in Peru. Their own fabulous traditions refer the origin of

their monarchy to Manco Capac, and Coya Mama, who was both his sister and his wife. Children of the Sun, they made their descent on the Island of Titicaca, and at once set to work to reform the institutions of the country; and, by the artful management of these personages and their descendants, the whole country was at length brought under their despotic sway. Sufficient proof exists, however, that Peru was subdued by the physical force of victorious armies of numbers, and not by the artful intrigue of a few. Who these strangers probably were, may be gathered from the following passages.

"The Toltecas, the most civilized nation of ancient Mexico, after governing that country for four centuries, suddenly abandoned it about the year 1050 of our era." The Mexican annalists state, "that during the reign of their last prince, a series of calamities gave a fatal blow to their prosperity and power. 'For several years heaven denied them the necessary showers to their fields, and the earth the fruits that supported them. The air, infected by mortal contagion, filled daily the graves with the dead and the minds of those surviving with consternation at the destruction of their countrymen. A great part of the nation died by famine and sickness, and the wretched remains of this people, willing to save themselves from the common calamity, sought timely relief to their misfortunes in other countries.' * The historian then adds, that the Toltecas migrated in large bodies to various parts of the continent, and extended themselves as far south as Yucatan; and so complete was the dispersion of this people, that the land of Anahuac (the ancient name of Mexico) remained solitary and depopulated for nearly a century." — p. 113.

It is rendered probable, that the Toltecas made their way into Peru and took possession of it at this time, and that from them the race of Incas had their origin. For the latter date their possession of the country from this very period of the migration of the Toltecas, namely, about the eleventh century of our era. This conclusion is still further supported by the fact of the great similarity in the characters of the Toltecan and modern Peruvian races, and by the evidence derived from a similarity in the conformation of their crania, which we next proceed to notice; a conformation strangely contrasted with that of the ancient race of which we have heretofore spoken.

"* Clavigero, *Hist. Mexico*, Vol. I. p. 118."

"The skull in these people is remarkable for its small size, and also for its quadrangular form. The occiput is greatly compressed, sometimes absolutely vertical; the sides are swelled out, and the forehead is somewhat elevated but very retreating. The capacity of the cavity of the cranium, derived from the measurement of many specimens of the pure Inca race, shows, as we shall see hereafter, a singularly small cerebral mass for an intelligent and civilized people. Their heads are remarkable not only for their smallness, but also for their irregularity; for, in the whole series in my collection, there is but one that can be called symmetrical. This irregularity chiefly consists in the greater projection of the occiput to the one side than to the other, showing in some instances a surprising degree of deformity."

"I am convinced, that among the collection of Peruvian skulls alluded to above, there is not one that has been designedly moulded by art; and hence it may be reasonably inferred, that individuals forming the royal race, or those forming the higher classes among the Peruvians, seldom or never flattened their heads. What to them was natural, was imitated by the inferior orders, and especially, it may be conjectured, by the inhabitants of conquered provinces and others, whose heads may not have been originally formed on the aristocratic model." — p. 115.

The Incas, or the nobility, were ever kept distinct from the plebeian orders, and to them was reserved all the power and dignity of which the kingdom could boast. Arts and sciences were cultivated by them, although the latter existed in a rude condition. Astronomy had made with them some progress, but they were in this respect behind the Mexicans. In architecture their advancement, indeed, was surprising; and, like the ancient Egyptians, they seem to have been determined to erect structures, which should attest to future generations their power, industry, and skill. Their ingenuity was also evinced in the success with which they wrought precious stones; even emeralds, says Ulloa, were wrought into various shapes, and drilled through with all the delicacy of our European artists. Magnificent remains of roads still remain, evidences of the constructive talent of the Incas. Humboldt thus notices one of these, in his journey across the plains of Assuay.

"We were surprised to find in this place, and at heights which greatly surpass the top of the peak of the Teneriffe, the magnificent remains of a road constructed by the Incas of Peru.

This causeway lined with freestone, may be compared to the finest Roman roads I have seen in Italy, France, or Spain. It is perfectly straight, and keeps the same direction for six or eight thousand metres. We observed the continuation of this road near Caxamarca, one hundred and twenty leagues to the south of Assuay ; and it is believed in the country that it went as far as the city of Cuzco." — p. 120.

Their religion was free from those barbarous practices and bloody rites, which were so common with the Mexicans. They believed in the existence of a Supreme Ruler, and in the immortality of the soul, and regarded the future state as one of rewards and punishments. The sun and moon, with the stars, which they esteemed servants and handmaids of these great luminaries, were objects of adoration and homage, and in their honor they erected temples and idols. It was otherwise, however, with their funeral ceremonies. When the death of a chief occurred they mourned for many days, and performed their last act with great solemnity ; depositing in the tomb of the deceased his utensils, weapons, meats and drinks, and at the same time burying with him human victims, women, boys, and servants, to attend the departed on his entrance into another world. Others, with suicidal hands, laid themselves down as voluntary sacrifices for the same ends ; and it is stated by Herrera, that " when Huyana Capac died, early in the fifteenth century, no less than four hundred Peruvians expired by their own hands, in the ambitious delusion of accompanying their dead monarch in his new existence."

We should be glad to lay before our readers the historical and physical details, which bear upon the national history of the ancient Mexicans ; but to do so would lead us beyond the limits which we have proposed to this article. Like the Peruvians, they belong to the Toltecan stock, and possess similar cranial peculiarities. Crania, from apparently the same stock, are found in connexion with numerous mounds and *tumuli*, which are scattered through the valley of the Mississippi, Florida, Mexico, and Peru. These, in connexion with the structures with which they are associated, would seem to indicate, that the great Toltecan family had extended itself far and wide over both Americas, in the south reaching as far as the confines of Chili, and in the north terminating at the shores of Lake Superior.

"Wherever that people made their sojourn, we find their monumental traces presenting, indeed, different degrees of contrivance and ingenuity, but for the most part far exceeding those faculties as possessed by the barbarous tribes. Some of the latter, it is true, have occasionally formed sepulchral mounds, but the instances are rare; and it will probably be hereafter established, that all the tribes, which erected mounds as a national usage, belonged to the Toltecan stock." —p. 230.

It will be remembered, that Dr. Morton refers the various American nations to two principal families, viz. the Toltecan and the American; the latter including the barbarous nations, and the former the half-civilized Peruvians and Mexicans, and their cognate nations, which have already been noticed in the preceding pages.

It would be hardly desirable here, to enter into an analysis of the numerous descriptions of crania belonging to the barbarous nations, including, as they do, notices of between thirty and forty different tribes. In drawing comparisons, however, between the two great American families, and between the American and other races, results are obtained, some of them unexpected in their character, and all of them interesting. Thus we find, that, by comparing the crania of the five great varieties of the human family, the internal capacity of their crania, or the bulk of the brain and *medulla oblongata*, in cubic inches, is as follows;

Caucasian,	87	cubic inches.
Mongolian,	83	" "
Malay,	81	" "
American,	80	" "
Ethiopian,	78	" "

making a difference of nine cubic inches between Caucasian and Ethiopian.

It should be observed, however, that the capacity of the Caucasian crania, as mentioned above, is, with a single exception, the mean result of the measurements of fifty-two skulls from the lowest and least educated class of society, and consequently likely to be rather below the true average.

Comparing the different American crania together, the average measurements are found to be as follows;

Peruvians,	76	cubic inches
Mexicans,	79	" "
Barbarous tribes,	82	" "

From this it appears, that the barbarous nations possess a larger brain, by five inches and a half, than the Toltecans; while on the other hand, as appears from another table, the Toltecans possess a greater relative capacity of the anterior chamber of the skull, in the proportion of 42·3 to 41·8.

The general propositions which follow are, in the opinion of Dr. Morton, sustained by the facts contained in his work;

1st. That the American race differs essentially from all others, not excepting the Mongolian; nor do the feeble analogies of language, and the more obvious ones in the civil and religious institutions and the arts, denote any thing beyond casual or colonial communication with the Asiatic nations; and even these may perhaps be accounted for, as Humboldt has suggested, by the mere coincidence naturally arising from similar wants and impulses in nations inhabiting similar latitudes.

2d. That the American nations, excepting the Polar tribes, are of one race and one species, but of two great families, which resemble each other in physical, but differ in intellectual character.

3d. That the cranial remains discovered in the mounds from Peru to Wisconsin, belong to the same race, and probably to the Toltecan family.

The remarks and extracts in the preceding pages will, we are aware, give but an imperfect idea of the great merits of the "Crania Americana." Giving, as the work does, an accurate description of the cranial peculiarities of races, which have hitherto been in those respects but imperfectly known, it does much to clear up and elucidate an important point in the natural history of man; and the fairness and accuracy, with which these researches have been conducted, will entitle the author to the highest respect and confidence of the scientific inquirer.

ART. IX. — 1. *L'Irlande Sociale, Politique, et Religieuse*, par GUSTAVE DE BEAUMONT. Paris. 1839. 2 Tomes. 8vo.

2. *Rambles in the South of Ireland, during the Year* 1838. By LADY CHATTERTON. 2 Vols. London. 1839.

THE history of Ireland, chequered with eventful periods, and full to overflowing with stirring incident, offers nothing to the reflective mind so pregnant with interest as her present situation. There is a tide in the affairs of nations as in those of men. The political waters of the country in question have long had their rise and fall, — tumultuous and agitated in all times ; but certain indications now proclaim the coming crisis, in which the tide must reach the full. It is by no means our purpose to dive into this troubled sea, and drag up historic treasures, or to trust ourselves on its waves, in an adventurous search after undiscovered truths. To trace analogies between the past and the present, and from them to prophesy what is to be, is, if not altogether futile, at least a task out of our design. We hear O'Connell shouting forth "Justice to Ireland!" We see Father Matthew pointing out temperance to Irishmen. We know that the country has been treated unjustly ; that the people have been intemperate, the inevitable consequence of absolute ignorance, — which is, in its turn, the heaviest curse that a government can negatively inflict upon a nation. But can we, from these premises, venture to predict the consequences of the past oppressions, or the present outcry for redress ?

The wisest statesmen of the old world confess themselves at fault on this momentous subject. That "something must be done *with* Ireland, or *for* Ireland," is now more than the common-place cant of a dominant party in the state, ready to heap some new infliction on the country, or of a hungry opposition, willing to turn her bitter sufferings to political account. To solve the perilous problem, and say what the "something" is, we shall not, as we have already indicated, attempt. Neither can any English faction, Tory, Whig, or Radical, now dare to do it. The great question has become a grand experiment, and it has fallen into proper hands at last. Ireland herself must work it out. Her yet unfulfilled destiny, as a portion of European civilization, is to

be completed only on her own soil, by her own sons. England has never had the virtue, and never probably could have the wisdom, to accomplish it. This incapacity is not, however, a lot peculiar to England. No nation has ever yet done perfect justice to another. No spontaneous spring of magnanimity has ever thrown wide the portals to a conquered and imprisoned people. A section of a population may be joined with its victors, under a promise of equal rights and a semblance of amalgamation, as was often effected by ancient Rome. A class may be emancipated; a part may be freed from local restraints; modern England furnishes examples. But no wholesale manumission has ever taken place from nation to nation; and England is probably the last of all to make such an original and glorious bound on the career of greatness.

In saying this, we do not mean to put a brand on the brow of a great people, or fix a stigma of tyranny on their character. We only specify, after all, a peculiarity of *race*, when we say that England has, of all nations *as yet*, most broadly developed the instinct of territorial ambition. It is no new position of ours; and the Anglo-Saxon blood will everywhere rise up to admit it, with a glow of pride rather than a blush of shame. From the earliest of her wars with France down to the present time, England has been too narrow for the English. The possession of Gascony, wrenched from her after a fearful struggle; the invasion of Ireland, where she has from the first kept firm hold; the seizure of the American continent and islands, where she has still a footing, slippery it is true, but undisputed; the overrunning of India; the acquisition of Gibraltar, of the Cape of Good Hope, Malta, the Ionian isles, and the colonization of Australia, are points enough on which to rest. We say nothing of expeditions now on foot for China, with views still in embryo, nor of imputed designs on California. The brief enumeration already made sufficiently establishes, that the pride of colonial conquest is the absorbing "appetite, which grows by what it feeds on," in the English mind; a passion without bounds; the sustaining excitement of the most wonderful nation the world has ever seen.

Is it, then, to be for a moment imagined, that England will voluntarily concede to Ireland the "justice," which, let O'Connell say or think what he may, means nothing less than the dismemberment of the British Empire? The standard of

Repeal is at length fairly and openly hoisted, and nothing can now satisfy the vast majority of the Irish people, but a dissolution of that union, which was always repugnant to their feelings, galling to their pride, and which England has never attempted to carry out in the true spirit of union. Ireland has been tied to England, not attached. The great object of her wishes is a divorce, let that object be covered as it may by the robes of the vague and visionary "justice," for which she calls, and which, if once granted, we are told, would immediately silence the cry for repeal.

But this "justice" is nothing more, than an untangible rallying-cry of war, — not a positive and specific banner, under which men might assemble and fight. The great principles of law and government, presumed to be invoked, form a mass of complicated difficulties in the present state of Ireland, which defies unravelling. Let England now do what she may, let her concede the whole list of grants, which the Irish people ask, and which their celebrated leader implores for, in the attitude and tone of a bold beggar, his hat in the middle of the road, and his weapon in its rest on the side-path, — nothing will satisfy six-sevenths of the people of Ireland but a Repeal of the Union. What ulterior hope may lurk behind, in the minds of the enthusiastic or the far-seeing, it is not for us to say ; nor will we risk a foretelling that futurity might belie. But it is quite clear, that England must view the Repeal of the Union only as the first step towards the independence of Ireland. And can it be believed, that she will ever consent to that *premier pas*, which must be paid for at so ruinous a price ? O'Connell, in his last address, — a most important document, — pretends, or perhaps believes, that England will at once accede to the demand for repeal, now put forward in so formidable a shape. The sanguine people he addresses may join in and reiterate the opinion. But we pronounce it a mere fallacy ; not because we doubt O'Connell and his associates, either individually or in the mass, but because we know the English character. When did England ever concede so great a boon, or any great boon, of herself, and *in good time* ? Let her domestic history answer the question. Let American independence and Catholic emancipation stand forth in relief, as evidence all-sufficient. When necessity *forces* a great measure from British power, it is always yielded *greatly*. There is no half-opening of the hitherto closed

hand, no faltering, no fear of misrepresentation, no care for the opinion of others, no doubt of her own judgment. The peace of 1783, with the United States, the pacification of Europe, in 1814, the Catholic Relief Bill, in 1829, the Reform Bill, in 1830, are a few out of many splendid monuments of national power and of the largest political sagacity. Whenever other nations or her own subjects act, for their own interest, with courage and industry, England has always shown, in the long run, her appreciation of those two main qualities in her own character. Sympathy with them will obtain fully, what justice or policy may fail to obtain at all. England, above all nations, knows how to yield with dignity, and to give with grandeur. We are not blind to her faults; but we glory in her virtues. And we are sure, that, if Ireland can put forward and sustain her just and rational claims, in a spirit worthy of British admiration and esteem, those claims will, sooner or later, force their concession from the magnanimous spirit, which is enshrined in a tabernacle of pride and ambition. But, to expect that Great Britain will lop off the right arm of her power, fling away the best weapon of her armoury, and lay herself open to the assaults of an envious world, is to expect a suicidal infatuation, of which she has as yet shown no symptoms. Ireland must, we think, soon open her eyes to this. England will, we believe, soon take Ireland closer to her embrace. The Union, of which it is chimerical to anticipate the quiet repeal, must, undoubtedly, be fairly and fully consummated, if Great Britain would preserve her political existence, and strengthen its foundation.

The greatest good, that England could grant to Ireland, modifying, if not altogether neutralizing a mass of misrule, was the advantage of her example. The national union for all national objects, good or bad; the merging of party feeling in the common cause; this, — the great secret of a people's power, of which our own national motto, *E pluribus unum*, is the condensed expression, — England has been involuntarily teaching to Ireland for centuries; and Ireland has at last got the lesson by heart. She has been long reading in the volumes of experience, and not without results. Her past efforts for relief were mere preparatory steps for the race she is now entering on. Her training has been complete. Her furtive glances at freedom have taught her to

bear the blaze of liberty. Every one of the wild and bloody trials, which she has made in the practice-field, has prepared her to enter the lists, for serious action, with reflective steadiness and concentrated force.

Casting back our looks upon Ireland as she was in 1782, when Grattan raised the whole country, by the impassioned logic of his eloquence, into an attitude of independence, again at the formation of the Society of United Irishmen in 1791, and, finally, at the fierce outburst of rebellion in 1798, we can trace, step by step, the great gradations by which the country, in her own despite and unknown to herself, was reaching that measure of Legislative Union, by which she was, in 1800, entirely engulfed. The patriotic declarations of these various epochs bear to each other, and to those of the present time, a complete similarity of tone and sentiment. They are, in fact, but links in the same chain of public wants and wishes ; the utterance of the same hopes, by different generations of men, for the common object of nationality. This might be supposed to suggest, by implication, the failure of all the present aspirations. But the previous popular movements, leading for a while to partial success, and followed at last by total thraldom, have no direct analogy with the agitation of to-day. Different sections of the same race have been and are struggling for the same purpose, the accomplishment of their political and social civilization. But nothing can be more opposed than the circumstances of the times and the habits of the people. When Grattan, in 1782, aroused an ardent population to arm for a loyal insurrection, and forced from the British Parliament a repeal of its own unconstitutional claim to bind Ireland by its statutes, more than four-fifths of that population were in the depths of political degradation, and the whole in a state of national debauchery and still untamed ferocity. England soon found means to cajole and disarm the volunteers, and, by goading the Catholics into premature and hopeless rebellion, turned the very weapons of the Patriot Protestants into instruments for crushing the people, and thus preparing the Parliament for the corruption, under the effects of which the Union was finally consummated. When Wolfe Tone founded the Society of United Irishmen, the whole country was disjointed ; antipathies were rife ; and all the eloquent appeals of that

immortal combination of patriotism and talent were but so many acts of alliance with the policy of England, carried out by its Irish creatures, for that catastrophe of revolt, which placed the country, bound hand and foot, at the mercy of its exasperated conqueror. The Union, the basest of all political crimes, — the partition of Poland was the boldest, — was carried ; Irish independence was trampled in the dust ; and England gained a vile triumph at a purchase far dearer than the proudest victory was worth.

The Union, so effected, and followed up with vindictive energy, has been, hitherto, a total failure for all the nobler purposes of national amalgamation. English ministers have borne down the rhetoric of Irish members in Parliament, by the weight of figures and of calculation, to show, that the Union has proved to Ireland a blessing, which Pitt, in his pamphlet, in 1799, and Clare and Castlereagh, in their speeches at the same epoch, promised that it should become. But it is not by arithmetic, that popular sentiment can be smothered. The Union has proved a fiction. To make it a reality, the whole system of government, which prevailed in Ireland for centuries, required a total change. Men are always found to work out the destinies of nations. The necessity of a case is sure to generate the instruments for its completion. The ministers, who have governed Ireland for the last few years, have been sensible of the duties of their mission, have labored to surmount its difficulties, and have prepared the country to coöperate in its own salvation. They have sagaciously discovered, honestly admitted, and boldly resolved to extirpate, the evils which previous administrations either saw not, denied, or cherished. Under their protection a noble self-confidence has sprung up among the Irish people, more effective, for purposes of good, than all the efforts of demagogues and the deceptions of factions can be for mischief. Proud in their recovered rights, the millions of Ireland were ripe for political and moral regeneration. Two powerful apostles have appeared among them, of characters wholly dissimilar, but with objects the same, and acting simultaneously with an influence unexampled and almost incredible. The double action of "peaceful agitation" with social reform, effected by Daniel O'Connell and Father Mathew ; the decrease of crime ; the rapid spread of temperance ; fighting out of fashion and whisky out of favor ; the

distilleries closed for want of customers, and the jails left open for want of criminals, — all this presents a spectacle, sublime to the philanthropist, but appalling to the desperate faction, which has long trafficked in political rights, and made a mockery of moral worth. Those, who would hold the Irish people down in ignorance and debauchery, may well tremble at the work now going on. Those, who take pride in the advancement of the human race, who, though doubting the possibility of perfection, rejoice at improvement, must turn towards Ireland, — as we confess ourselves to do, — with sentiments of great admiration and with much solicitude.

At this distance from the scene of pacific action, but deeply interested in the result, we will not presume to speculate further on what is going forward. When we took up this subject, it was with the intention of going into it far more deeply than these rapid remarks have done. We had piled on our table a heap of authorities. We proposed a treatise, and have only thrown off a sketch. In fact, the matter was at once important and pressing. Finding that we could not, from various causes, at present do justice to it in a lengthened essay, but anxious to call the attention of our readers, at home, to the mighty movement abroad, which must influence, in its results, a large portion of the population of this country, we have thus hastily put together a few of the thick-crowding thoughts, which the subject so abundantly supplies ; and we shall give some extracts from the latest and the best work, illustrative of the true state of Ireland.

We have closed, in despair of turning them to immediate account, many a tome, replete with matter of deep interest, besides some full of repulsive and wearisome details. The accounts of rebellions and massacres, from that of Sir John Temple, Knight, 1641, to that of Sir Richard Musgrave, Baronet, 1798, made us "sup full with horrors." The duodecimo History of Tom Moore, made us wonder, how one, who has sung so lightly and poetically of Ireland, could write about it with a ponderous pedantry, more fatiguing than the heavy folios of Plowden, or the pompous phraseology of Sir Jonah Barrington. Mr. Inglis's rambling tour is amusing, and, in some minor details, instructive ; and Lady Chatterton's "Sketches" are delightful specimens of good taste and good feeling, from the pen of a most accomplished gen-

tlewoman. We might enumerate several other works, into which we have conscientiously looked, and with extracts from which we intended to enrich the present paper. But we must acknowledge, that, among all the writers, who have lately made Ireland the theme of their observations, none appears to have entered into the subject with so thorough a spirit of philosophical inquiry as the French traveller, whose work stands first on our list. M. de Beaumont is known in this country as the author of the tale of "Marie," and as one of the authors of a book on the American Penitentiary System. Romance and statistics are somewhat incongruous materials in the formation of a literary reputation. We are not now about to separate or examine the claims of M. de Beaumont on either score; but we can safely recommend the work before us, as containing comprehensive views of the social and political state of Ireland, and as worthy of being quoted largely from, or, what is better, thoroughly studied, by those who wish for sound information on the affairs and the feelings of that country at the present extraordinary crisis.

We might safely make our extracts at random, and not go astray. There is considerable perspicuity, and absence of prejudice, and an almost intuitive knowledge of national character, in those French writers of the modern school, Tocqueville, Chevalier, Beaumont, and some few others, which put to utter shame the shallow and narrow-minded English tourists, who have made America and a great part of Europe the scenes of their paltry proceedings. To mark the absurdity of those flimsy creatures, who set aside "a whole year," as a sufficient period for acquiring a general knowledge of this great continent, and for forming, writing, and publishing their opinions on all the complicated and mysterious materials which go to make the national mind of sixteen millions of human beings, we give the concluding paragraph of M. de Beaumont's Preface, on the comparatively small, compact, and easily to be understood country of his inquiries.

"The reader will see, from the preceding remarks, the nature of the author's undertaking, the difficulties he encountered, and the efforts he has made to attain his object. Whoever supposes, that he thinks he has overcome these obstacles, is mistaken; his conscience bears him witness only, that he

has left no means untried to surmount them. After one journey in England and Ireland he undertook his work ; but, at the end of two years' labor, he became satisfied that he still wanted many of the proper materials ; and, returning to the sources of information, he visited these two countries anew, and attempted to take notice of what had before escaped his attention, and modified his first researches by these new observations. His book is the fruit of four laborious years. In the course of this long work, though his strength often failed him, he never lost courage. Laboring at first in an incorrect manner, he has written volumes, which he has afterwards destroyed, and which have thus cost him much time and trouble, which is almost lost ; but, after his mistakes, he retraced his steps, and sought the right road, till, as he thought, he found it. Resolved to accomplish his undertaking, at whatever cost, he has devoted himself to it entirely, and has resolutely withheld himself from every engagement and interest which could withdraw him from it. In thus describing the labor which his book has cost him, the author undoubtedly exhibits his deficiencies the more strongly ; but he would rather be accused of weakness, than of ardor, in performing a task, the importance of which he had perceived.

" In conclusion, whatever may have been the extent of his exertions and the length of his labors, he will be fully recompensed for both, if, in the picture which follows, he has exhibited one political truth of benefit to mankind, one moral principle of utility to the world ; if, in painting the condition of those who oppress, and those who suffer, he has been able to strengthen, in some minds, love of liberty and hatred of tyranny." —Tom. I. *Préface*, pp. xix. – xx.

Half of the first volume is devoted to a rapid historical sketch, which contains some imperfections, and a few errors, rather personal than political, but of little moment, and not worth the trouble of correcting. The latter part of the volume bears the sad wording, at the head of each page, " Misery of the Irish," " Causes of the misery " ; and the pages, so headed, contain matter enough, God knows, to excite the sympathy of mankind for the sufferings of man, and the indignation of all rational human beings, against the authors of so much wretchedness. Listen to our author.

" We must reflect long on this succession of ages ; we must imagine the rich and the poor invariably following, during this time, two different ways, one leading to extreme wealth, the other to extreme misery ; we must consider the

natural and necessary effects of these two courses, the one of perpetual accumulation, the other of progressive ruin, each increasing the other, and gaining new strength in every one of its consequences ; we must, I say, meditate long on these causes, to understand the excess of luxury to which the Irish aristocracy has arrived, and the inveterate misery by which poor Ireland is covered.

" The revenues of the rich, in Ireland, sometimes rise to amounts, the immensity of which appears to us almost impossible. The wealthy man makes a magnificent career in this miserable country ; he has splendid edifices, boundless domains, mountains, plains, forests, lakes, — all this ; and often he possesses all this in two or three different places.

" While millions of unhappy beings are at a loss, every day, how to supply their most pressing wants, the rich man seeks for some means to renew some satiated passion in his breast, or some half extinct appetite in his body. If he wishes to move his person, overcome with weariness of itself, from one place to another, he may choose among the most beautiful roads, which rival those of England. Thus do luxury and wealth move with all ease and ostentation across the sufferings and miseries of the land.

" Such is the Ireland which the rich man makes for himself. To see happy Ireland, we must choose a point of view which takes in a narrow and isolated field, confining the eyes to neighbouring objects ; but wretched Ireland, on the contrary, is open to the sight everywhere.

" Naked, famished misery, a vagabond and worthless misery, a mendicant misery, covers the whole country ; it shows itself everywhere, under all forms, at all times ; you perceive it first in landing on the shores of Ireland ; and, from that moment it appears before you, sometimes under the appearance of the sick man who displays his wounds, sometimes under that of the pauper dressed in rags ; it follows you everywhere ; it surrounds you without ceasing ; you perceive its groans and tears from far ; and, if its voice does not move you with profound pity, it importunes and alarms you. This misery appears natural to the soil, and like one of its products; like those endemic plagues which pollue the atmosphere, it pollutes every thing which approaches it, and touches the rich man himself, who cannot, in the midst of his joys, separate himself from the miseries of the poor, and makes vain efforts to shake off the vermin which he has created, and which attaches itself to him."

* * * * *

" Represent to yourself four walls of dry mud, which the rain, in falling, easily reduces to its original condition ; a little stubble for roof, or some squares of turf; a hole rudely broken in the roof for a chimney, and, more frequently, the very door of the house, by which alone can the smoke escape; one apartment, containing father, mother, grandfather, and children ; no furniture in this poor hovel ; one bed, made usually of grass and straw, serving for the whole family. You see, crowded in the fire-place, five or six half-naked children, before a scanty fire, the ashes of which cover some potatoes, the only nourishment of the whole family ; in the midst of the whole lies a dirty pig, the only inhabitant of the place who fares well, because he lives in filth. The presence of the pig, in the Irish houses, seems, elsewhere, a sign of misery ; it is, however, a token of some comfort, and there is specially extreme poverty in the cabin where none dwells.

" Not far from the cottage is a little field of an acre, or a half, in size ; it is sowed with potatoes ; rows of stones, heaped on each other, and bushes, crossing among these, form the inclosure.

" This dwelling is very miserable ; nevertheless, it is not that of the poor man, properly so called. This is the description of the Irish farmer and of the agricultural laborer.

" I have said, that there are no small proprietors below the great ones, and none but poor below the wealthy ; but these are miserable in different degrees, and with gradations which I could wish to show.

" All, being poor, use only the cheapest nourishment in the country, potatoes ; but all do not consume the same quantity ; some, and these are the privileged class, eat three times a day ; others, less fortunate, twice ; some, in a state of indigence, only once; and there are those, who, more destitute still, pass one whole day, sometimes two, without taking any food.

" This life of fasting is cruel ; and yet it must be submitted to, under fear of greater evil. He who eats more than he can afford, and fasts once less than he ought, is sure to have nothing with which to clothe himself ; and yet this prudence, this resignation to suffering, are often unproductive.

" Whatever may be the determination of the poor cultivator in bearing hunger, that he may face his other wants, he is in general naked, or covered with rags, transmitted in the family from generation to generation.

" In many of the poor houses there is only a complete suit for every two persons ; this obliges the priest of the parish

always to say mass on Sunday several times. When one has heard the first mass, he returns to the house, takes off his clothes and gives them to the other, who goes at once to attend the second mass.

"I have seen the Indian amidst his forests, and the negro in chains, and have thought, while beholding their pitiable condition, that it was the limit of human misery ; I knew not then the fate of the Irish. Like the Indian, the Irishman is poor and naked, but he lives in the midst of a people who seek for luxury, and honor riches. Like the Indian, he is deprived of the good which human industry and the commerce of nations provide ; but he sees some of his equals enjoy this good to which he cannot aspire. In the midst of his greatest distress, the Indian preserves a certain dignified independence. However poor and hungry, he is still free in the desert, and the feeling which he has of this liberty alleviates his sufferings. The Irishman feels the same deprivation, without having the same freedom ; he is subjected to rules and shackles of all kinds ; though governed by laws, he dies of hunger, a sad condition, uniting the vices of the civilized with those of the savage state. Undoubtedly an Irishman who has shaken off his chains, and who has faith in the future, is indeed less to be pitied than the Indian or black slave ; but now he has neither the freedom of the savage, nor the bread of slavery.

"I shall not undertake to describe all the circumstances, all the shades, of Irish misery, from the condition of the poor farmer, who fasts that his children may live, to that of the cultivator, who, less miserable, though more degraded, resolves to beg ; from resigned poverty, which is silent in the midst of suffering, to that which rebels, and, from violence, goes on to crime.

"Irish poverty has an entirely distinct character, which renders it difficult of description, because it can be compared to no other poverty. Irish misery has a distinct form, of which there is no model or imitation. We feel, in beholding it, that we cannot theoretically assign any limit to the wretchedness of a people.

"In all nations there are more or less poor ; but a whole people poor is what we never saw, till Ireland showed it to us.

"To know the social condition of such a country, it is only necessary to relate its miseries and sufferings ; the history of Ireland is that of the poor."

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"Misery descends, in Ireland, to depths elsewhere unknown. The condition, which in Ireland is above poverty, would be elsewhere accounted a state of frightful distress ; and the

wretched classes among us, whose fate we justly deplore, would form in Ireland a privileged class. These miseries of the Irish population are not singular accidents ; almost all are permanent ; those which do not exist always are periodical.

" Every year, at nearly the same point of time, there is announced in Ireland, the beginning of the famine, its progress, its ravages, its decline.

" In February last (1838), the French press registered the annual cry of Irish misery, and gave the number of those who, in one month, died of hunger. Either through selfishness or humanity, many choose to think that the accounts given of Irish poverty are exaggerated ; and for them the word *famine*, which is made use of to paint the anguish of Ireland, is only a metaphorical expression, signifying excessive distress, and not the proper term, to express the state of people *actually* famished and dying for want of food.

" It is especially in England that people like to keep in this state of doubt, from which, however, it is easy to emerge.

" In 1727, about a hundred years since, the primate Boulter wrote concerning Ireland, where he was the chief agent of the English government ;

" ' Since my arrival in this country (in 1725), famine has never ceased among the poor. So dear has grain been, that thousands have been obliged to quit their dwellings to seek a living elsewhere. Many hundreds have perished.' When Bishop Doyle was asked, in 1832, what was the state of the population in the west ; ' What it always has been,' said he ; ' people are perishing as usual.'

" In 1817, fevers caused by poverty and hunger, attacked in Ireland one million five hundred thousand individuals, sixty-five thousand of whom perished ; and it has been calculated, that, in 1826, the badness of the food made twenty thousand sick.

" In the grand inquiry, made in 1835, by the English government, into the social state of Ireland, the following question was addressed by the commissioners to their correspondents in each parish ;

" ' Do you know of any death, in the course of the last three years, of which urgent want was the cause ?"

" And the inquiry proves a multitude of deaths, which want of food alone had occasioned. Here are the unfortunate, whom hunger has manifestly killed ; there, the wretched, whose death it has hastened. The latter perished from long exhaustion ; the former at once, from disease and hunger. It would be a painful labor to make an abstract of this whole inquiry, which comprises ten folio volumes, some of which contain more than nine hundred pages ; in which every page, every line, every word,

shows some Irish misery, and yet all the wretchedness of Ireland is not related.

"The commissioners charged with this memorable inquiry estimate, that in Ireland there are nearly three million of individuals, who yearly sink into absolute destitution; these three millions are not only poor, they are wretchedly poor. Besides these three millions of poor, there are still millions of unhappy creatures, who, as they do not die of hunger, are not counted.

"The author of this book, to whom similar testimony would have undoubtedly appeared sufficient, wished, however, to see with his own eyes, what his reason hesitated to believe. Twice, in 1835 and 1837, he has, while traversing Ireland, visited expressly the counties where famine has been accustomed to rage with the most violence, and he has verified the facts. Shall he relate here all that he has seen? No. There are misfortunes which are so much beyond humanity, that human language cannot describe them. And if he were obliged here to relate the scenes of mourning and desolation which he has witnessed; to repeat the sounds and cries of despair which he has heard; if he were obliged to tell of the grief of the mother's voice, when refusing to her hungry children a little bread; and if, in the midst of this extreme wretchedness, he were obliged to paint the insulting opulence displayed to all eyes by the rich man; the immensity of his domains, where man's hand has created artificial lakes, valleys, and hills; the magnificence of his palace, which is upheld by columns of the most beautiful marble of Greece or Italy, and which the gold of America, the silk of France, and the cloth of India, vie with one another in adorning; the splendid dwellings, destined for the servants; the still more splendid abode of the horses; all the wonders of art, all the inventions of industry, and all the fancies of vanity accumulated in this place, in which the master does not even deign to reside, and which he only visits at long intervals; the sumptuous and indolent life of this rich man, who knows nothing of the miseries of which he is the author, has never seen them, does not believe in them; who derives, from the sweat of the poor, 500,000 francs as rent; each of whose senseless or superfluous enjoyments represents the ruin or distress of some unhappy individual; who gives every day to his dogs the meal of a hundred families, and causes to die of hunger those who furnish for him this life of luxury and pride; — if the author were obliged here to recall the dismal impressions which the sight of such contrasts has caused him, and the terrible questions which such inconsistencies have raised up in his mind, he feels that the pen would fall from his hands, and that he would not have courage to finish the task that he wishes to accomplish." — Tom. I. pp. 200 – 210.

After giving these frightful and too true pictures of Irish misery, M. de Beaumont devotes a chapter to an effort to trace the causes of what he so accurately paints and so feelingly deplores. He finds the first of these causes to be the existence of a *mauvaise aristocratie*, and who, that has had any experience of the sordid, selfish, anti-national nature of Irish landlords, will not add his testimony to what follows ?

"We cannot consider Ireland attentively, we cannot study its history and its relations, observe its manners, and analyze its laws, without acknowledging that its misfortunes, to bring about which so many fatal accidents and circumstances have concurred, have had, and still have, a prime, radical, permanent cause, one which predominates over all others ; this cause is a bad aristocracy.

"All aristocracies founded on conquest or inequality, comprise, undoubtedly, many vices ; but all do not contain the same, nor do they possess an equal number." . . . . .

"The English aristocracy, able and national as it is, would have perhaps been powerless to maintain itself, if, at the same time that it covers its vices with splendid virtues, it had not been protected by fortunate accidents.

"Subject, as are all aristocracies whose principle is privilege, to misemploy its strength for a selfish interest, it has strained to excess the springs upon which it is supported, it has concentrated beyond measure in its hands the possession of the soil which has been monopolized by a small number ; and those, who in England are proprietors, form so small a minority, in comparison with those who are not, that property would perhaps be in danger there, if it were in the eyes of the people a desirable object.

"But, by a propitious event, more than by the effect of a wise policy, the soil in England has never to this day excited the envy of the inferior classes ; the English people leaves to its aristocracy the monopoly of the land, because it has itself the monopoly of industry. The immense domains of the lord have no attractions to the citizen, to whom the commerce of the whole world offers an unlimited arena, and who thinks that if he makes for himself a great fortune, he shall acquire, perhaps, some day, with the lands of this lord, his title and his honors.

"The English agriculturist cares little for the political system, whose effect is to send from the fields to the towns the inhabitants of the country, when this agriculturist, at a distance from the soil, finds in a manufactory as regular labor,

and better wages. This, it must be acknowledged, is the greatest security of the English aristocracy ; a weak and failing security, which will only last as long as English industry shall supply the world with its productions.

"The Irish aristocracy, full of vices from which the English aristocracy is exempt, far from being, like this, aided by favorable circumstances, struggles against fatal tendencies. Thus the situation of Ireland by the side of England, has proved fatal to the Irish aristocracy ; for this aristocracy has never ceased to be English in heart, and almost in interest ; for which reason it has always resided, and still resides, more in England than in Ireland ; and this material fact, which separates it so often from the people under its government, is the source of a vice most fatal to every aristocracy, which can really exist only in the condition of those who govern. The evils of Ireland are often attributed to the non-residence of the aristocracy ; but this is taking the consequence of the evil for the evil itself. The aristocracy of Ireland is not bad, because it absents itself ; it absents itself because it is bad ; because nothing attaches it to its country, nothing retains it there. Why, loving neither the country nor the people, should it stay in Ireland, when England is near, inviting and attracting it by the charms of a more civilized and elegant society, and has the merit of being the country of its origin ?

"In general, all aristocracy carries in itself the curb which moderates, if it does not stop it in its sallies and its selfishness. It is generally the case, that those who do not love the people fear them, or at least have need of them, and therefore do from calculation what would not be done from sympathy. They do not oppress too much, for fear of exciting to rebellion ; they manage the national force from which they derive advantage, and thus sometimes appear generous, when they are only skilful and interested.

"The Irish aristocracy has always had the misfortune of neither fearing nor hoping any thing from the people placed under its yoke ; leaning upon England, whose soldiers have always been at its service, it has been able to indulge itself without reserve in its tyranny ; the groans, the complaints, the threats of the people have never lessened the oppression, because beneath the popular clamors there was nothing to be dreaded. Does a revolt break out in Ireland ? the aristocracy of the country does not move ; the English artillery is there, and thunders forth upon the rebels ; and, when all has returned to order, the aristocracy takes, as before, the revenue from the lands.

"The Irish aristocracy has exercised a power, of which there has been no other example in any country; it has for *six* centuries reigned in Ireland under the authority of England, which has given to it half the advantages and spared it all the expense. Provided with rights, privileges, and constitutional guaranties, it has made use of all the instruments of liberty, to practise oppression. Ireland has thus been constantly the prey of two tyrants, the more formidable, that the one has protected the other. The Irish aristocracy, considering itself as the agent of England, likes in this way to absolve itself from its own excesses and personal injustice; and England, whose rights this aristocracy has exercised, chooses to throw upon the latter the abuse of power."

"The Irish aristocracy has two vices, which include all others; of English origin, they have never ceased to be English; having become Protestants, they have had to govern a people who have always been Catholics.

"These two vices contain the beginning of all the evils of Ireland; here is found the key to all her misery, all her embarrassments. If we would examine attentively this point of departure, we should see flow from it, as entirely natural consequences, the extraordinary circumstances for which we may vainly seek a cause elsewhere. These consequences are of three kinds; some of which are called civil, because they regard manners; others political, because they concern institutions; the last religious, because they spring from the difference of worship. The first affect more particularly the relation of rich and poor, proprietor and farmer; the second, the reciprocal relations of governor and governed; and the third, the situation, in regard to each other, of Protestant and Catholic." — Tom. I. pp. 210–220.

Our author, having thus traced the causes of Irish misery, proceeds, in the natural sequence of just reasoning, to point out what he conceives to be the remedies. The increase of manufacturing establishments, a poor law, and voluntary emigration, are those which he indicates as among the minor ones; but to these he gives but a very qualified recommendation. Probing deep into the sources of the evil, he views these as but superficial means of redress; and he sees no actual prospect of good, short of measures which amount to a total revolution in the state. The repeal of the Union he deems unlikely, if not impracticable. And his wholesale plan of reformation embraces the abolition of all aristocratical

privileges, the division of landed property among small proprietors, — as in this country and in France, — and the total severance of the connexion between church and state.

These, it will be admitted, were but Utopian plans, as long as Ireland was morally besotted, and while England was expected to carry them out. Even when M. de Beaumont wrote, the grand secret of redress and the great principle of power had not been discovered. O'Connell had produced, it is true, that extraordinary political organization which carried emancipation, and which is disciplining the people for all the active exigencies of reform. But TEMPERANCE, the mighty foundation on which every thing great and good is to be built in Ireland, was not until, as it were, the other day, preached, thought of, or dreamed of, as practicable to any extent beyond mere local and passing occasions, or as a concomitant branch of a rational, yet commonplace, code of morals. Now, it is known, felt, and *sworn to*, by millions of determined men, as the one master-key to all the most difficult problems of national regeneration. The inspiration has fallen on those millions through the agency of one man. And Father Mathew stands alone, on the very highest pedestal of virtuous fame, in a holier ordination than that which priested him; not as a mere follower of Grattan, or coadjutor of O'Connell; not as a rival of the majestic eloquence and dignified patriotism of the former, or of the fierce energy and fiery perseverance of the latter; but as the equal, in influence, of each of those great men, and forming with them a triple combination, whose attributes are not unaptly figured out by the verdure, brightness, and equality of the three-leaved shamrock, Ireland's national emblem. It is, indeed, hard to adjudge the palm to either of the members in this trinity of fame. Grattan awoke in the hearts of bondmen the love of liberty. O'Connell taught them how to become free. Mathew is making them worthy of freedom. Grattan armed eighty thousand citizens, and won Ireland's commercial and parliamentary independence by physical force. O'Connell enfranchised hundreds of thousands by claims of constitutional right. Mathew disenthralls millions from the tyranny of self-debasement by the power of moral suasion. Grattan acted on the passions, O'Connell on the judgment, Mathew on the consciences, of men; each being admirably fitted to the times in which his efforts came into play, and to the state of social

feeling on which he was to act. Each has labored well in his vocation. The result of their combined missions, — the happiness of Ireland, — is about to be accomplished. What that may be in its *ensemble*, its details, its working out, will in a great measure depend on others. To them, however, who planned the great design of national creation, from a chaos of political turbulence and social debasement, the first and the highest place must be assigned, in the gratitude and veneration of the masses of whom they have made a PEOPLE.

The first two of the remedies advocated by M. de Beaumont, manufacturing industry and a poor law, will now have fair play, which they never could have had as long as drunkenness was there to counteract them. The third, emigration, which, as a measure of state policy on a large scale, he considers too difficult for much good, will most probably be checked by the success of the others. When men have a home which is made habitable, a field for the exercise of labor, and a resource against the chances of distress, they will be in no hurry to abandon it ; they will have no necessity for severing the ties of social affection, or seeking beyond the ocean for shelter against the ills of their native land. So far as the United States may be affected by the bright day which now dawns on Ireland, these considerations are of great interest. Those among us who deprecate an increase of immigration from that country, may rejoice in the amelioration which must tend to keep its population at home. Those who receive with pleasure each fresh accession to our millions, will in future have to hail the new comers with which every ship may be freighted, not with the mingled compassion and repugnance, excited by worn-down, servile victims of licentiousness and poverty, but with the welcome due to men proud in their self-respect, of temperate habits, and unspotted characters, and in all ways worthy of the citizenship which awaits them here.

The abolition of the privileges of the "*mauvaise aristocratie*" of Ireland is among the most prominent of those projected remedies, which our author indicates as almost a necessary consequence of the rest. He draws a wide and well-defined distinction between the aristocracy, grown, by a long series of circumstances, to be an inseparable portion of the social system of England, and that dominant mass of titled

and endowed corruption, which, in Ireland, bears the same distinctive epithet. He plainly advocates the destruction of this mongrel aristocracy, with all its rights of entail, primogeniture, and other privileges. But he must be heard for himself.

"When I say, that the aristocracy of Ireland must be destroyed and extirpated, even to its root, I do not mean by this a violent and sanguinary destruction.

"I do not agree with those people, who think, that to establish order, prosperity, and union in a country, it is necessary to begin by murdering some thousands of persons, sending those who are not killed into exile, taking the property of the rich, giving it to the poor, &c. &c. I set aside all such methods as iniquitous, and I do not inquire if they would be necessary. I believe, without examination, that they are not necessary, that they are not just, and that they are atrocious. It is in my eyes a vicious proceeding, when one injustice presents itself to be reformed, to begin by committing another, and to do what is certainly and at present evil, in prospect of a future and doubtful good. I distrust those criminal means, which are sanctified by the end, and which, if the end fails, leave nothing but the crime to him who makes use of them; or it may rather be said, that criminal means can never become honest. Besides, I am unwilling to admit, that injustice and violence ever profit either nations or individuals. I think too highly of the progress of humanity, to suppose, that excesses which dishonor it can ever be useful to it. A great crime sometimes seems to hasten forward liberty, but having impelled it on, by a leap, for one day, stops it perhaps for ages. If it could even be proved to me, that a crime is advantageous to the present generation, I should not think that this generation had a right to impose upon the next the infallible expiation of it.

"I mean the abolition of the Irish aristocracy, understanding by this, that it should be divested of its political power, of which it has made use only to oppress the people. Let it be deprived of its civil privileges, which have only been the means of gratifying its selfishness, and let that religious predominance be humbled, which, if it does not produce persecutions, perpetuates the remembrance of them.

"To destroy the political power of the aristocracy, it is necessary that it should be deprived of the daily application of the laws, as it has been before deprived of the power of making them. Consequently, it would be necessary to de-

stroy, from top to bottom, the administrative and judicial system, which rests on the institution of justices of the peace, and on the organization of the grand juries, as they are at present constituted, — and in the first place, to execute this destruction, it would be necessary to establish a system for the centralization of power." — Tom. II. pp. 180 – 182.

Into this subject M. de Beaumont enters at length, and with a force of argument which can be fairly understood only by a reference to the book itself. Of two serious points, connected with this important portion of the work, we can only say a few passing words, and can afford but small space for extracts. And first, of the Orange party ; that is to say, the loathsome faction which has domineered in Ireland for more than a hundred and fifty years, and which must, from the nature of things, and from its own action, perish like a pestilent weed, in its self-engendered rottenness. It is defined by M. de Beaumont, as follows ;

"The old Anglican party, which takes for a device the salvation of the Protestant church, and for a rallying-word, hatred of Popery, has for its sacramental principle the intimate union of Church and State, that is to say, of the Anglican worship and the Anglican aristocracy. Whilst every thing advances, and every thing about it changes, this party remains immovable ; and it will sustain, on the ruins of a universe, that a political society cannot exist, if it is not exclusively Protestant.

"This party cannot conceive of a Protestant society without a Protestant church, a Protestant government, a Protestant king, Protestant judges and functionaries, Protestant citizens and soldiers ; whoever in the country is not a Protestant, is, in the view of this party, as if he did not exist, and has only an imaginary life.

"It is the opinion held by this party, that every thing, which has been done contrary to this exclusive principle, has been ill done. The constitution was violated on the day when a single penal law against the Irish Catholics was abolished. These laws are in no wise oppressive to the Catholics ; it depends only on themselves to become free under the protection of the laws ; they have nothing to do but to make themselves Protestants ; it is very natural, that this condition should have been exacted from them, since Protestantism is the law of the country, the law of the State, the law of the soil. This party dates from the year 1688.

"According to this party, the constitution was violated on the day when Scotland was permitted to have a Presbyterian church; and a sort of sacrilege was committed, when the English Parliament endowed with the funds of the State, a seminary designed for the education of Catholic priests. The constitution was again violated, when the electoral right, the right to be elected to Parliament, was granted to the Irish Catholics; in the eyes of this party, these concessions are as if they had not happened, and he who believes it impossible to retract, deplores them. Whenever such concessions are made to the Catholics, the Tory party sees, or feigns to see, a dreadful monster ready to escape from the iron cage where he is chained, to spring upon and devour the people; this hideous monster is Popery.

"This party holds in singular veneration the name of William the Third, Prince of Orange, the conqueror of the Boyne, and the last founder of the Anglican church in Ireland; it is inspired by the recollection of him, wears emblems which recall him, gives at public festivals toasts to his glorious memory, and endeavours to support, in all their vigor, the religious passions on which the fortunes of that prince were elevated; from which causes it took the name of the Orange party.

"This party, which for more than a century trampled the Catholics under foot, holds them still more in scorn than in hatred. When they speak of an honest company, it is of course a company of Protestants that they mean. In their language, every thing which is Protestant is called respectable, in opposition to every thing Catholic.

"This party considers, that all the ills of the country have come upon it from the weakness of the power, which did not, when an opportunity offered, sufficiently repress the rebels. Having stated, that after the insurrection of 1798, sixty-six persons accused of rebellion, were executed at Wexford alone, the historian, Sir Richard Musgrave, who considers the repression as tender, adds, *We may judge from this of the clemency of the government.* Here is the true Orange man. Under the ardent religious and political passions of the Orange or Tory party, are found some interests, among others that of preserving immense privileges for an aristocracy which does not govern, and a magnificent revenue for a church which has nothing to do." — pp. 88 – 90.

The established church of Ireland is the other great feature of national grievance. M. de Beaumont says, "As long as the established church is the religion of the state, the

state will be odious to the country, and there will be no possibility of prosperity or repose for Ireland." He continues ;

"The Anglican supremacy is, to Ireland, the principal and the continual source of all evil. It signifies, to the Irish, violence, confiscation, rapine, cruelty. It is, in their eyes, the certain sign of injustice, of falsehood, and of spoliation. As long as the English church is the established worship in Ireland, wrong or right, this country will not consider itself free. It will feel, that it is always treated as an oppressed and conquered country, because the most bitter remembrances of the conquest are all connected with Protestantism, and there is no recollection of Protestantism, which is not mingled with tyranny."

* * * * *

"This principle of religious domination, in which are resumed and perpetuated all the old grievances of Catholic Ireland, will be, while it lasts, an inexhaustible source of division, hatred, attack, and resistance. It will render fruitless all authority, even the most beneficent, which is founded on this basis. Vainly will any government, in other respects the most national, attempt to establish unity in Ireland ; it will be powerless and fragile, if it is laid upon this vicious foundation. Vainly will reforms be made in the administration of the Anglican church ; it will be in vain to correct abuses, to abolish sinecures, to diminish the wealth of the clergy ; the evil will be always the same, as long as the principle prevails, which attributes to the Anglican church a superiority over other modes of worship ; and this evil will always provoke the same risings ; the same violence, the same popular rebellions, will appear. What particular event will be the occasion of them we cannot say, but the result will not fail to take place." — pp. 239 – 240.

"Whence comes the inutility of the efforts which have been made to reform the Anglican church of Ireland ? It is because Ireland does not wish its reform, but its abolition. The radical vice of this church is, that it is established as the legal and official worship of a people, who have another form of worship. The abuse is, its very establishment. Its creation, in the bosom of a Catholic people, is a wrong, which perpetuates itself as long as that church endures. The great evil of the Anglican church in Ireland is, that it is placed in the midst of a population, which repels it without examination. Its riches, its luxury, its idleness, are assuredly great vices, but the most

enormous of all vices is its existence. Its destruction, in Ireland, is the first step towards good sense and good order.

"When we speak of abolishing the Anglican church, we do not mean to annihilate, in Ireland, the Episcopal worship, but only to destroy the political superiority of this form over all others. Neither would it be necessary, in abolishing the predominance of the Anglican worship, to replace it by the supremacy of the Catholic worship. What is important is, to establish in Ireland an equality of worship. Ireland, it is true, is Catholic in the main, as England is Episcopal, and Scotland Presbyterian; and it would be logical, that Ireland should have a Catholic establishment, in the same manner as Scotland has a Presbyterian establishment, and England an Anglican one. But, in the first place, it is a great question, whether it is advantageous to unite church and state. Why associate human and perishable institutions with one which is of God, and which will never die? What would be the effect of proclaiming, in Ireland, the Catholic religion as that of the state, except the destruction of the religious privileges of the Protestants, to transfer them to the Catholics? After having abolished the injurious supremacy of the Anglican church, which offends a majority of the Irish people, would you see the Protestant minority oppressed by the religion which it now oppresses?

"One of the greatest evils, to which Catholic Ireland could be exposed, is, that, after having been ruled over, it should wish to rule.

"This would be a fruitful source of misfortunes to England and to itself; to England, because it would not bear this dominion of a sect, and because all the old passions of the Reformation would be aroused by this Popish pretension; and to Ireland itself, which would be crushed anew by England.

"It is important to the two countries, that Ireland should be accustomed to religious liberty; and what better means are there, to give it tolerant customs, than to place all religions on the same footing? It is now, while England protects Ireland, that she ought to give to the Catholics of this country a lesson of this sort. The equality of sects should come as a benefit; soon, perhaps, they will consider it an evil; and this will certainly happen, if this equality does not take place, in Ireland, till the Catholics are politically superior; they will then consider equality of sects as only introduced for the degradation of their religion." — pp. 246 – 248.

We cannot follow our author in the long chain of argument by which he shows, to his own satisfaction, if not quite to our conviction, the facility of establishing a perfectly religious

equality in Ireland. Considering the long series of abuses inflicted on that country by the established church, — its intolerance, its enormous wealth, its lordly privileges, its insolent pretension, — we believe that no moderate modification of its present state can well be brought about by legislative enactments, or that such would be at all likely to conciliate the Catholic population ; nor do we think any half measures sufficient for the great interests of religion. It is to us quite clear, that the flood of Catholic supremacy must pass over Ireland before the seeds of true Christianity can spring up. The destruction of "Protestant ascendency" is an inevitable necessity. The false system, so long fostered, has been the ruin of Protestantism. Orange ferocity and Catholic degradation have only prepared the way for Catholic power and Orange extirpation. Protestantism is gradually expiring in Ireland, from its own excess. It has long lost all moral force. Political power and social influence are gradually slipping away from it. It must, inevitably, rapidly lose every one of its hitherto overgrown prerogatives. Then Catholicism will most probably arise, in pomp, insolence, and persecution. Protestantism will either struggle violently, in tumult and blood, or disappear in expatriation. Protestant property will pass into Catholic hands ; and Catholic influence is not likely to change its nature, and become tolerant towards what it hates, and so naturally longs to be revenged on. England, from whom M. de Beaumont expects all good things for Ireland, may, by following the course of great wisdom which seems to guide the present government, and by a magnanimous interference, hold the balance even between the conflicting parties, and mitigate the severity of the lot of overpowered Protestantism in Ireland. Catholicism may possibly be moderate, instead of rampant ; but, if so, it will not be Catholicism in its ancient spirit. However all this may be, — and who may penetrate the veil of futurity ? — we believe the only chance for true enlightenment in Ireland, according to the genuine principles of the Reformation, is in the existing church establishment being thoroughly purged, ay, or altogether overthrown ; when the state may really flourish in unclogged and legitimate power, and the church have a chance of starting anew, on a career in accordance with its pristine purity.

We are reluctantly obliged to omit M. de Beaumont's reasonings, on the state of the judiciary, the magistracy, the infe-

rior officers of justice, and the constitution of Irish juries, corporations, and vestries. He has left nothing untouched, of all the ramifications composing the tangled web of Irish misgovernment; and he winds up his labors, by entering into the question, what can England do for Ireland? — tracing, as far as his judgment can decide it, what is to be expected from each of the three great parties, which now struggle for predominance in the United Kingdom. We consider an inquiry of this nature the less necessary on our part from the opinion with which we started, and which we now emphatically repeat, that it is by Ireland herself that the work of amelioration is to be done. The business is in her hands. She has at last taken it up in the right spirit; and, whatever may be the *something*, which Providence has destined for the relief of a fine country and a noble people, it has now, for the first time for centuries, a fair chance of being fitly accomplished.

We are happy in believing, that a strong sympathy will be felt throughout the United States of America for the progress of Irish prosperity. Whenever a fair occasion has offered for displaying the good feeling of the people at large in favor of their Irish fellow-citizens, the result has always been such as every philanthropic mind must approve. Deplorable collisions have from time to time arisen between the Irish and small fractions of the native population. Excesses have been committed by a few, ignorant, prejudiced, and hot-headed persons. But the good sense and respectability of the country has always reprobated those partial aberrations from propriety and legality. Our attention has been lately called to a course of lectures on Irish History and Character, delivered in New York, by Mr. Samuel G. Goodrich, (the well known "Peter Parley,") and which are, we understand, very shortly to be published. We hope their promised appearance will take place in such time as to enable us to notice, in our next Number, a work, which, although it may be of slight dimensions, will, we are sure, contain matter of the highest interest on the important subject we have in this paper introduced to our readers' notice, and which we shall certainly follow up, in connexion with its bearings on this country.

ART. X. — *The Greek Reader*, by FREDERIC JACOBS. *A New Edition, with English Notes, Critical and Explanatory, a Metrical Index to Homer and Anacreon, and a copious Lexicon.* By CHARLES ANTHON, LL. D., Jay-Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages in Columbia College, New York, and Rector of the Grammar School. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1840. 12mo. pp. xiv., 614.

IN the execution of a plan, the outlines of which have been some time before the public, of preparing a new series of elementary classical works, Professor Anthon has just presented a new edition of Jacobs's "Greek Reader," a work which, in the forms in which it has been published in this country, has acquired a wider reputation, and been, perhaps, more deservedly praised, than any other book of a similar character in use in our schools. Those who are acquainted with the history of its republication in this country, know that few books have been issued by more publishers, notwithstanding the oppositions of antecedent copyrights. The edition of Professor Anthon, published by the Messrs. Harpers, adds another to a list of four or five distinct editions, and excites some curiosity as to its claims to originality, and the plan on which it has been executed.

We find this stated as follows, in the editor's Preface ;

"In preparing a Greek Reader for the press, three plans suggested themselves to the attention of the editor. The first of these was, to make an entirely new selection from the ancient writers ; the second, to take merely those parts of the work of Professor Jacobs, which presented fewest difficulties for the young student ; the third, to retain, unaltered, whatever portions of the German work had already been adopted in our Classical seminaries."

He gives his reasons for rejecting the first two of these plans, and proceeds ;

"The only remaining course, therefore, was to take those selections from the German work, which had been adopted in the more respectable portion of our Classical schools, and to make these the basis of a new edition."

There certainly were advantages in favor of such a course. For an elementary school-book, there was but little need of a

display of that erudition which would lead an editor to dive into the depths of Greek literature to make a new selection of choice beauties. Especially, when one has, at his elbow, such a mine as Jacobs's volumes afford, the ease with which a new edition, with copious notes and explanations, might be prepared, would seem to afford strong motives for a close adherence to extracts from his text. The student, therefore, who should be well acquainted with Jacobs's work, could not but feel some surprise, that Dr. Anthon has deviated from his plan ; that this new edition of the " Reader " contains several Greek selections *not contained* in the German work, and that, too, without any reason directly or indirectly expressed ; these extracts being inserted precisely like the others, with nothing to show that the editor knew they were not, and certainly nothing to tell the student that they are not, in the German work.

The passages to which we refer, are the extracts from Anacreon, numbered 2, 4, 5 ; those from Bion, numbered 2 and 3 ; and No. 1, from Moschus. The mystery of their insertion is easily explained. In 1832, Messrs. Hilliard and Gray, in Boston, published a new edition of the " Greek Reader," which they have since repeatedly amended, and to which we shall have occasion again to refer. This edition, which has been edited and published with great care, contained the additional passages alluded to, and these Dr. Anthon has reprinted ; supposing, apparently, that they were contained in the parent edition of Jacobs. The Boston editors, where they made new selections from Jacobs, curtailed the length of his extracts considerably. In their quotations they are followed by Dr. Anthon without deviation.

In all Dr. Anthon's Preface, in which he professes to state his resources, with his *modus operandi* in detail, he takes no notice whatever of the valuable Boston edition of Messrs. Hilliard and Gray, excepting so far as he means to include it under the general slur he casts on all previous American editions of this work. The readers of that preface would invariably suppose he knew of no such edition, and the discovery, therefore, of an instance like that above mentioned, where he drew directly upon it for his text, excites no little surprise.

If, however, this were merely a piece of carelessness, induced by the convenience of printing from the Bos-

ton text, while a little editorial vanity prevented him from giving credit to it, Dr. Anthon's mistake in this point would be more excusable. It is, however, impossible to put this cover upon it. Excepting the Preface, no entire portion of this new edition, which professes so much to surpass all previous editions, is original, unless it be the "Metrical Index to Homer and Anacreon." We do not make this charge without ample means to support it. No one, at all acquainted with the last edition of the Boston publishers, can fail to be struck by the constant plagiarisms, and to be offended at the veil of disguise with which the copyist has attempted to conceal them. The reader will readily perceive, that in an instance like this, where both editors are drawing, generally, from the same source, plagiarism might be committed by the later of the two to an almost indefinite extent without detection. Professor Anthon, however, has not succeeded in shielding himself by even this circumstance.

In the passages which we have mentioned as extracted from the Greek authors without having passed through the German "Reader," a considerable number of words occurs which are not in any other part of the book. These words were inserted in the Lexicon to the Boston edition, although, as will be readily perceived, they would not be found in the German. All these, by a singularly exact coincidence, are found in Anthon's edition, and, what is more remarkable, they stand with almost precisely the same explanations as in the other. It is impossible, of course, to say positively that these resemblances were not the results of separate intellectual exertions of the two editors, who thus arrived at so nearly the same ends. But, when we find the similarity extend through almost one hundred instances, a strong doubt attends this charitable supposition. The doubt is strengthened, and the supposition entirely refuted, by a singular circumstance, which we propose to state in full, as an instance of a considerable class.

The last line of the fifth ode of Anacreon, found in these editions, is *Καθελὼν ἤνθησε καρπός*, according to the reading of the Boston editor. The word *ἤνθησε* from the root *ἀνθέω* is one of those of which we have spoken as not contained elsewhere in the book. It is of course in the Boston Lexicon. Professor Anthon, for reasons given in his note, changes this word to *ἤνθισε* from *ἀνθίζω*. Of course, then, if he had made

his own Lexicon, ἀνθέω would not have been found in it *as it is.* Ἀνθίζω is in both Lexicons.

A similar coincidence may be observed in the notes on these passages. In the Boston edition, there are thirty-one notes appended to them ; and of these, all but three are introduced in some way in the New York edition. Of those inserted, three are mentioned to be contradicted, and the remainder are copied with more or less distinctness from one edition to the other.

We have alluded to these particular points, because they serve as an admirable sample of the character of the whole. To show all, or nearly all the similar instances, would require a running commentary on the book. We can only mention, therefore, particular classes of detected plagiarisms, illustrating some of the most striking by instances.

We have not intended to represent the Boston edition of the "Reader" as perfect. Any one who has had any experience in the use of Greek school books, knows that such books are apt to contain misprints. The American editions of the "Greek Reader," before the Boston stereotype edition, were greatly disfigured by these. After the first edition, the book was frequently published with so little attention to any thing but pecuniary profit, that inaccuracies were constantly creeping in. Great care was taken, we are told in the preface to the Boston stereotype edition, to secure the utmost exactness ; and the text, as it there appeared, was, perhaps, as accurate as any ever printed in this country. There remained, however, a considerable number of errors in accents. The careful reader will detect, almost without exception, the same errors remaining in the New York as in the Boston edition, while all the corrections found in the latter occur also in the former. We might adduce hundreds of instances. But a more singular blunder is this ; several of these errors in accent in the text were corrected in the Lexicon of the Boston edition, at some time, apparently, when it was impossible to make the correction in other parts of the book. So that, as the Boston edition now stands, some thirty or forty words are correct in the Lexicon, and incorrect elsewhere. This remarkable inconsistency enters without apology into Dr. Anthon's book. Here is a sort of error which can be accounted for only by considering it as a reprint of the Boston edition. Instances of it are ; Ἅγις, correct in the Lexicon,

incorrectly written Ἄγις in section ninety-third of "Anecdotes" in the text; ἀμνὸς, correct in the Lexicon, incorrectly printed ἄμνον in Fable ninth of the text; Ἶσις, correct in the Lexicon, incorrectly printed Ἶσιν in the text. We have noticed this singular semi-accuracy in some thirty or forty instances; it may extend much further.

After discovering an instance like this, where, one editor having made a few hundred mistakes in accent, in a book containing a hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand accented words, a second editor in reading his proof-sheets makes exactly the same, and, more than this, makes the same partial corrections as his predecessor had done, — we need not seek for many more proofs to convict the latter of having made use of the labors of the former.

Dr. Anthon, however, is not content with making use of the text of the Boston stereotype edition, but has taken the Notes and Lexicon with no less scruple. In both cases, a heavy cloud of words is used to conceal the — "*convey*, the wise it call"; but a little investigation soon discovers it. A few instances, selected almost at random from the Lexicon, will amply substantiate it. In column after column of the two Lexicons, great part is almost identically the same; we have taken passages where Jacobs's German Lexicons were not wholly relied upon by either editor, as being the only ones fairly in point. The Boston edition was the first which exhibited the derivation of all the words given. Professor Anthon, with great prudence, has uniformly, so far as our examination has gone, availed himself of this labor in his own book, giving it an appearance of originality by translating the roots, which the Boston editor did not always do. We propose to cite a few examples of the striking similarity between the Lexicons, and would request the reader to notice the agreement of the forms of expression, if not of the very words; there being the precise coincidence that would be expected, where one author was rewriting the remarks of the other.

The Boston Edition.	*Professor Anthon.*
μακαρίζω, (μάκαρ,) *f.* ἴσω *and Att.* ιῶ, *p.* ἴκα, to bless, to pronounce happy, to deem happy.	μᾰκᾰρίζω, fut. -ἴσω, Att. ἰῶ, perf. μεμακάρικα (from μάκαρ). *To deem happy, to bless, to pronounce happy.*

μαλάσσω, (μαλᾰκός,) *f.* άξω, *p.* χα, to soften, to appease, to prevail by entreaty.	μαλάσσω, fut. -άξω, perf. μεμάλᾰχα (from μᾰλᾰκός). *To soften, to mollify, to appease, to prevail by entreaty. — To enervate.*
μαλᾰχη, ης, ἡ, (μαλάσσω, *from its emollient properties, or the softness of its leaves,*) the plant mallows.	μαλᾰχη, ης, ἡ (from μαλάσσω). *Mallows*, a plant of emollient qualities, whence the name.

These three instances, selected from a dozen consecutive ones in the Lexicons, will be sufficient to show the manner in which Professor Anthon has used the labors of his predecessor. Too skilful to copy directly, a little ingenious management has enabled him to produce a Lexicon, which bears, at first sight, the appearance of much greater completeness than the one from which it was derived. And here we must trouble the reader to follow us in another branch of the inquiry into the merits of this new edition.

It will be remembered that we stated, that no entire portion of this new edition was free from plagiarism, excepting the Preface and the Metrical Indices. We would not, of course, charge the editor with plagiarism, merely for assuming a standard text of the work he publishes ; but we do so charge him, when, without credit given, he takes that text as corrected (and injured) by former editors. With respect to the Notes, we have not spoken at length. On the pages of a Review, it is impossible to present such a comparison of the two editions as would be necessary on this point. Any one, who will examine the two, cannot but be surprised to find how universally the Boston Notes, whether taken from Jacobs or not, are transferred into the New York "Reader." Of the extracts originally made by the Boston editors, and of the Lexicon, we have spoken, and thus, we believe, have made out the charge of plagiarism.

On this mass of copied matter, however, is engrafted much that is original. The New York editor could not copy more than the Boston edition contained, and any one acquainted with his style of writing, as exhibited in his former works, will perceive, that the terse expressions of the Notes and Lexicon of this edition, were entirely discordant with his usual verbose grandiloquence. The effect these peculiarities of style have produced upon the work are somewhat amus-

ing. An instance will be found among the extracts from the Lexicon on a preceding page. Professor Anthon would be puzzled to tell why, to the words "soften," and "appease," he added "mollify," as a definition of μαλάσσω. Certainly not because it added any thing to a school-boy's idea of the meaning, as gained from the other words. Nor, we fancy, could he draw a strong distinction between "covered with long wool" and "fleecy," or "prophecy" and "prediction," or "to dry up" and "to parch," or "to testify" and "to attest"; instances selected from the same page of his Lexicon as those we have given above. But it is very easy to tell why these words are there. They procured for the Lexicon, at very trifling cost, the appearance of completeness and originality. Originality, in a measure, they certainly give it; *uniqueness*, for few men besides the Professor would have made such insertions; but, if room were to be spared for such a purpose, a much greater completeness might have been obtained, although at the cost of much more labor, and with much less pretension.

We are inclined to believe, that this same predilection for verbosity, and much show with little labor, induces Dr. Anthon to burden his class-books with so great a load of notes. In the Preface to the book before us, he says;

"The notes appended to the present volume will be found to be copious, and, it is hoped, satisfactory. The plan has hitherto been tried of editing the Greek Reader with few notes; a plan very much in vogue in some sections of our country, but which never has and never will make scholars. The opposite course is here attempted; and, as it has succeeded on other occasions, the editor trusts that it will be accompanied in the present instance with the same favorable results. In what has just been said, however, respecting previous editions, the editor must not be understood as at all referring to the New York edition by Mr. Casserly. He only regrets, that this gentleman was confined to so narrow limits by the arrangements of his publisher. Had these restrictions been removed, and Mr. Casserly been allowed to expatiate more freely, his known abilities as a scholar would have entirely precluded the necessity of the present publication." — p. vi.

Well said! Dr. Anthon. So the reputation which Mr. Edward Everett, the first Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in

Cambridge, and the original editor of this Americanized "Greek Reader," enjoyed, was all undeserved, for he could never have studied your book, or any thing that approached it in the number of its notes. So we thousands of drudges, who have toiled over those long octavo pages of the old "Greek Reader," have been entirely mistaken, when, after detecting the meaning of an obscure passage, where we had longed for a kind note to explain it, we joyed in our success, and thought that the very exertions we had made would fix the principles more deeply than if we had had the assistance we had wished for. So those of us who prided ourselves at college on reading, *proprio Marte* and with severe toil, from pocket editions, which had no notes, or shadows of notes, and fancied there was something more respectable in reading Homer and Sophocles, as their countrymen did, than in relying every moment on the aid of others, mistook one of the chief objects of classical discipline, and forfeited by the act all chance of becoming thorough scholars. The whole affair reminds us of the story told of the militia colonel's wife. "Mother!" cried one of her children, on hearing of his father's dignity, "ar'n't we all colonels?" "No, dear; only your father and I." — "Dr. Anthon! ar'n't we all scholars?" "No, dears; only Mr. Casserly and I." And why except Mr. Casserly? Turn to the beginning of *his* edition, and read the Dedication; —

"To Charles Anthon, LL. D., &c. Sir, In being permitted to dedicate this new edition of 'The Greek Reader' to you, a degree of importance must henceforward be attached to the work, to which the humble labors of the Editor could lay no intrinsic claim.

"Any book, how important soever it may appear, when honored with the approbation of one of the first classical scholars of the age, cannot ever afterwards fail, — like bullion, comparatively valueless in itself, until stamped with the sanction of the reigning executive, — to pass current, among the standard literature of the country.

"To whom then could this little volume, — intended for the special use of American youth, — with more propriety be dedicated than to him, whose extensive researches, splendid talents, and elaborate productions have formed a new era in American literature, — have excited the grateful admiration of one hemisphere, and commanded the deferential regard of the other?

"With every sentiment of respect for your multifarious and solid acquirements, — of wonder at the vast extent of your untiring industry, — and of thankfulness for the improvement and pleasure, so often derived from the perusal of your truly valuable works,

"I have the honor to remain, Sir," &c.

After reading this, turn to Mr. Casserly's Preface, and commend the care of the editor, where, having spoken of an opinion of "one of the ablest scholars and most sagacious critics of the western world," a modest little foot-note announces, that Professor Anthon is the individual alluded to.

One word, *en passant*, of this edition of Mr. Casserly. He begins, in his preface, with most cruelly ironical remarks on the editors of the Boston stereotype edition, of which the first impression only had then been published, and ends, in his book, by copying all the most important part of their labors. We do not propose to attempt to exhibit this at any length; the book speaks in a manner for itself. Mr. Casserly did not escape without copying several mistakes which have been long since corrected where they originated, but which remained long enough to be taken by the New York editor. A long Dictionary of proper names, for instance, was transferred almost directly from the Boston to the New York edition. This dictionary contains some ridiculous mistakes. *Δαρδανεῖς*, for instance, is interpreted *Trojans*, the inhabitants of Troy. The editors were thinking of *Δαρδάνιοι*. The *Δαρδανεῖς* were a people who lived north of Macedonia, and they are mentioned in the text on occasion of a battle fought between them and Philip of Macedon, who by this error is introduced unceremoniously into the Trojan war. *Μακεδών* itself, by this most accurate of scholars, is permitted to pass as *Macedonia*. *Ἰβηρία* is set down as a country of Asia, between Colchis and Albania. There undoubtedly was such a country, but there was another Iberia of much greater importance, and the school-boy would be a good deal puzzled, who should be given to understand, from the Greek text, as by this dictionary he must be, that the Balearic islands, Majorca, Minorca, &c., are in the Euxine sea. These few instances are enough to show, that Mr. Casserly's publisher was not wholly to blame for the defects of his edition.

Dr. Anthon's notes unquestionably show a great deal of erudition, but, being for the most part out of place, it is here little better than cumbrous pedantry. It is, moreover, dis-

played with an air of pretension, which makes it, to us, extremely disagreeable. Thus, after giving the opinion of Brunck, Degen, and Moebius, that a word in Anacreon should be read ὕλαι, we find the editor saying dictatorially, "The more correct accentuation is undoubtedly ὗλαι"; and, in a note to a passage in Moschus, saying, while he follows the authority of Luzac, almost unsupported, — "There can be but one opinion as to the inferiority of the common lection." These expressions of opinion, for they are nothing more, though they assume the form of oracles, are far from being always correct. For instance, in the seventh section of the Geography of Europe, the author, Diodorus Siculus, says of the Pyrenees; *Πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων ἐν αὐτοῖς δρυμῶν, φασὶν ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς χρόνοις ὑπό τινων νομέων, ἀφέντων πῦρ, κατακαῆναι παντελῶς ἅπασαν τὴν ὀρεινὴν χώραν.* On this, Dr. Anthon has, among others, the following note; "ἀφέντων πῦρ, '*who had been careless with fire.*' More literally, 'having neglected fire.' This is often erroneously rendered, 'who had set fire to it.' The source of the mistake is in the Latin version of Rhodomann." Now Rhodomann was somebody; though he happened to be as remarkable for his modesty as for his profound erudition and his consummate skill in Greek learning. One of the most accomplished Hellenists of his time, what he did has not been better done since, till the "new era in American literature." "*Igni a pastoribus injecto*" will no longer "pass current"; it is not "stamped with the sanction of the reigning executive." A new era has opened upon us indeed. So, then, at Patroclus's tomb, Leonteus, "branch of Mars," did not *hurl* the unfashioned "clod of iron," which was at once the disk and the reward of the successful thrower; but he dropped it "carelessly" from his hand; — *Δεύτερος αὖτ' ἀφέηκε Λεοντεὺς, ὄζος Ἄρηος.** Horatius Cocles, it now appears, performed no feat, and got his rations and his farm for nothing. He did not, "accoutred as he was," *throw* himself into the Tiber, but "neglected" his steps and accidentally tumbled in; — *μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἀφεὶς ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸν ποταμόν.*† As for Camillus (and this is a case of *fire*), when he headed a party of his soldiers armed with that element, and took his station to windward of the Latin camp, awaiting the fresh breeze of sunrise, it was only that his men might "be

* *Iliad.* xxiii. 841. † Plutarch. *in Poplic.*, c. 16.

careless with" their fire; and, if the wooden fortifications of the enemy were soon in ashes, and his victory complete, it was not the result of his warlike art, but a fortunate casualty; —αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τὸ πῦρ ἀφήσειν μέλλοντας ἔχων, &c.*

Dr. Anthon, as to this word, has sagely accommodated his Lexicon to his note.

Most of the new notes in this edition are merely translations of the text, and these are given so constantly, that a careful reader could understand the narrative by reading the notes, without any knowledge of the Greek. The following is a translation, taken at random from the beginning of the Life of Demosthenes, extracted from Plutarch. We have italicized the part of it furnished by Dr. Anthon's notes.

"It is said, that, Demosthenes once complaining to Satyrus, the actor, *that although he is the most laborious of all speakers, and although he has almost expended upon this object the vigor of his bodily powers*, he has no favor *with the people*, but *intemperate* and ignorant men *are listened to and hold possession of the tribune*, while he is overlooked; Satyrus said, 'Thou speakest truly; but, *if thou wilt repeat to me, off-hand, some one of the passages of Euripides or Sophocles*, I will quickly cure the fault.' *And that, Demosthenes having repeated one*, Satyrus, *having taken it up after him, so moulded the same passage, and went over it with an air and delivery so appropriate, that it appeared to Demosthenes altogether different.*"

Besides these translations, there are two notes explanatory of the construction, and several noticing nice points in the meaning of distinct words.

Now there are persons who believe the languages may be best taught by means of translations, and, to such, notes like these will be very acceptable. But to any one else, we are willing to leave the case as the above extract presents it, and to ask whether there is not there too much direct aid given for the advantage of a boy who is expected to make any use of his own intellect.

In such a mass of translations, it may not be surprising that errors should occur; but Dr. Anthon is not the man to plead the length of the work in excuse of them, either as to their frequency or their importance. We have only room to notice a

* Plutarch. *in Camil*, c. 34.

few. The following passage from the Life of Themistocles; *οὐ Δαρεῖον, οὐδὲ Πέρσας (μακρὰν γὰρ ἦσαν οὗτοι, καὶ δέος οὐ πάνυ βέβαιον ὡς ἀφιξόμενοι παρεῖχον) ἐπισείων*; is translated in the note to it, "*not holding up before them* (for the purpose of inspiring terror) *Darius or the Persians, for these were far away, and afforded no very sure grounds of alarm, as* (only) *intending to come.*" A more correct translation would seem to be; "and afforded no strong ground of fear that they intended to come." Again, page 113, line 24, the note gives us; "*an engineer, who selects the stone, and points it out to the workmen, directs the whole work,*" instead of "an engineer, who selects the stone, superintends the whole work, and gives instructions to the workmen." On page 142, line 27, a slight inaccuracy in the translation seriously injures the sense. We have, "*The Sphettian Polyeuctus said, that Demosthenes was a most accomplished orator, but Phocion a most influential speaker,*" instead of "*the* most accomplished orator," and "*the* most influential speaker"; the allusion being to the orators of the day, the change of the article is not unimportant. Page 146, line 7, the note reads; "*beholding the countenance of Phocion* (to be) *such as* (it was wont to appear)," for "such as *they had been used to behold it*"; which is far the more natural method of supplying the ellipsis. These errors are but instances of a considerable number; and, though some of them are of little importance in themselves, not one of them ought to have been made in a school-book. There is no more excellent exercise for boys than the correction of bad Latin and Greek, and books prepared for such purposes are found in all the school collections. But nothing can be worse than to place a book, professing to appear in a very "complete and accurate form," in the hands of a learner, who, receiving it as such, must find stumblingblocks on almost every page.

Our readers have had occasion to observe, that the freedom, with which Dr. Anthon has availed himself of the labors of other scholars, renders especially unbecoming the offensive contempt with which he allows himself to speak of their labors. The "Jay-Professor" has acted the part of "Le *Geai* paré des Plumes du Paon," not only in arraying himself in borrowed plumage, but in strutting in it indecorously. This character of his books lessens the pain which we feel in finding ourselves compelled to censure a man, whom we

believe to be industriously devoted to good learning, and who, from his fortunate position, is so able to advance its interests in this country. He has a task in hand of great importance, for good or evil; and he has our best wishes, that he may execute it in a manner creditable to American scholarship, and such as to promote its growth. Of the thirty volumes, which he has proposed, and which are to be circulated by the largest publishing house in the country, ten only have as yet appeared. In those which remain, we beg him to do himself better justice. Let him prepare them with less self-seeking. Let him strive for the benefit of others, and not for his own glorification; seeking *rem acu tangere*, to *enucleate* his author's meaning, and not to bury it up in chaff. Let him be fair towards his brother scholars in other parts of the country; and let him not even do such injustice to those immediately about him in his own great city, as to suppose that he is there *Anacharsis inter Scythas*, and secure against being brought to his bearings, and taught a just self-estimate, by the observation of his peers. Let him study meekness and modesty, and the *ingenuousness* becoming his vocation. Let him show, by a graceful example, that

——"ingenuas didicisse *fideliter* artes
Emollit mores; nec sinit esse" [pace Musarum] *fures*

among true scholars.

Art. XI. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *A Memoir of Mr. John Lowell, Jr., delivered at the Introduction to the Lectures on his Foundation, in the Odeon, 31st December*, 1839; *repeated in the Marlborough Chapel, 2d January*, 1840. By Edward Everett. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1840. 8vo. pp. 74.

This Memoir, marked by good taste, judgment, beauty of style, and dignity of sentiment, is worthy of its distinguished author. From the nature of its subject, it is less declamatory and brilliant in its tone, than most of the public discourses, with which Mr. Everett has heretofore gratified the public; but it will not be read with less interest or

pleasure on that account. The style is characterized by that simple, unobtrusive beauty, which good taste requires in a commemorative discourse. The same good taste has dictated the choice of topics and the selection of materials. The reflections and observations are just, appropriate, and not diluted by repetition or too great expansion. Mr. Lowell is spoken of with fulness and freedom, in such manner as to do ample justice to his modest and retiring excellence; and yet, that veil of reserve, which should be thrown over a portion of every man's words and deeds, which are the exclusive possession of his friends and relatives, is never for a moment withdrawn. The subject was one full of melancholy interest. The orator was called upon to speak of the gifts and virtues of a man of singular merit, who was cut off in the prime of life, at the commencement of a very extensive plan of foreign travel, entered upon with the highest purposes of self-improvement and of benefit to others, and who, by the munificent bequest of a large part of his fortune to public objects, manifested that spirit of enlightened benevolence, which had been his ruling principle in life.

In the opening paragraph of the Memoir, Mr. Everett briefly mentions the bequest and the purposes to which it is to be applied.

"The occasion of our meeting, at this time, is of a character not less unusual than interesting. By the munificence of the late Mr. John Lowell, Jr., a testamentary provision was made for the establishment of regular courses of public lectures, upon the most important branches of natural and moral science, to be annually delivered in the city of Boston. The sum generously set apart by him for this purpose, and amounting nearly to two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, is, with the exception of the bequest of the late Mr. Girard, of Philadelphia, the largest, if I mistake not, which has ever been appropriated in this country, by a private individual, for the endowment of any literary institution. The idea of a foundation of this kind, on which, unconnected with any place of education, provision is made, in the midst of a large commercial population, for annual courses of instruction by public lectures, to be delivered, gratuitously, to all who choose to attend them, as far as it is practicable within our largest halls, is, I believe, original with Mr. Lowell. I am not aware, that, among all the munificent establishments of Europe, there is any thing of this description upon a large scale; and I cannot but regard it as a conception eminently adapted to the character and wants of our community, and promising to be as beneficial as it is original and generous." — pp. 3, 4.

After a few just and appropriate reflections upon the advantages of lectures as a means of public instruction, Mr. Everett proceeds to speak of the life and character of Mr. Lowell himself. He pays an appropriate tribute to the public services

and private worth of his paternal and maternal grandfathers, Judge Lowell and Mr. Jonathan Jackson, and gives a very interesting sketch of the enterprise and ability displayed by his father, Francis C. Lowell, to whom American manufactures are so largely indebted. The life of Mr. Lowell himself, till he was about thirty-two years old, was uneventful, but not unprofitable to himself or to others. Born to an ample fortune, and removed from the necessity of earning his bread by the sweat of his brow, he never abandoned himself to indolence or self-indulgence. He was born on the 11th of May, 1799, and entered Harvard College in 1813, but his health did not permit him to complete his collegiate course. In 1816 and 1817, he made two voyages to India, having chosen the profession of a merchant ; and, for some years after his return to Boston, he was engaged in commercial pursuits. These, however, did not by any means absorb the whole of his time, none of which was permitted to be unemployed. He collected a valuable library, and read, diligently and profitably, in various departments of science and literature. But he did not seclude himself in the solitude of his library. He engaged, with ardor, in many of the public enterprises of his time ; and his time and property were freely spent for benevolent objects. He also took an active interest in politics, believing it to be the duty of every citizen to bear his part in the duty of sustaining our institutions. He was, repeatedly, a member of the city government, and of the House of Representatives, and, in both of these bodies, his industry, good sense, and information, gave him much influence. He was a ready and efficient speaker, as well as a laborious man of business. He was a diligent student of the institutions of his country ; and, for purposes of political improvement, attended the debates of the convention for revising the constitution of Virginia, which assembled at Richmond, in 1829.

In 1830 and 1831, he had the misfortune to lose his wife and both of his children. These melancholy bereavements deprived his life of its customary interest, and made his usual pursuits unattractive ; and the love of foreign travel, which had always been a strong propensity, came upon him with renewed force, and he resolved to gratify it. His wish was to make a thorough and minute examination of the East. He sailed for Europe in 1832, visited England, France, Italy, Greece, and passed into Egypt, ascended the Nile as far as Thebes, penetrated into Ethiopia, journeyed to the Red sea, sailed to Mocha, and took passage in a steamboat to Bombay, where he arrived on the 10th of February, 1834. He had, for some months, been in a declining state of health, owing

to the extreme heat of the tropics, fatigue, and the want of medical advice, and a severe shock was given to his system by a shipwreck in the Red sea; and, after struggling with his disease for a short time, he died at Bombay, on the 4th of March, 1836. Mr. Everett, in the Memoir, makes many interesting extracts from his journals and correspondence, which give vivid pictures of the dangers and difficulties he met with, and of the energy and resolution with which they were met and surmounted. We would gladly extract largely from them, and from the Memoir, did our limits permit; but we must content onrselves with a few paragraphs from its close, containing those portions of Mr. Lowell's will, by which the lectures are founded.

"With his first serious illness in Upper Egypt, he turned his thoughts to the land of his birth, and the completion of his testamentary provision for the benefit of his native city. The object of his bequest as set forth in his will, is, 'the maintenance and support of public lectures, to be delivered in Boston, upon philosophy, natural history, the arts and sciences, or any of them, as the trustee shall, from time to time, deem expedient for the promotion of the moral, and intellectual, and physical instruction or education of the citizens of Boston.' After a partial recovery from a severe attack of disease, from which he suffered for five weeks, — in a codicil to his will, written amidst the ruins of Thebes, from a place called Luxor, an Arab village, the whole of which is situated on the remains of an ancient palace, — Mr. Lowell transmits to his kinsman and trustee his detailed directions for the administration of his trust. Of these, the most important are expressed as follows; —

"'As the most certain and the most important part of true philosophy appears to me to be that, which shows the connexion between God's revelations and the knowledge of good and evil, implanted by him in our nature, I wish a course of lectures to be given on natural religion, showing its conformity to that of our Saviour.

"'For the more perfect demonstration of the truth of those moral and religious precepts, by which alone, as I believe, men can be secure of happiness in this world and that to come, I wish a course of lectures to be delivered on the historical and internal evidences in favor of Christianity. I wish all disputed points of faith and ceremony to be avoided, and the attention of the lecturers to be directed to the moral doctrines of the gospel, stating their opinion, if they will, but not engaging in controversy, even on the subject of the penalty for disobedience.

"'As the prosperity of my native land, New England, which is sterile and unproductive, must depend hereafter, as it has heretofore depended, first, on the moral qualities, and, secondly, on the intelligence and information of its inhabitants, I am desirous of trying to contribute towards this second object also; — and I wish courses of lectures to be established on physics and chemistry, with their application to the arts; also, on botany, zoölogy, geology, and mineralogy, connected with their particular utility to man.

"'After the establishment of these courses of lectures, should disposable funds remain, or, in process of time, be accumulated, the trustee may appoint courses of lectures to be delivered on the literature and eloquence of our language, and even on those of foreign nations, if he see fit. He may, also, from time to time, establish lectures on any subject, that, in his opinion, the wants and taste of the age may demand.

"'As infidel opinions appear to me injurious to society, and easily to insinuate themselves into a man's dissertations on any subject, however remote from religion, no man ought to be appointed a lecturer, who is not willing to declare, and who does not previously declare, his belief in the divine revelation of the Old and New Testaments, leaving the interpretation thereof to his own conscience.'

"Such were the enlightened provisions of Mr. Lowell for the benefit of his native city. Surrounded by the most enduring monuments of human grandeur, he felt how little can be done to elevate the moral nature of man, by exhausting the quarry, and piling its blocks of granite to the clouds. As far as we can judge, from the unparalleled number, and gigantic dimensions, of the temples, palaces, gateways, alleys of sphinxes, and cemeteries, that cover the site, and fill up the environs, of Egyptian Thebes, the resources of the monarchs, who made it their residence, must have exceeded those of the Roman Cæsars, when the world obeyed their sceptre. But, when we inquire after the influence of this mighty monarchy on the welfare of the human race; when we ask for the lights of humanity that adorned its annals, — for the teachers of truth, the discoverers in science, the champions of virtue, the statesmen, the legislators, the friends of man, — it is all a dreary blank. Not one bright name is preserved in their history; not one great or generous deed, if ever performed, has escaped from oblivion; not a word, ever uttered or written by the myriads of rational beings, the lords or the subjects of this mighty empire, has been embalmed in the memory of mankind. A beam of light from the genius of a modern French scholar, cast upon the sculptured sides of obelisks and temples, has redeemed the names and titles of forgotten Pharaohs from ages of oblivion; but no moral Champollion can pour a transforming ray into the essential character of the Egyptian monarchy, and make it aught else than one unbroken record of superstition, ignorance, and slavery.

"Our lamented fellow-citizen, well versed in the history of ancient times, musing amidst the ruins of this unconsecrated magnificence, seems, with a yearning heart, while the hand of disease still lay upon him, to have desired, as far as an individual could effect it, to secure his beloved native land from the blighting influences of those causes, which preyed upon the vitals of this primal seat of empire. These causes were well known to him, — known from history, — known from their existence, at the present hour, in the same wretched region. There was no free cultivation of intellect in Egypt, — no popular education, — no public liberty. The resources of the monarchy were lavished on the wars and luxury of its princes. The soul-crushing despotism of mystery checked all developement of the common mind. In consequence of the slavery of *caste*, religion, instead of being a source of light, of social improvement, and happiness,

was an additional instrument of subjection. It chiefly employed its energies in the disgusting art of preventing the clay, that perishes, from returning to its kindred dust. Nor was this the worst. The priesthood made themselves the exclusive depositaries of learning. If we can trust the accounts of the ancient writers, the import of those hieroglyphical characters, in which the Egyptian wisdom is recorded, was a mystery known only to the priests, and those to whom, in their secluded cells, they chose to confide it. Well might it have been expected, that the knowledge of it would perish. It had no root in the intelligence of the people; it was the secret of a caste, and it died out with the privileged order by which it was engrossed. The pyramids themselves could not crumble, — the sculptured granite, in that mild climate, could not lose its deeply graven character; — but, instead of handing down an intelligent record of the monarchs who reared their mountain masses, and now slumber in their monumental caverns, they stand but as eternal mementoes, how perishable is all glory, how fleeting is all duration, but that of the improved mind.

"The few sentences, penned, with a tired hand, by our fellow-citizen, on the top of a palace of the Pharaohs, will do more for human improvement, than, for aught that appears, was done by all of that gloomy dynasty that ever reigned. I scruple not to affirm, that, in the directions given by him for a course of popular instruction, illustrative of the great truths of natural religion and the evidences of Christianity, and unfolding the stores of natural science and useful knowledge, — to be dispensed, without restriction, to an entire community, — there is a better hope, that mental activity will be profitably kindled, thought put in salutary motion, the connexion of truth with the uses of life traced out, and the condition of man benefited, than in all the councils, rescripts, exploits, and institutions of Sesostris and his line. I am persuaded, that more useful knowledge, higher views of the works of God, deeper and more searching glimpses into the mysteries of nature, will be communicated in the course of lectures, which will commence next Friday, than lies hidden in the hieroglyphics that cover the Egyptian temples, from the cataracts to the mouth of the Nile, although every character, according to M. Arago's suggestion, should be copied by the Daguerreotype, and fully explained by the key of Champollion. Let the foundation of Mr. Lowell stand on the principles prescribed by him; let the fidelity, with which it is now administered, continue to direct it; and no language is emphatic enough to do full justice to its importance. It will be, from generation to generation, a perennial source of public good, a dispensation of sound science, of useful knowledge, of truth, in its most important associations with the destiny of man. These are blessings which cannot die. They will abide, when the sands of the desert shall have covered what they have hitherto spared of the Egyptian temples; and they will render the name of Lowell, in all wise and moral estimation, more truly illustrious, than that of any Pharaoh engraven on their walls. These belong to the empire of the mind, which alone, of human things, is immortal, and they will remain, as a memorial of his Christian liberality, when all that is material shall have vanished as a scroll." — pp. 64–70.

2. — *The Great Descender.* By Flaccus. [Knickerbocker Magazine, for January and February, 1840.]

Here is a mock-heroic poem, of very moderate compass, but with a great deal of ingenuity and poetic fire, on the story of Sam Patch, who jumped himself into a strange notoriety and a melancholy fate, a few summers ago. The facts themselves are so ludicrous, yet so thrilling and tragical, — there is such a mixture of the mean and sublime in them, from beginning to end, — that they offer one of the most suitable subjects that can be imagined for a composition of this kind. The poet is compelled to be lofty and droll at the same time. His strain will naturally be wild and serious ; for his scenes are cataracts, and the action of his piece is really terrible. And yet he can demean nothing, nor is tempted to throw burlesque over what is too awful for merriment. The task seems to us to be accomplished with no little talent ; and indeed could scarcely have fallen into better hands.

New York is happy in the names of its well-known bards, — names that have been mentioned too often in our journal to need being repeated here. This little epic leads us to think, that the list is likely to be increased. But we must leave Flaccus at present under his disguise, and will only present our readers with a taste of his verses, in order to justify our praise. He opens with a very picturesque description of Sam, seated at rainy midnight on the brink of the Passaic Falls ;

> "From his drenched hat the rain-drops, gathering slow,
> Drip one by one far down the gulf below ;"

And as he sits, he soliloquizes aloud, asking of the stars, — which could not have been visible, by the way, — some method of climbing up to fame.

> "Just then, a sudden meteor, trembling there,
> Slid down the sky, and quenched itself in air."

Again we must interrupt the bard, by suggesting the physical difficulty of tracking meteors through a thick shower. But hear what follows ;

> "The hero started ; 'Ha! I will obey!
> Renown is mine! — the heavens have marked the way.
> Yon meteor tells me, Wherefore climb at all,
> Since fame as well irradiates things that fall ?
> Yon earth-born meteor, spawn of slime and mire,
> More wakes the vision by its dropping fire,
> Than the world-sprinkled heavens, whose lights sublime,
> Have cheered the darkness since the birth of time.

And more; — does not the monarch of the skies
Go down in glory too, as well as rise?
How many watch him as he sinks away!
How few pay homage to his rising ray!
The lightning's self may glitter as it likes,
'T is ne'er gazetted, save it stoops and strikes.
How many, smitten with the fame it gave,
Have dived in bells far 'neath the ocean-wave!
Or from balloons in parachutes gone down,
Stooping to catch the jewel of renown.
We pass unpraised the stones that round us lie,
But hail them when they tumble from the sky.
The Arch-Fiend's fame no poet's tongue could tell,
Nor history chronicle, until he fell;
And Pisa's tower, so bending, and so tall,
We laud, — that only makes a threat to fall.'"

We do not mean that there are not blemishes in the piece. A critical eye may discover, now and then, an obscurity, or a mixture of metaphor, or even an inadvertency in syntax. But these faults are such as a little care might have avoided; and we are ready to give our cheerful "So be it," to the truly Horatian confidence with which he concludes his theme:

"Yes! I shall buoy thee on th' immortal sea,
Or, failing that, thyself shalt carry me."

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3. — *Rosanna, or Scenes in Boston.* By the Author of "Three Experiments of Living," "The Contrast," &c. Cambridge: John Owen. 1839. 18mo. pp. 134.

This story of the humblest life is written with tact and power. The benevolent purpose of its author, we trust, has before this been answered. The hardships endured by the uneducated and virtuous poor, the misery and degradation of large masses of human beings, living in the very midst of us, have called the attention and awakened the interest of their more fortunate fellow-men, more within the last few years than ever before. It is a good omen, when we find a pen like that of the author of this little book, — a pen capable of adorning the higher spheres of literature, — employed upon the unattractive but important task of delineating the actual scenes of want and woe, which are passing around us. Though rather late in the day, we cordially commend this book, for the vigor and truth of its pictures, the excellence of its style, and the philanthropic purpose for which it was written.

4. — *A Greek Grammar for the Use of Learners.* By E. A. Sophocles, A. M. Second Edition. Hartford : H. Huntington, Jun. 1840. 12mo. pp. 284.

The merits of Mr. Sophocles's Greek Grammar have come to be well understood ; and it is gradually passing into general use in our schools and academies. The clearness and condensation, which are its marked characteristics, will strongly recommend it to instructers. Mr. Sophocles is well known as a gentleman of extraordinary attainments in Greek literature, and of a clear and logical mind. The fact of his being a native Greek, added to his familiar acquaintance, from long and laborious study, with the ancient classics, gives him a great advantage over the authors of most of our grammars ; an advantage that will be more highly appreciated, the more the modern Greek is studied in connexion with its ancient mother. To such a man, the Greek is far from being a dead language. In his mind its words excite the living images of country and of home, the sentiments belonging to his nationality, the feelings native to his heart. Many a delicacy of expression, many a refinement of construction, must be perceptible to him, that escapes the notice of the learned Hellenists of other nations. And when he composes a grammar of the ancient language of his country, he does it not from books alone ; but he writes with the consciousness of "inward Hellenism," and with a confidence and clearness that no other can.

The first edition of this Grammar was noticed in a former number of this journal.* This second edition contains many improvements upon that ; some important additions ; some instances of filling out the forms more completely than before. The rules of the Syntax are worded with admirable precision ; and the examples to illustrate them are taken from the best authors. We have no hesitation in saying, that, for thoroughness and completeness, for lucid order and terseness of expression, this Grammar is unsurpassed by any in the English language ; and, we hope, for the sake of classical learning in the country, that it will come into extensive use.

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLVIII. pp. 137 *et seq.*

5. — *Discourse on the Integrity of the Legal Character, delivered before the Law Academy of Philadelphia.* By Job R. Tyson, Esq., one of the Vice-Provosts. Published by Order of the Law Academy. Philadelphia: John C. Clark. 1839. 8vo. pp. 36.

In substance, this is a sensible discourse. The style is neither pithy nor elegant; nor does the current of thought flow with any rich burden of those sentiments, with which the subject is so well adapted to inspire a cultivated and generous mind. The spirit of the discourse is, however, commendable. We are justly told, that integrity of heart, veracity of tongue, fervent piety, and gentle manners, are the graces which ought always to adorn the legal character.

Mr. Tyson remarks,

"While the study of the law is highly esteemed as an elevated science, there are, perhaps, few objects against which popular prejudice has been so unsparingly directed, as against the legal profession."— p. 5.

An amusing instance of the strength of this popular prejudice occurred, last winter, in the Massachusetts House of Representatives. An order was introduced, and sustained by a respectable majority, requesting the Speaker not to appoint a majority of lawyers upon the important committees on the Judiciary, and matters of Probate and Chancery. Mr. Tyson thinks that this prejudice originates in the misconduct of lawyers themselves; for he says;

"The little arts of chicanery and falsehood, exciting differences, magnifying trivial offences, blurring the reputation of upright men;— in short, gaining an ignominious livelihood by preying upon the ignorant and poor, and plundering the weak and the rich, — are malversations, which have, in some instances, disgraced the exercise of our profession." — p. 11.

This remark is true, and would be so, if made in reference to any other profession, or class of men. But the prejudice is not altogether so just, as it is strong. It has many other causes than the one above alluded to. The superior knowledge of lawyers, respecting the innumerable business transactions, requiring a legal form and mode of execution, excites envy and suspicion in the rest of the community. Again, in any litigated case with which lawyers have any thing to do, one party is, of necessity, a losing party; and it is quite too much to expect of human nature, that "he who feels the rope to draw," &c., will pay, with a good opinion of the law, or of lawyers.

Men who have not only lost cases, but who deserved to lose them, are very numerous. Many men who go to lawyers for aid, have dishonorable ends to gain, by questionable means. Yet it is an old saying, and a true one, that he who loves the treason hates the traitor. Men cannot possibly think well of those whom they have hired to do their dirty work. There is, of necessity, in every civilized and busy community, a certain amount of honorable business to be done by lawyers. But the evil passions and practices of clients give rise to much more legal manœuvring than all their honest dealings would require. This brings odium upon the profession, to which, nevertheless, it is not so disgraceful as to the community which not only requires such business to be done, but is more willing to pay handsomely for it, than for any other description of legal service.

Mr. Tyson recommends to the profession, that they should refuse to countenance an unworthy member, taking care to distinguish between unworthiness and unpopularity. He says, also, very properly, that the lawyer should mingle and sympathize with the people.

"It is important, that he should be made acquainted with other men and things than law and lawyers; it is his duty to cultivate an expansive philanthropy, and extend a helping hand to all the moral institutions of the age." — p. 16.

This is good advice. Interest, social intercourse, and community of opinion form the strongest bonds of union, and give rise to mutual good opinion among men. Talent alone may command admiration; but admiration itself will beget, in the human heart, a disparaging temper towards its object. Our author says further;

"Professional integrity requires, also, that the lawyer should possess all the learning of his art; that his legal knowledge should be profound and exact, in order that he may direct his client wisely." — p. 17.

"The lawyer in full practice, who faithfully and conscientiously performs his duty, passes a life of thoughtful toil, which it is not easy for an uninitiated public to appreciate. His gains are sometimes believed to be more than are equivalent for his labor. But the ordinary fees of the counsel are incomparably less in amount, than in many departments of life, in which, though less labor is bestowed, and to which inferior qualifications are sufficient, the remuneration is, by no means thought to be disproportioned to the skill and responsibility." — p. 19.

"In the duties of the former, all experience will show how necessary it is to preserve the temper calm and unruffled amidst a thousand circumstances, which are perpetually occurring to try it." — p. 20.

Mr. Tyson very appropriately holds up for our admiration and

example, the profound scholarship and elegant learning of Sir William Jones, the close legal reasoning and the moral intrepidity of Sir Edward Coke, the fearless integrity of Erskine, the rich learning and generous morality of Mansfield, the gentle humility and fervent piety of Sir John Eardley Wilmot, the classic grace of Blackstone, and the persevering philanthropy of Sir Samuel Romilly ; and of our own countrymen, among the dead and living, he eulogizes with truth and good taste, Marshall, Washington, and Tilghman, eminent judges, and Duponceau, Binney, Sergeant, and Chauncey, distinguished counsellors.

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6. — *Second Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of Common Schools in Connecticut, together with the Second Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board.* Hartford : Case, Tiffany, & Burnham. 1840. 8vo. pp. 56.

Mr. Barnard, the able and intelligent Secretary of the Common School Commissioners of Connecticut, has brought into this, his Second Annual Report, a vast amount of information, which he has collected by most laborious personal inquiries. He has digested his materials under a few judiciously arranged heads, so as to present a clear and connected view of the whole subject. The reader will be struck, in reading this document, with the care, and candor, and enlightened power shown by the author. He points out the faults of the Connecticut schools with fearless independence, and brings to bear on the subject an accurate knowledge of the systems and means of education at home and abroad. He is thus enabled to throw in weighty suggestions, and to point out the proper course to be taken, in order to reform an institution, — that of Common Schools, — which has so lamentably fallen short of the ends it was designed to accomplish. It is fortunate for the State, that this task has fallen into Mr. Barnard's hands. From him and Mr. Mann, the excellent Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, the community may expect to receive very important benefits. Indeed, such has been the case already. An attention and an interest have been excited with regard to our common schools, which bid fair to place them, insufficient as they have been for many years, upon a respectable footing.

7. — 1. *A Discourse, delivered in the Church in Brattle Square, on Sunday, May 3d, 1840, occasioned by the Death of the Rev. John T. Kirkland, D. D., LL. D., late President of Harvard University.* By Francis Parkman, D. D., Pastor of the New North Church. Boston : John H. Eastburn. 1840. 8vo. pp. 31.

2. *A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Rev. John Thornton Kirkland, D. D., LL. D., formerly Pastor of the Church on Church Green, and late President of Harvard University. Delivered in the Church on Church Green, May 3d,* 1840. By Alexander Young. Boston : Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1840. 8vo. pp. 104.

These tributes to the memory of one of the most distinguished men of New England, are worthy of the subject, and of their authors. The Discourse first named is from the hand of one who had the advantage of personal recollection of much of the course which he was describing, and had been associated in important trusts with the subject of his eulogy. For discriminating comprehension of the character portrayed, or just and touching expression of a sense of its high qualities, it is rare to meet with a performance of the kind, of equal merit. Mr. Young, whose text, (from Daniel v. 11, 12,) — "Light and understanding and wisdom, and an excellent spirit, were found in him," — might almost be imagined to have been written as a description of the character which he treats, has made a more elaborate contribution to the stock of biographies of our worthies ; having not only traced with minuteness the eminent career of Dr. Kirkland, showing with a careful specification the circumstances under which his mind was formed, the character of his abilities, attainments, and pursuits, and the extent of his public services, but having presented, in an Appendix, much interesting matter, collected with a true antiquarian zeal, and valuable to the future historian. Mr. Young's diligence of research on this occasion, as well as his judicious and effective treatment of the whole subject, entitle him to the highest commendation, and to the best gratitude of the numbers, who are interested to see due honor done to one, whom, with hearty acclamation, they "rise up and call blessed."

After a few remarks on the connexion of Christianity with letters, and its services to the cause of education, Mr. Young proceeds to an account of the life of Dr. Kirkland. The following is a brief abstract of this part of his Discourse.

John Thornton Kirkland, a descendant on his mother's side, in the seventh generation, from the renowned Captain Miles Standish, and, upon his father's side, of a race of Christian ministers, was, with his twin brother, George Whitfield, born August 17th, 1770, at the residence of General Herkimer, Little Falls, New York. His father, a missionary to the Oneida Indians, resided with his wife in a log cabin, built by his own hands, and barely furnished with necessaries, at the village of that tribe, called *New Oneida Castle*. His early education, that of a frontier village, was, of course, poor and scanty, but he was blessed with a devoted and intelligent mother. His Christian name was given in honor of a wealthy English philanthropist, who had manifested much interest in our Indian missions. In March, 1784, at the age of thirteen, he was placed at Phillips' Academy in Andover, the scanty means of his parents being made up by the late Lieutenant-Governor Samuel Phillips, who received the young student into his family, and paid for his tuition. He entered Harvard College in the third term of the Freshman year, April 4th, 1786, at the age of fifteen. In the winter vacation of 1787, he volunteered in the little army raised to quiet the rebellion of Shays. He held an honorable standing with the College government, and filled a high place in the affection and esteem of his associates. After graduating at Cambridge, he passed a year as assistant teacher at Andover, and then commenced the study of divinity with the Rev. Dr. West, of Stockbridge, Mass. While continuing this study at Cambridge, he was appointed tutor in logic and metaphysics.

He was ordained as pastor of the New South Church in Boston, February 5th, 1794. He has had beloved and distinguished successors in that sphere of his labors, but, when they are mentioned, it is not in forgetfulness of one who made their place honorable. No ecclesiastical authority or discipline could command such an influence as he won by his upright heart, his kind smile, his eminent discretion, his brilliant mind, his eloquent utterance. He drew around him, into near and dear friendship, men among the most honored of the community and the country. His position was equally commanding and agreeable. He enjoyed, in the fullest measure, the esteem, the reverence, and the household sympathies of a circle much wider than his flock. For sixteen years he discharged the duties of a Christian pastor. He was inducted into the office of President of Harvard University, with high enthusiasm, and with all academic ceremony, November 14th, 1810. For eighteen years he was the light and pride

of that cherished institution, the chief of a noble band. The College prospered in the increase of its students and of its professorships, of its edifices, its lands, and its library. Its funds received, in various ways, an addition of nearly half of a million of dollars, and much of this liberality was avowedly the result of that wide-spread personal esteem and influence, by which President Kirkland worked upon minds, and hearts, and purses. A stroke of paralysis, in August, 1827, impaired his strength ; and he resigned his office, March 28th, 1828. Officers, graduates, and students rendered to him every possible token of their respect and gratitude. His health and strength were in a measure restored by travel at home and abroad for more than three years. For nine months preceding his death, that fine mind, which had taught truth with so much force and beauty, shared in the ruin of a stricken body. Death came to his relief on Sunday morning, April 26th, 1840.

To heap praises upon this beloved and revered man is not so profitable as to view him as an illustration of the great and good work which an individual may accomplish by the influence of character; and it cannot be, that one who so long filled one of the most prominent and honored places in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, — Mr. Young says, the most so, — should pass from life to death, without repeating in his death the weighty lesson he taught in his life. How much our literary and benevolent institutions owe to him ; how much the whole community, through the medium of his many pupils, has received from his bright and sagacious mind, his eminent and winning virtues, was felt with a grateful conviction which anticipated all spoken eulogy. There was a touching tribute of respect paid to his character, which comes up to atone for much of the heartlessness, much of the petty vexation, of human life. Around the bier where his altered countenance was laid low in death, were gathered, as sincere mourners, a multitude of every place and profession, especially of the eminent in all literary pursuits. Men of opposite tastes, whom no other occasion would have drawn together, met there, to remember the eloquent preacher, the revered pastor, the beloved President, the true and kind-hearted man.

8. — *Elements of Mental Philosophy, embracing the two Departments of Intellect and the Sensibilities.* By Thomas C. Upham, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Bowdoin College. Third Edition. Portland. 1839. In Two Volumes. 8vo.

We confess ourselves not to be of the number of those, who approve of compilations for text-books ; and the multitude of "educational works," with which the press is teeming, — of works "prepared," "adapted," and "arranged," — only tends to confirm us in our dissent, and increase our uneasiness on this score. Still, we are bound to say, that our objections apply with less force to Professor Upham's "Elements," than to most publications with a similar design ; and, though we are not prepared to wish, that any book of this description should take the place of Locke's "Essay," or Reid's "Inquiry," in the lecture-room, we suppose that they who are of a different mind may have to wait long before another appears of equal merit, on the whole, to the one before us ; and we are sincerely glad to find, from the call for a third edition, (which, we further learn, is about to be stereotyped,) that the author's care and labor are likely to meet with a suitable return. The work evinces experience in the details of instruction, a familiarity with Locke and the Scotch metaphysicians, and some acquaintance with the earlier English writers on the subject, and with a few of the Continental writers. The method and diction are, in general, good ; the questions come up in their natural order, and are discussed with singular fairness of mind ; and pains are obviously taken throughout to simplify the study, and recommend it to the young. Indeed, we should have esteemed the work more highly as a text-book in the more advanced stages of education, if the author had studied less to make it easy. In itself, this often takes from the respect with which a manual would otherwise be regarded ; and, besides, in the present case, it is brought about by allowing a disproportionate space to the easy topics, while the most difficult ones are touched upon but slightly, or at most with comparative brevity. It is nothing, that some of the latter are thought by many to involve insoluble questions ; for, granting that they do, who does not know, that an *attempt* to solve them is often of more service than any thing else, not only as a discipline in abstract reasoning, but as a means of fixing or clearing up in the mind connected and subsidiary truths ?

9. — *The Utility of Classical Studies, an Address* by N. C. Brooks, A. M. Pronounced before the Philomathean Society of Pennsylvania College, February 14, 1840. Baltimore. John Murphy. 8vo. pp. 35.

The tone of this discourse is generally excellent. The arguments in favor of classical learning are sound and well put. Its advantages to the lawyer, the statesman, the physician, the clergyman, and the man of letters, are well described, in language of sober truth. We do not, however, like the author's attempt to disparage other branches of learning, especially the mathematics. He has here fallen into the common fallacy, that the mathematical studies have a narrowing effect, and frequently lead to skeptical or infidel opinions. How the science, which investigates the sublime laws of the universe, can narrow the human mind, has never yet been shown. How the science, that opens such magnificent views to the contemplation of man, can lead man into disbelief, passes comprehension. True enough it is, that some of the great French mathematicians were infidels, some even atheists ; but the truer way of stating the case is, that their infidelity and their atheism were not caused by their mathematics, but were held in defiance of their mathematics. It is as great an absurdity for the mathematician to be an atheist, as for one familiar with the machinery of a watch to deny the existence of a watchmaker. If the French mathematicians were atheists, they were so because the times in which they lived were revolutionary ; because their reason was overwhelmed by the mad uproar which surrounded them ; and not because of their mathematics.

It is wholly unnecessary to run a parallel between the classics and other studies. They are the basis of a polite education as far as civilization extends. All the utilitarian theories in the world cannot alter that fact, nor lessen the value which men of taste and refinement set upon a familiarity with the masterly works of the ancients. One might as well attempt to convince the artist, that the study of the Apollo Belvedere and the sculptures of the Parthenon ought to be given up, as to convince the educated man of the inutility of the Greek and Roman classics. The reformers of the French Revolution undertook to banish the classics from their systems of education; and the consequences were by no means such as to tempt to a repetition of the experiment ; nor is there much danger that the experiment will ever be repeated to any great extent.

We notice an occasional carelessness of expression in this

discourse. And the name of the historian Xenophon is spelled wrong three times, *Zenophon ;* a mistake not uncommon among the uneducated, but hardly to be expected from an advocate of the classics.

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10. — *ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΑΠΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΜΑΤΑ. Xenophon's Memorabilia of Socrates, with English Notes.* By Alpheus S. Packard, Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages and Literature in Bowdoin College. Andover : Gould, Newman, and Saxton. 1839. 12mo. pp. 264.

This work is a timely addition to the stock of classical books accessible to American students. Mr. Packard, the able professor of Latin and Greek in Bowdoin College, has performed his duty, as editor, with thoroughness and fidelity. His English notes are written with great judgment, and serve really to illustrate the author, and to help the student over the difficulties of the subjects which the work so often brings into discussion. We are happy to learn, that this edition of the "Memorabilia" has been adopted by several of the colleges of the United States ; and we hope to see it in use among them all.

The "Memorabilia," or *Memoirs* of Socrates, stands among the best and most interesting works which have been handed down to us from the ancients. It is a well-drawn picture of the greatest moralist of antiquity, by his most accomplished disciple. It contains the clearest exposition of the opinions and principles of Socrates, with occasional notices of his personal habits, that was made by any ancient writer ; and the work is written with the inimitable grace, which distinguished Xenophon so preëminently. But it is obvious, that such a work must contain allusions to philosophical opinions and to the occurrences of the times, which a young scholar cannot be supposed to be familiar with. A good edition, designed for college classes, ought to be furnished with ample explanations, where such allusions occur. This is very well understood by Professor Packard ; and he has gone to the best sources, and used them with the facility, tact, and taste of the elegant and learned scholar, and with the discrimination of the practised instructer. His edition will be found serviceable, not only to the young student, but to classical

readers in the walks of professional life, who desire to know something about the illustrious sage of Athens, beyond the vague traditions of his greatness.

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11. — *A Sermon on the Death of John Lowell, LL. D., delivered in King's Chapel, Boston, March 22d,* 1840. By F. W. P. Greenwood, D. D. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown. 8vo. pp. 36.

The late John Lowell, uncle of the founder of the Lowell Institute, of whose character and bounty we have given a notice a few pages back, was born on the 6th day of October, 1769, in the town of Newburyport, where his grandfather had sustained the clerical office, and where his father resided, holding the place of Judge of the District of Massachusetts, to which he had been appointed by Washington. After the evacuation of Boston by the English forces, in 1776, the family removed to that place, and there, and at Andover Academy, young Lowell made his preparation for admission to the University. He was graduated at the Commencement of 1786, having, at so early an age, sustained a high rank in a class, which has risen to greater distinction than any, or almost any, other on the College Catalogue. Before arriving at the age of twenty he was admitted to the bar, and was soon engaged in a large practice, which, at the end of fourteen years, when he relinquished it, had become more extensive and lucrative, than had before been enjoyed by any New England lawyer. Having alluded to Parsons, James Sullivan, Dexter, and Harrison Gray Otis, as among his professional associates, Dr. Greenwood proceeds in the following beautiful strain.

"Of others associated with him in friendship, in public concerns, in political views and sentiments, I will mention only three; Fisher Ames, Christopher Gore, and George Cabot. To have belonged to such a company, — his elders, men of virtue as well as of intellect, — to have been received into the hearts, as well as counsels, of such men, is of itself a diploma and a character. They, too, have gone to the land to which our friend has just been taken. As I repeat their names, with those already repeated, and join them with his, the spirit of the past comes over me, and bows me to do justice to it, and reverence. Is there an equal gathering of the illustrious now? Good and nobly gifted men we have among us in the maturity of their faculties, and others are coming on. All times have their men, and will have. This is the order of Providence. I do not believe in the dying out or the deterioration of mind. But I ask, whether there is now such a large and bright constellation as was clustered together at that time? It

has been my privilege to watch some of its component stars, as in their serene lustre they hung for a while in the west, and then sunk below the horizon ;— and, whether I turn to the east, or raise my regards to the meridian, I confess, that though the heavens are full of lights, I see no such congregated and fraternal brightness as was that which is now almost gone down. But all stars must set, and the observers also must lie down in the dust ; and this inevitable and constant event should serve to bring back our thoughts to the great and subduing fact of our mortality. We look back on that group of men, young, ardent, talented, eminently active, and useful, and as we look, they grow old, and fade, and retire, — and so will it be with those who are now in the prime of their manhood and fame ; the hairs on their brows are preparing to turn gray ; and they, too, will soon recede, and give place to others. So let it be, Great Author of our being! — and suffer not those who are endowed with thy gifts, while they stand in the presence of men, to be unprepared for thine, nor to forget that the account which they render to their fellow-mortals is as nothing to that which they must render to thee!" — pp. 10, 11.

At the age of thirty-four, debilitated by his extraordinary toils, which wore upon him the more from his sensitive and zealous nature, and having amassed a fortune sufficient for the supply of all his generous but unostentatious tastes, Mr. Lowell resolved to retire from his profession, and recruit his strength by travel. He accordingly passed two or three years in Europe, during which time he placed before the public some specimens of his elegant literary attainments, in contributions to the pages of the Boston "Monthly Anthology." At this period, it appears, were matured the purposes which dictated the course of a life long preserved by a kind Providence for his own honor and the public good.

"Let me pause for a moment," says Dr. Greenwood, "to show you how far his actual life corresponded with his early resolutions, and was the result of a plan, drawn many years ago, by his calm reflection. I shall do this, by giving an extract from one of his letters, with which I have been favored, written from Paris to one of his brothers, in 1805. Alluding to the state of his property as not justifying him in undertaking to build an expensive house on his return, as had, it seems, been recommended, he says; 'This belief is founded upon a perfect knowledge of my affairs, and a fixed resolution never to go into my profession again *for money*. So far as I can aid any friend occasionally by advice, or even other assistance, perhaps I may be induced to do it, but no further. A little commerce, a little agriculture, much gardening, and a devotion to science, are the objects which I have fondly, perhaps vainly, sketched out as future occupations. I have, too, a strong desire to promote public improvements, and I have the vanity to believe I may contribute a little towards them, without embarking, *which I shall avoid*, in Utopian or dangerous schemes.' How seldom is a happy sketch like this so happily filled out! How seldom is so beautiful a picture of intention and hope so beautifully fixed on the glowing canvass of reality!" — pp. 31, 32.

Mr. Lowell returned to his home at the troubled period of the second administration of Mr. Jefferson. He had already taken some part in the political movements of the time, contributing to the public journals, and, for three years, acting as a representative of the town of Boston in the State legislature, the only public appointment which he could ever be induced to accept. At the time of his return, the feeble health of Fisher Ames had compelled him to discontinue those brilliant series of communications to the newspapers, through which the principles and policy of the Federal party were urged upon the public mind; and Mr. Lowell, covetous as he was, at this period, of retirement, and averse to conflict of every sort, was prevailed on, by the representations of his political friends, to undertake a task which they esteemed to be of the first importance to the public safety, and such as he, more than any other man, was competent to perform. From 1807 to the close of the war, he accordingly maintained the cause of the opposition to the general government with his signal ability and characteristic zeal, publishing, in this time, no less than fourteen elaborate pamphlets, besides his constant communications to the newspapers, under the names, among others, of the "Roxbury Farmer," the "Old Farmer," the "New England Farmer," and the "Boston Rebel"; and there can be no hesitation in ascribing to him a more important influence, throughout the country, than was directly exerted from any other quarter in support of the Federal cause.

Exertions so effective were not made without personal risk. Violence was often threatened; but the virtues of the man were always too strong for the excitements against the partizan.

"In the times of high party excitement, which have been spoken of, a rumor was circulated, that some of those who had been exasperated by Mr. Lowell's political writings, had threatened to burn his house in Roxbury to the ground. This rumor was so far believed, that some of his friends went out, or sent out, from Boston, to offer themselves as the guard of his person and property for the night. Mr. Lowell expressed his belief, that his fellow-townsmen were incapable of such an act, and insisted on declining the friendly offer of defence. His reliance was well grounded, and no outrage was offered to his habitation, or to him. Indeed, no assistance beyond the limits of the town would in any case have been required; for several of the most respectable inhabitants of Roxbury itself, and of *both political parties*, had called upon him voluntarily, to assure him, that if his house should be attacked by the ignorant and misguided, they stood ready to defend it to the last extremity. It was not long after this, that he had made himself so widely known, had proved himself so useful in that place, by his services in town affairs, and parish committees, and school com-

mittees, and private counsels, that no man enjoyed so much true popularity, that is, love and respect, as he; and there was not an inhabitant of Roxbury, of any sense or heart, who would not have defended that once obnoxious house, at the risk of his own life. He was not forward to call himself a dear friend of the people, or a lover of the people, or a defender of the people, or in any way to distinguish himself *from* the people; but he showed himself to be simply *one of the people*, ever desirous to do good to all his brethren." — pp. 27 – 29.

With the breaking up of the Federal party after the peace of 1815, Mr. Lowell appears to have considered false interpretations of the Constitution and views of public policy to have gained an ascendency, of which, at least during his time, it would be fruitless to make further attempts to dispossess them. But it was not in his nature, because obstructed and disappointed in endeavours in one way for the public welfare, to allow himself to sink into despondency and inactivity. At that period he abandoned for ever the political *arena*, and scarcely ever afterwards published any separate work, except on a few occasions, when he conceived that cause of secure liberty, which was always near to his heart, to be endangered in another form, by attempts at ecclesiastical usurpation. His few efforts in that controversy, — at two different times, with an interval of ten years, — though regarded by those, who accorded with him in sentiment, as of the utmost value, were so uncongenial with his feelings, that it was only under what he conceived to be urgent reasons of public duty, that he was moved to make them; and, without any change of opinion upon the merits of the questions at issue, he has been known, under a sense of the ill tendency of religious disputes, to express his regret, that he had ever been led to engage in them.

From 1810 to 1822, Mr. Lowell was one of the seven members of the Corporation of Harvard College, to the prosperity of which institution, — as to every thing else to which he gave his mind, — he contributed diligent, intelligent, and most efficient labors. Dr. Greenwood speaks briefly of their great importance, and then goes on;

"Let us turn to another sphere of action. After the death of Judge Lowell, Mr. Lowell had occupied the paternal estate at Roxbury during the warmer months of the year. He entered, 'with all his heart,' into the study and pursuits of agriculture. To see him, and hear him converse, in his farm or his garden, one would suppose that all his occupation was farming and gardening. He would discuss the qualities of a fruit-tree or an exotic plant with the same earnestness, and the same copiousness, and the same ready and various learning, that he would have given to a question of politics, a point of law, or a case of divinity. He was for several years the Secretary of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society, and then its President. And so assiduous was

he in gathering and dispersing abroad all useful and curious information, which might advance the interests of agriculture and horticulture, that a full half of every number of the Journal of the Society, which was published while he was Secretary, was prepared, as I have understood, by his own hand.

"Equally desirous was he to promote, and active in promoting, the cause of general literature and of public charity judiciously applied. They who are acquainted with the origin of the Massachusetts General Hospital, the Boston Athenæum, and the Savings Bank, well know that he rendered to those noble and useful institutions his free and powerful aid in every possible way, and that his name must stand among the first on the lists of their founders. He was also one of the earliest and most strenuous promoters of public lectures in this city, on literary and scientific subjects. No man did more than he, in giving an impulse to this plan of occupying the public mind and in improving the public taste, which, having received its impulse, has since gone forward with such remarkable progress and favor.

"One more walk of usefulness I must glance at, in which Mr. Lowell was constantly to be found, not so public as the others, but not yielding to them in real importance. I refer to the legal advice and services, which, though he had withdrawn from legal practice, he rendered to various public bodies, to his friends and acquaintance, to all with whom he was in any way connected. He would read volumes and write quires, in this work, on a single case. In this manner, estates were settled, acts of incorporation drawn, wills made, references attended to; and litigation was prevented, and quietness and harmony were preserved, to an extent and amount which are not easily to be appreciated. These services were gratuitous. He would receive no compensation for them. * * * * * Indeed, it was one of his characteristics, that he was not at all desirous of amassing wealth. He valued independence of circumstances for himself and his family; that independence he had achieved by his youthful toils; and he had no wish for more.

"In this connexion, I may say a word, and but a word, of his private charities. With him they were truly private, and he never blazoned them, nor spoke of them. * * * * * In truth, Mr. Lowell was never happier than when he was conferring favors on others. He was a good neighbour. He loved to disperse abroad whatever he had, — the seeds of his garden and the fruits of his mind, — and he fully accorded with the sentiment of the Son of Sirach, 'Wisdom that is hid, and treasure that is hoarded up, what profiit is in them both?'" — pp. 22–26.

Though we have made large extracts from Dr. Greenwood's Sermon, we do violence to ourselves not to add to them. Rarely is so beautiful a tribute paid to departed worth. Most rarely does distinguished worth appear, such as to justify such a tribute. To enumerate the eminent public services of Mr. Lowell, — to say, that, in the list of public improvements made, in his time, in the community to which he belonged, it would be hard to name one, which is not under important obligations to his energy and talents, and the confidence which these and

his virtues inspired, — would be to recite but a part of his claims to honorable remembrance. A conference with him, on any occasion, which called for the counsels of wisdom and kindness, was, to numbers, whose occasions the world does not know, the first occurring and always profitable resource; and his consistent agency and example, in private relations as in public labors, were those of a just, irreproachable, friendly, philanthropic, Christian man. The ardor of temperament, which urged him forward so strenuously in the furtherance of good objects, would sometimes betray him into an ill-weighed vehemence of expression; but unkindness was an utter stranger to his heart; the man of large experience and many conflicts was as gentle and tender as a child. When he had examined a subject, his perceptions of its merits were so clear, that his assertion of them to a stranger might appear positive and peremptory. But never was an impetuous or a sluggish mind more perfectly candid and open to new convictions. Question an opinion, which he had most thoroughly considered and confidently entertained, he would listen, like a learner, to find, whether there was any new view of it to be presented, and, if so, to allow it full weight; and many a common man, in his society, has felt even oppressed to observe, with what modesty, respect, — "*humility*," as Dr. Greenwood well says, — every suggestion was received, and how gratefully all that might be good in it was welcomed. If ever there was "meekness of wisdom," it was in him.

"Shall I say," asks Dr. Greenwood, in concluding his discourse, "that such a man as this was beloved, truly, warmly, by his family, by every dweller under his roof, by every one who had the privilege of knowing him? It is unnecessary. Shall I say that his death is a great loss to his friends and the community? Irreparable it indeed is to his friends, great to the community; and it is to be deplored. But let us, rather, be thankful to God, that the labors, and counsel, and example, of so true a man were continued to the full limit, and beyond, of threescore years and ten." — p. 34.

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12. — *Discours de M. Le Procureur Général, Audience Solennelle de Rentrée de la Cour Royale d'Aix, 4 Novembre,* 1839. Aix. 16mo. pp. 39.

Publications of the character of this excellent address of the *Procureur Général*, at the opening, last autumn, of the *Cour Royale* of Aix, are very valuable to foreigners, as intro-

ducing them behind the scenes in respect to the state of society and sentiment in the centre of European civilization. The subject is the press, with its influence and effects upon popular opinion and the general welfare. This is a matter, perhaps, of more importance in France than in any other nation of the present day. *Journalism* is one of the mightiest agents at work there ; journalism overthrew the old government and established the new ; journalism has raised most of the leading men in the affairs of France to their present preëminence. The *Procureur Général* points out these facts with much force and clearness, and illustrates the duties of governments and of citizens, with regard to this subject, in a striking manner.

The address is written exceedingly well. It shows a just regard for the cause of order and good laws, and an enlightened estimate of popular liberty, and its best guaranties, an unshackled press and the diffusion of knowledge. At the same time, the writer is fully aware of the abuses to which the press may be subjected ; of its daring falsehoods, and unbounded licentiousness. In the course of the address, he cites a remarkable passage from one of Mr. Jefferson's Messages, where the occasional virulence of partisan journals is well and strongly described, and weighty hints are thrown out as to the best method of meeting them.

If views, like those contained in this address, are scattered over the Provinces of France by the public officers, the people must be in a fair way to enjoy a rational and regulated liberty.

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13. — *Faust ; a Dramatic Poem.* By Goethe. *Translated into English Prose ; with Notes.* By A. Hayward, Esq. First American from the Third London Edition. Lowell : Daniel Bixby. 1840. 16mo. pp. 317.

The merit of this translation has given to its author an eminent literary rank, both in his own country and in Germany. A version of a foreign author was never more laboriously and conscientiously performed. Mr. Hayward spared no pains to make his work a complete transcript of its original, and he succeeded. It is a fine specimen of the capabilities of the English language ; of pure, significant English ; and, though it is in prose, it is infinitely better, whether we read it as a work by itself, or as a representation of the

German original, than all the poetical translations, — the Fausts in "*numerous* verse," — which have challenged the approbation of the literary public within the last six or eight years. It ought to have been republished before this; but better late than never. It is not, certainly, the sort of goods, — though it is very good indeed, — that we should have looked for from the bee-hive city of Lowell. Is it possible, that a taste for German literature is spreading among the fair of the factories? We have our suspicions. We remember to have heard, that a popular transcendental lecturer was most popular there. There may be, after all, some hidden affinity between cotton-spinning and spinning transcendentalism; between carpet-weaving and weaving wild and shadowy speculations like those of the German Muse.

The edition is really a very handsome one. The same publisher, we believe, sent out, a year or two since, a neat edition of the poems of George Herbert. And thus we are indebted to the good city of spindles for the first, and as yet the *only*, American edition of the most spiritual of the old English poets, and the wildest of the German dramas. It is a good beginning. We hope the publisher will see no cause to repent of his undertakings.

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14 — *Rhinoplastic Operations, with some Remarks on the Autoplastic Methods usually adopted for the Restoration of Parts lost by Accident or Disease.* By J. Mason Warren, M. D. 8vo. pp. 28.

This little pamphlet, now republished from the "Boston Medical and Surgical Journal," is altogether creditable to the author. The operations themselves exhibit a high degree of surgical talent; of sagacity and good judgment in their conception, and of adroitness and skill, as well as persevering assiduity, in their execution. The history of the operations is a very good specimen of what such a history ought to be; a simple description of each case, with a plain narrative of the treatment, and a few judicious and instructive remarks, all in straight-forward, sensible English, without the least parade or affectation of any kind.

It is not a little curious, that the operation of Talicotius, after having been for so many years a subject of incredulity and ridicule, should at length come to be established as a

highly useful part of surgery. Even now it is hardly easy to discuss the matter without some mixture of the ludicrous in our feelings. And yet, to the poor wight who has lost that imposing feature, the nose, it is any thing but a pleasantry. The sketches, or portraits, as in truth they are, which accompany the descriptions, furnish a very impressive view of the improvement of the physiognomy effected by the restoration of this organ. In the first of these cases, the young man was shut out from society and almost from business, by the deformity of his visage, and the feelings produced by it. He is restored to decency of appearance and self-respect, and is able to meet his associates on equal terms, and without mortification. In this case the work of destruction had been very extensive ; not only the skin, but the whole of the cartilage, *septum*, and bones having been destroyed by disease ; and it is remarkable that the restoration should have been so perfect, and that the new organ should wear so well. It has now borne the test of more than three' years use, and maintains its integrity as a respectable and comely feature.

In the next case (next in chronological order), although the destruction was of less extent, the deformity was such as entirely to destroy the prospects in life of the unfortunate subject. This case is instructive in another point of view. A wart upon the tip of the nose induced the patient to apply to a *cancer doctor*, a species of quack to be found in every part of the country, by whose applications the organ was corroded away so as to produce the deformity of which we have spoken. The restoration was as perfect in this as in the former case ; and indeed more so, inasmuch as the preservation of the bones and cartilages secures to the renovated organ all the *stability* as well as symmetry of its former condition.

In both these cases, the skin, &c., to supply the place of the lost part, was taken from the forehead, being dissected up and twisted around into its new position. Of course it was not wholly separated from its old attachments, until a sufficient union had been formed with its new relations. The wound on the forehead healed without difficulty, and with only a moderate and by no means an unsightly cicatrix. Even this was avoided in the remaining case. The extremity only of the nose being diseased, Dr. Warren removed the diseased portion, and immediately replaced it by sound skin from the patient's arm, dissected up in a suitable form, and carefully adjusted to its proper situation. As in the other cases, a pedicle was left until the new union was formed. This involved the necessity of confining the arm in contact with the

face, while the process was going on. On the fifth day the arm was liberated from its severe constraint, and, we rejoice to say, the result was entirely satisfactory. This is the true *Talicotian* operation, in all its parts; and its success was complete. We have seen the patient, and a very fair nose he wears upon his face. Indeed, were it needed, we might bear personal testimony to the accuracy and fairness of the reports of all the cases, having repeatedly seen one of the patients, and known much of the others.

The importance of these operations is not limited to their bearing upon the particular deformity removed by them. Other lost parts may be, and repeatedly have been, restored in a similar manner; parts, whose functions are even more important to the comfort, though perhaps less essential to the beauty, of the individual concerned. Nor are they less instructive in respect to the practicability of preserving sound parts accidentally divided. Many such parts have been thrown away as useless, and the person left mutilated for life, while it now appears that they might have been preserved, if they had been promptly replaced, and retained in their true position.

NOTE.

In our last Number, we animadverted on an article in the January Number of the "New York Review," entitled "Politics of the Puritans." The author of that article has transmitted for publication the following reply to our strictures, in the form of a letter to the Editor of this journal.

"When the editor of a periodical, or a reviewer, in the exercise of a sound discretion, finds occasion to question *the conclusions* of another writer, or even to doubt his *facts*, no one has a right to complain; not even the man, whose facts or conclusions have been controverted. But, when a writer or reviewer goes further than this, and imputes to his author that which implies bad *motives*, the case is altered. The accused has then *just cause of complaint;* and of right is entitled to be heard in self-defence. And it is because the writer of the article in the last number of the 'North American,' entitled 'Politics of the Puritans,' has done this, while speaking of the writer of an article in the 'New York Review,' with a similar title, that the author of that article feels called upon to address you

this note. But he wishes it to be distinctly understood, that he does not consider himself entitled, and will not attempt to go into a discussion of *the merits* of the question in the 'North American.' That has been done in part, and (with permission of the editor of that valuable periodical) will hereafter be continued, in the 'New York Review.' His only object now is, to correct certain *misapprehensions* of the author of the article in the 'North American'; and to show, that the charges made against the author of the article in the 'New York Review,' are, to say the least, *not well sustained.* Nor will he allow himself to allude to certain would-be *sharp* speeches and witty sayings, uttered against him by the author in question; as he has a single point in view, an answer to the inquiry, *What is truth?*

"But, lest your readers should not bear in mind those things to which I allude, allow me to refresh their memories with a few brief quotations.

"'For a *disingenuous use of authorities*, ... on colonial history, [this article] has not been exceeded since the days of George Chalmers.' — p. 460. 'There is *a contempt of facts* about it that is positively overwhelming.' — p. 443. 'It is difficult to show an instance in which *the facts of history* have been more singularly *perverted.*' — p. 439. Now what is the evidence by which these weighty charges are sustained? On page 53 of the 'New York Review,' it was said; 'Surveying in this manner [the manner therein described] *the nature of the contest in England, between Churchmen and Puritans*, we shall find it merely *a political*, NOT, as it is usually represented, *a religious one.* This may be fairly inferred from what is said by both of our authors,' &c. This is the passage *as printed* in the 'New York Review,' though not *precisely* as quoted by the author of the article in the 'North American'; and the position taken by one is of course denied by the other. The passages quoted from 'our authors,' in the 'New York Review,' were from Professor Kingsley, (p. 55.) 'Their [the Puritans'] opposition to the Church of England, was mainly political, and limited in a great measure to discipline.' It is not pretended, that the 'New York Review' is mistaken here, but that Professor Kingsley is mistaken, and that *he* 'goes too far.' For our own part, we shall feel entirely safe, while Professor Kingsley is our file-leader. Nor is it pretended that Mr. Bacon is not correctly quoted. Nor is the position denied, that 'the ulterior object of any party,' — 'the end sought,' should be the criterion for judging of the 'nature of the controversy.' Nor is the position denied, that the 'real contest between Churchmen and Puritans was for the political

ascendency ; Churchmen desiring to continue prelacy as the religion of State, while the Puritans were striving to elevate Presbyterianism to the same post. These not being denied, as indeed they cannot be, where is our 'disingenuous use of, or contempt for authorities'? Why, simply this, that when two Puritan eulogists *confess*, that the Puritans were a 'political,' as well as 'religious party,' and their opposition confined '*mainly*' to questions of 'discipline,' we *inferred*, that, *the end sought* being political, the contest was also political. This seems to us to be a mere matter of *opinion*, and no more authorizes our reviewer to make the foregoing charges against the 'New York Review' than they would authorize us to make them against him. Besides, we had taken into consideration a great variety of topics, not even alluded to in the 'North American.'

"Again, on pp. 441–443, our author contrasts an extract from Lord Clarendon, with one from the 'New York Review,' for the purpose of contradicting the latter. Now we marvel that he forgot, that the language of one author, quoted for the purpose of contradicting another, *should speak of the same things*. Thus he should have seen, that as the time we spoke of covered the space from 1570 to 1630, and as Lord Clarendon's language is wholly subsequent to 1633, the time of Laud's translation to Canterbury, the one does not speak of the same things, and therefore cannot contradict the other. But our author says, 'It is by no means clear, (as alleged in the 'New York Review,') that the motive for granting these charters, was to get rid of a dangerous faction.' — p. 443. That the Puritans were regarded as a faction *by the government*, is not, and cannot be denied ; and Hutchinson, (I. 45,) *suggests* this very reason as a probable one why such charters were granted. Nor does the fact, 'that Bancroft and Laud procured orders for the detention' of some or many, when they saw the tide of emigration swelling, and rolling on, disprove at all, as we can see, the idea that this policy *originated* in a particular way, or *was acted upon* in a particular manner.

"Again, our author says, page 444, in reply to a statement of ours, that 'nothing could be more arbitrary, nor more regardless of the principles of civil liberty, than the first organization of the corporation, as it was proposed to take place, under the natural and ordinary construction of that instrument, whilst it remained in England.' This may be the honest *opinion* of our reviewer, but it contrasts strangely with the history, and with the charter itself. But it is not for us to go into a defence of that instrument ; certainly not in this place. Yet we may be allowed to inquire, *if* the 'natural and ordina-

ry construction of the charter, whilst it remained in England,' was entirely 'regardless of the principles of civil liberty,' *how* mere exportation should render it a model for free governments, as it was long considered? Besides, is it not true, that the question of removing *the charter* to this country was made the subject of legal inquiry? And is it not true, that it was removed 'by general consent of the company'? And when they arrived here, was not *that* the groundwork of all their civil regulations? And were not some of their measures objected to, after they came to this country, *on the ground* that they were contrary to the charter? And were not some of the very first laws which they enacted after their arrival here, in direct opposition to the *spirit* of their charter? We confess ourselves utterly at a loss to see, how the removal of an instrument, which was utterly 'regardless of the principles of civil liberty' in one place, should render it fraught with freedom in another.

"Again, our reviewer professes great astonishment at the idea, that Charles the First should be called 'the protector of liberty in any shape.'—p. 443. The language quoted by the reviewer names no one, but the time spoken of in the quotation, covers part of the reign of James, and the whole of the reigns of Charles the First and Second. Now we cannot properly occupy the pages of the 'North American,' in citing authorities in proof of the language, which our reviewer says shows such 'a contempt of facts'; but must content ourselves with a few plain and pertinent inquiries. Did not the settlers of Massachusetts, did not they, among one of their very first laws, enact one, that none but a church member should be admitted a freeman? And was not this in opposition to the spirit of their charter? And did not the King and Council object to this proceeding? And did not the Colonial Assembly repeal it in *appearance*, though not in *fact?* And was not this in reality, one of the reasons for taking away this charter? In short, did not the colonists hold on to this and similar laws, *as long as they had the power?* And did not the kings of England object to the exercise of such a power? And did they not at length cause their charter to be taken away from them by a legal process, for these and similar causes? And did not their subsequent charter confine them within narrow limits? And was not that charter, until quite recently, the fundamental basis of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts? And was not a similar charter the only Constitution of Connecticut, until within the present generation? And was not the charter of Maine still more free than either that of Massachusetts or Connecticut? In short, were not the TWO GREAT PRINCIPLES

of popular liberty, UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, and THE RIGHT OF THE MAJORITY TO GOVERN, were not both of these, in point of fact, contained in those early charters? And were not all the laws of the colonists *in abridgment* of those principles, in opposition to the spirit of their charters? And were not these principles, as contained in these charters, for a time protected by the kings of England? Some of these inquiries may possibly be *inconvenient* to the reviewer; but he will pardon one who has been accused of a 'contempt of facts,' for jogging his memory a little before he utters other charges of this character.

"Now, if the facts are as these questions imply, did the colonists *understand* the principles of those 'institutions,' which had been created for them? Or did they act upon them? Where was their love of freedom, when the Browns were sent back to England for preferring the 'Book of Common Prayer' to extempore effusions? Where, when *all* the friends of Henry Vane were turned out of office, because Vane himself had become obnoxious to some of the ruling powers? Where, when towns and individuals were fined £ 20, £ 40, and £ 100, for entertaining any stranger above a given time, lest Vane's friends should be increased, and he reinstated in office? Where, when 'toleration was preached against as a sin'? Now what is the fundamental principle, which lies at the bottom of all our civil institutions? Is it not the right of *the people*, not a *part* of the people, but the *whole* people, to govern? Now our reviewer says, (p. 434,) that, 'in looking after the *origin* of their establishment [that is, this and other similar principles], we did not suppose that there could be any more hesitation in ascribing it to the agency of the Puritans, than in ascribing the doctrine of gravitation to Newton, or the overthrow of the infallibility of Rome to Luther.' If by the 'agency of the Puritans,' is only meant, that the Puritans were parties concerned, the position is not denied. But if any thing more is intended, we should be glad to hear some of his answers to the above questions.

"The position of our reviewer, that the Puritans 'did *originate* and perpetuate those principles, which form at once the basis and characteristic of our political institutions,' p. 444, intended to appear as the denial of a position in the 'New York Review,' does not meet the point at which it seems to have been aimed. The question of the *origin* of these principles, has been carefully investigated in a former number of the 'New York Review' (January, 1838); and upon the accuracy of the history contained in that article, must depend the soundness of our position concerning 'the *origin* of those

principles' which have given rise to our present government. *That* article is the proof of the fundamental position taken in the one on the 'Politics of the Puritans.' So long, therefore, as *the history* of that article remains untouched, it cannot be necessary for us to spend any time in controverting opinions at variance with the conclusions there drawn. If our reviewer will take that article, and examine all *the history* of it in its connexion and bearing, and will study it as thoroughly as the author of it did, we presume he will not hesitate to conclude, that the creation of those institutions, which developed those principles of freedom, that form the chief characteristic of our government, was the *natural* result of a series of events, reaching back centuries before the name of Puritan had an existence, — that circumstances at one time arrayed them in favor of those principles in England, *as far as understood ;* that circumstances afterwards arrayed them in opposition to some of them for a time in this country, and that still other circumstances developed those principles more fully, and arrayed the colonies in their favor. In all this he will see a chain of events, which, under God, has reared the beautiful fabric of our republic, and in which circumstance, rather than design, had caused the Puritans to act a conspicuous part.

"But there is one other charge made by the reviewer in the 'North American,' to which I have not alluded, but which I must not pass over ; and that is, 'falsification of authority.' — p. 447. Now what does the reviewer mean by 'falsification of authority' ? One would suppose that it was misquoting, or the application of language used in reference to one point, to that used in reference to another, as is done by our reviewer on page 444 (See 'New York Review,' p. 62) ; or the garbling of a passage, *so as* to make it tell a different story from what the author intended. But no charge of this kind is made against the author of the article in the 'New York Review.' The whole of the offence on which this very serious accusation is based, is the quotation of a passage from the 'Planter's Plea,' *precisely* as it stands in the book ; except, that some of the words not in *italics* in the original work, were printed so in the copy ; and that the *examples* cited by the author of the 'Plea,' in illustration of his principles, were not quoted by the reviewer. Now we are sorry to be obliged to turn upon the author, and accuse him of doing *those very things*, in the very article in which he makes this charge against us. Thus, on page 437, he quotes from the 'New York Review,' page 53, and professes to give it, 'with its emphatic words and small capitals' ; and yet there are *forty-one words* italicized in the original article, not itali-

cized in the 'North American.' And again, on page 443, *six entire lines* of a quotation are italicized in the 'North American,' when not a word of it is italicized in the 'New York Review.' And yet, when the 'New York Review' italicized *a line and a half* of a quotation, it is charged with quoting as 'it is *not* in the original,' and the 'not' is made emphatic, and the writer charged with 'falsification of authorities.'

"But the writer says, 'the passage is so prepared [what does he mean by *prepared*?] as to leave the impression on the mind of the reader, that it was intended by the writer to apply to the Puritan colonists.'—p. 447. If our reviewer had copied what precedes and follows the quotation in the 'New York Review,' it would not have been necessary for us to have alluded to it at all. But as this 'preparation of the passage' was made *not* in the 'New York Review,' we will quote a few lines of the comment in the 'New York Review,' that it may be seen with what intelligent discrimination our author read the article to which he replies.

"The 'Plea' commences with an examination of the 'ground and warrant of colonies.' The second chapter is an answer to the question, '*What ends may be proposed in planting colonies?*' To this the author answers, first; [here follows the quotation.] The author then proceeds to show, by various reasons, that the English nation is competent to undertake the task of colonizing, and that New England is a suitable place for planting a colony. Then follows what our author calls 'a series of partial quotations,' but which, in point of fact, is the *exact statement* of the author's arguments, *in his own words*, without any qualification or abridgment. Then follows a statement of some of the objections replied to in the 'Plea,' *in every instance*, in the precise language of the author of the 'Plea,' without any alteration, except that *one word* is printed in italics, that is not so in the original. Now it is utterly unpardonable in our reviewer, upon such a state of facts, (and we challenge him to disprove this statement,) to accuse another of 'partial' quotations, and 'falsification of authorities.'

"There are several other points in the article of our reviewer that do us quite as much injustice as this; but, as we have trespassed so long upon your time, we will mention only one more. On page 448, the reviewer accuses the 'New York Review' of 'ungenerous perversion of the candor of the "Planter."' Now wherein consists this perversion? The 'New York Review,' in order to show 'that the advancement of the Gospel was [not believed by their opponents] to

be the *sole*, or *chief* object of their emigration,' quoted the following language from the 'Plea.' 'As it were *absurd* [the italics are ours] to conceive that they have all *one mind*, so it were *more ridiculous* to imagine they all have *one scope*. *Necessity* may press some ; *novelty* draw others ; *hopes of gain* may prevail with a third sort.' On this the 'New York Review' remarks, 'It is here confessed by one of the party, that 'necessity,' 'novelty,' and 'hope of gain,' . . . . . *were among* the causes that moved the colonists to come to this country.' But our reviewer says, the '"Planter" does not confess' this, ... that 'he only argues . . . . . that . . . . . there *might be* a variety of motive,' &c. The language of the 'Planter' is, that it is '*absurd* to suppose they have all *one mind*,' and 'more ridiculous to imagine they all have *one scope*,' or motive. We will not debate the question, whether this amounts to a confession or not. The other charge of 'falsification of authorities,' which our *polite* reviewer urges as evidence, that the author of the article on which he was commenting, 'did not intend "to prove" any thing, nor to hold fast to that which was otherwise than bad,' is of the same stamp. The fact is simply this, that, when quoting a passage from the 'Planter,' to prove the probable *number of* MOTIVES by which the colonists were influenced, we did not also quote what he said about the *number of men* who were influenced by these motives. Besides, one was the confession by a witness, against himself, and the other a statement of another, and an entirely different fact, in his own favor. Now we quoted all that was said on the subject under consideration, and that *precisely* as it was written ; and the only omission is that of something else, in no way connected with the point we were examining.

"Allow me, Mr. Editor, to return my thanks to yourself for your politeness in receiving and publishing this correction ; and, through you, to give my respects to the author of the review we have been considering ; and, if it be not improper, to suggest the propriety of his hereafter reading the article he attempts to review, more thoroughly than he seems to have done in this case. But at the same time, while I entertain none other than kind feelings, either towards the Puritans or their descendants, should it become necessary, the author of the review in question, will ever find me ready to 'meet him at Philippi.'"

So far the letter of the New York Reviewer. We reply ;

If there is one quality, more than any other, absolutely indispensable to the right management of a journal professedly

devoted to criticism, we hold that to consist in its freedom. For without this, it is clearly impossible to furnish to the public such judgments upon the merits or defects of style, sentiment, and reasoning that may distinguish the most current literary performances of the time, as may be depended upon, and as they have a right to expect from the nature of the promises that are held out to induce them to support it. Yet, that freedom can be exercised without occasionally inflicting a little pain upon sensitive authors, and perhaps arousing a spirit of retort in them, is not to be expected. We can easily understand why it is that writers find no pleasure in a rectification of their errors, and are excited to indignation by an exposure of their defects. Nor is it any cause of wonder, that they should regard even the most moderate castigation as a breach of the canons of politeness. No quantity of sugar can entirely overcome the bad taste of a medicine. Neither ought it to be hoped or wished, that the salutary operation of truth should ever be in any degree neutralized by the deceptive medium in which it is conveyed. We never seek to give offence unnecessarily. The twenty-five years' record of our proceedings stands before the world in proof of our assertion. But when an occasion arises, in which it may be taken through the simple performance of our duty, we should hold ourselves false to the trust we have assumed, if we were deterred from it by a fear of that consequence.

It is with no surprise we find, that our article in the last Number, upon the "Politics of the Puritans," has given some offence. We could hardly have weighed the charges which we felt ourselves compelled to make against the writer in the "New York Review," whose article was the subject of comment, without understanding the nature of the operation they would probably have upon him. We therefore expected, that he would endeavour to explain, or at any rate to reply. But we did not expect, we confess, that he would desire to make our own journal the medium of communication with the public, or follow any other course than that plainly before him of rejoinder in the pages of the Review which he first occupied. It is true, that he claims of us simply the right of correcting what he is pleased to call our "misapprehensions," and of refuting our "charges," and reserves to himself the other measure as a subsequent and more effective resource ; but as, in the exercise of that right, he in point of fact uses it only to repeat his argument, we conceive that the distinction attempted to be drawn, is hardly marked enough to entitle him to the uncommon privilege he craves. If we should in all cases be held bound to open our pages to papers, purporting to be the explanations of au-

thors, whose pride and self-love may be wounded by our candor, it is very probable, that the "North American Review" would become a mere catalogue of personal grievances, instead of, what we wish it to be, an independent and unfaltering expression of the truth.

It has been, therefore, with great hesitation, that we have come to the decision to publish the letter which precedes these observations. We have come to it, not because we think the author has a particle of foundation in justice for his complaint of us, or that he has succeeded, in any degree, in rectifying his position in those points wherein we took the liberty to censure it, but solely because we were unwilling that he should, as a brother reviewer, have it to say, that even a most unusual degree of courtesy had not been extended by us to his request. When, in the performance of our ordinary duty, we perceive that unpleasant feelings have arisen, we are disposed to make every allowance for them, and perhaps even to stretch a point rather than expose ourselves to a charge of illiberality or unkindness. At the same time, whilst in this particular instance we depart from the only rule known to critical magazines like ours, that of adhering to criticism, and rejecting controversy, we wish it to be distinctly understood by all authors who may hereafter be disturbed by our censure, that this must not be regarded as a precedent, and that these pages must not the more be made, by the present example, a scene for any petulance of theirs. There can be no necessity why we should be burdened with complaints, whilst so many different modes of exhaling them lie open in every quarter of the United States. If we ever commit injustice, the means of appealing to the public against us are always at hand. And that public will always be disposed to lean to the merciful side, whenever the circumstances of the case will allow it. If a Review in America is *unduly* severe, the Review is most likely to pay the penalty for it. The only justification to be made for it, will be in its admitted justice ; and by that test we are willing to abide.

Having premised thus much regarding the terms upon which we consent, for this time, to admit an author's explanation, we will now proceed to the examination of what that explanation is in this instance worth. And, first, in respect to *motives*. Our author complains of us, not for imputing to him bad motives, since this he cannot pretend, but for imputing to him "that which implies bad motives." To which we must reply, that we are wholly unconscious of having imputed any motives, bad or good, directly or indirectly. We knew nothing of the writer of the particular article in the "New York Review," upon which we commented, and sought not to go beyond what

he had shown of himself in it. Our design in taking it up was to prove that he was perverting history, by means obviously unfair; but whether he was doing it for some purpose of his own, or for amusement, or from mere caprice, we did not seek to investigate, nor care to know. With motives, we conceive that reviewers have nothing to do. Their province is not to go beyond the record immediately before them; and to that, it will be found, we strictly limited our examination.

But, even if we had departed from what we held to be the proper course, and had entered into a discussion of the possible inducements, in the mind of our author, to the unusual and extraordinary tenor of argument adopted by him, we might have put ourselves in the wrong towards the public, but we could hardly have done the same towards him. It does not lie with an author to complain of an insinuation made of bad motives in himself, who does that very thing to others, and who rather goes out of his way to do it too. We did not perceive, in either of the discourses by Professor Kingsley and Mr. Bacon, which he took for the subject of his remarks, any particular cause for believing that they had other motives in writing them, than those which were apparent to everybody. Yet mark how they are spoken of, in the article in which he treats of them.

"Rather would we go backward, like the dutiful sons of Noah, and cover up the nakedness of those, whose memories we love and cherish. But when those, who claim to be the only legitimate descendants of the 'pilgrim fathers,' show a disposition, on every possible occasion, to treat these panegyrics as facts, by which they themselves are to be exclusively benefited, and seek every occasion that will permit their being turned to a sectarian advantage, it becomes a different case. Under this aspect of the subject, it will be seen, that many of the Puritan eulogists may have another, perhaps, with them, a weightier motive to induce them to laud and magnify their fathers' virtues, than mere reverence for their characters and institutions; that they may have personal, political, or sectarian interests to be advanced by it. By thus eulogizing and elevating the character of the 'pilgrim fathers,' they *may* hope to justify their separation from, and subsequent hostility to, the Episcopal Church; and, at the same time, to excuse and palliate, if not justify, the rigorous laws enacted by those Puritan separatists against others, who carried out their own principles, and separated from them in like manner. In short, they *may* hope to sanctify so much of the prejudice or bigotry, so much of the intolerance and persecution, of the Puritans, as may, by possibility, work to their own present advantage."

Now considering the character of this passage, we took great credit to ourselves for smothering the natural indignation which we felt upon reading it. We considered the insinuations with which it abounds utterly unjustifiable, and as uncalled for as

they were disreputable to the maker. We thought, and still think, that a writer, who began in this style, did not deserve, and ought not to receive, great consideration at our hands. Yet, in comparison with his fault, we treated him gently. We resolved calmly to correct his errors, and to expose his disingenuousness, without a very nice regard to those rules of politeness which he had so grossly violated, yet with a due sense of the decorum becoming our position. We, therefore, abstained from any, even the remotest implication of motives, being desirous in his case, as in all others, whatever might be the nature of his transgression, not to justify it by following the example, so far as to ascribe to him any motives which he expressly disclaimed, or which we could not, by his own admission, distinctly prove.

Our author next specifies what *he supposes* to be the grounds upon which we bring the charges of disingenuousness and falsification of authorities ; and having in this manner assumed such as suit himself, he appeals to us to say whether we have made our accusation good. This is a somewhat ingenious mode of evading the difficulties in which he has involved himself, but we fear it will not avail him. We advanced a charge of general perversion of historical facts to the purpose of his theory, upon the character of his *argument*, and the use made of them in it ; but this is a wholly distinct affair from the other and more serious one, of misusing authorities, which we confined to the particular book he pretended to quote. In the first of the two cases we endeavoured to show the fallacy of his reasoning, by a statement of the facts, in the order which appears to us to be the natural one. In the other we went further, and exposed the precise instances in which he had committed a fault. But as he does not appear fully to have comprehended the force of either of the accusations we made, or their weight relative to each other, we will endeavour, as briefly as possible, again to set them in their strength before him.

And first, in regard to the passage of the "New York Review," beginning thus ; —

"Surveying, in this manner, *the nature of the contest, in England, between Churchmen and Puritans*, we shall find it merely a *political*, NOT, as is usually represented, *a religious one*. This may fairly be inferred, from what is said by both of our authors. Professor Kingsley tells us (Disc. p. 55), 'Their (the Puritans') opposition to the Church of England was mainly political, and limited in a great measure to discipline.' And Mr. Bacon tells us (Disc. p. 14), that, 'of the many Puritans who came to New England at its first planting, none, save the pilgrims of Plymouth, had denounced the Church of England, or had separated themselves from its communion.' And, in another place, he asks, —

'What were the Puritans? Let sober history answer. *They were a great religious and* POLITICAL *party*, in a country and in an age in which every man's religion was a matter of political regulation. *They were*, in their day, *the reforming party in the church and state of England.*' (p. 34.)" — p. 53.

We did not intend to be understood as affirming, that these extracts were not genuine, or that Professor Kingsley and Mr. Bacon did not mean what they here say. But we did intend to deny, that from them could be inferred any thing like what was inferred from them by our author. We deny, that Professor Kingsley is or can be made the file-leader, that he desires. In our former article we stated it as our opinion, that the Professor had gone too far in his assertion; but, upon a reconsideration of the spirit of his whole Discourse, and especially that sentence in which he affirms, "that the great object of the establishment of the colony was religion," we are convinced that we misinterpreted his language, and gave greater latitude to it than he himself intended. In no case, however, will the words quoted justify the argument that is made to rest upon them. The Professor tells us, that the opposition was "*mainly* political, and *limited*," he adds, "*in a great measure to discipline*;" and, taking the last clauses in connexion with the first, we are, on a revision, much inclined to think that Professor Kingsley used the word *political* with reference to the *polity of the church*. But, waving this, by a reference to the great Dictionary of Dr. Johnson, we find "mainly" to be rendered by the terms, "chiefly," "principally," "greatly," "powerfully," each of which implies a relation to some other object as a matter of comparison, and none of which, consequently, is exclusive in its signification. It is obvious, therefore, that the Professor, even with the utmost latitude of construction that can be taken of his meaning, designed to couple some other motive with that which he states to be the leading one. Mr. Bacon does so in terms so distinct, that one would suppose there could have been neither misunderstanding nor perversion of them. Yet what is the position assumed upon these authorities? Is it not, that "*the nature of the contest in England between Churchmen and Puritans*, we shall find *merely a political*, NOT, as is usually represented, *a religious one.*" Who would not suppose from this, that Professor Kingsley and Mr. Bacon had affirmed that religion had nothing to do with the matter? What does Dr. Johnson tell us of the word "*merely*"? He explains it to mean "simply," "only," — "*this and no other way*," "*for this and no other end*," — that is, a term of exclusive character, which bears no relation to any other. And our author, therefore, would have us infer with him this term of exclusion of all

motives but the one assigned, out of a term which implies relation of one motive with another. And out of such a forced inference he would extract from the reading of the letter of the text, the direct opposite to its spirit and meaning. If such is the product of his studies in philology, we opine that they must be put in the same category with his discoveries in politics.

Yet we do not assert this perversion to be more than a mistake in *argument*, grounded upon a misconception of the true force of language. It is not disingenuous quotation. We shall give our reasons for making that charge upon different authority hereafter. At this time we will direct our attention to the attempt made by the author to turn off the edge of a certain very significant quotation made by us from Lord Clarendon, touching the question now at issue. The defence is, that the historian and the review do not treat of the same point of time. How just this is, may easily be understood, by a reference to the reviewer's general position, which was, that "the nature of the contest in England, between Churchmen and Puritans, was *merely* a political one." Hence he maintains, that the persecution which the Puritans suffered, was solely for political offences, and that their failure to secure the political ascendency in the mother country, by attempting which, they incurred that persecution, led to their emigration. To establish these points, it is true our author goes over the whole period of time, from 1570 to 1630, and it is equally true, that Lord Clarendon, in the passage quoted, speaks only of the years 1630 – 1635; yet in doing so the latter describes a state of feeling then prevalent in England, so utterly at variance with that which must have arisen upon the hypothesis assumed by the former, that, if once admitted to be true, it exposes the absurdity of it in a moment. And this is what we meant to do. There was, in fact, nothing that could be called a struggle for the political ascendency, in England, between Puritans and Churchmen, until after the last of these dates. And how that struggle was brought on, by the wanton violence of Laud, which drove the Puritans to the alternative of resistance or of unconditional submission, Lord Clarendon describes. The whole matter, therefore, resolves itself into this, that if we believe in the statement of Clarendon, respecting the causes of the rupture, we cannot put any faith in the entire theory of our author. If, on the other hand, we choose to follow the latter, then we must suppose that a contemporary did not know any thing of the events he was writing about. As there is no method of reconciling the two doctrines with each other, and we must take one or the other, we have no hesitation in pronouncing our opinion, which of them it is proper for us to adopt, and which to reject.

Again, our author expresses much surprise at our refusal of the desired homage to Charles the First, as a patron of liberty, for the concession of the Massachusetts charter ; and while doing so, claims for his father and his son almost an equal share. That he may the more effectually overwhelm us with his argument, he adopts the Socratic form of reasoning, and puts us upon the task of answering such questions as he is pleased to ask. Without appearing to reflect, that the public would be exceedingly fatigued by the length to which the discussion would, in this manner, be drawn out, he winds up with a note of triumph, in anticipation, at the *inconvenience* to which he could put us. We are perfectly free to confess, that it would be highly inconvenient to our readers and to ourselves to do what he would have us. It would be, moreover, a mere waste of time to repeat again and again what we have already said. But this would make the *only* sort of inconvenience which we should feel. For, in the whole range of his questions, our author advances nothing new, — nothing extraordinary, — nothing that we have not, in substance, refuted already, — nothing, in short, that makes his case a whit stronger than it was before.

Yet, inasmuch as our author does not appear to seize the whole extent of our position respecting the charter, we will for his sake very briefly recapitulate. We maintain, that the charter was a grant of power to certain persons in England, without any regard to the principles of liberty, civil or religious. If it is taken up and examined with no reference to the construction put upon it by the Puritans, which we maintain to be *their own act*, we think it impossible not to be struck at once with the fact, that it was designed to constitute a Mercantile Corporation in Great Britain, (very much like the still existing East India Company,) who were by it empowered to send to Massachusetts as many settlers as they could induce to go, and to govern them, after they arrived, either directly or by deputy, exactly as they should think proper. To those settlers, if not previously admitted as stockholders into the company, no participation in the management was assured, and no security of their rights of any kind given, excepting the negative and superfluous reservation of citizenship at home, which by common law they could not lose. With men thus situated, we should no sooner think of associating principles of freedom, than with the miserable *ryots* of Patna and Benares, who are made the servile instruments of an English commercial company, to the demoralization of another nation, as a previous step to their gaining the dominion over it. We desire our author to understand, that we deny

the existence in the charter, as it was originally granted, of any manifestation of intention to secure either of the two great principles of popular liberty which he mentions. We deny, that there is any thing that looks like universal suffrage in it. We deny, that there is any right admitted of a majority to govern, if by majority is meant more than a majority of stockholders in England. To this majority, every thing was originally designed to be subject. And in this view of the charter, we are happy to find ourselves, to some extent, supported by an authority we little anticipated the pleasure of quoting. It is no other than that of our author himself, who very kindly has pointed out to us in his letter a preceding article of his in the "New York Review," which we had accidentally overlooked. In this article, which appears to have been written at least two years before the one we have been considering, it is distinctly admitted, that a colonist, as such, had no civil rights under the charter, but derived them only as a freeman of the company; and that what he is pleased to call the Jacobin doctrine of universal suffrage, was never dreamed of at the time of granting it. We will not, however, let this rest merely upon our own assertion. These are his words.

"In accordance with the principles of English common law, every *freeman* of the corporation was entitled to vote in the choice of Governor and Assistants, and in the enactment of all laws. We find, therefore, in the charter of Massachusetts Bay, all the great principles of liberty; but, at the same time, it is to be noted, that not every inhabitant of the colony was therefore a freeman in the technical sense of the word, that is, entitled to vote. The men of those times understood, too well, the nature of sound government and rational freedom, to suppose that it necessarily implied *universal* suffrage. Certain qualifications are certainly to be required for the exercise of such important rights. The *tests* of those qualifications, as settled by the colonists, may have been arbitrary, absurd, unjust; that is not the question now; we only think it important to note the fact, that certain qualifications were thought requisite. They never dreamed of the Jacobin doctrine of modern French theorists, that every human being, as such, has a *natural* right to vote." — *New York Review*, Vol. II. p. 94.

Now we have always supposed that the common law of England secured to every citizen certain rights by prescription; yet it would seem by the statement of our author, that unless he was also a freeman, that is, a member of the company under the charter, he could not enjoy them in Massachusetts. According to him, the charter was the source of the privileges of common law, and the common law was not the source of the charter. It is not our province to re-

concile any of his inconsistencies. The fact is enough for us, that the charter, so far as it went, was restrictive, and in defiance of the principles of common law ; and that the pretence, he now makes, of finding universal suffrage in its contents, is set at nought by his former affirmation to the contrary.

The point which we maintain on behalf of the Puritans is, that out of this very unpromising commercial charter which had nothing originally to recommend it but its grant of power, they, *by their own act*, for the merits and defects of which they, and they alone, must be held responsible, made a republican form of government. Upon this rough stock, they engrafted the principle of suffrage, necessarily limited in the first instance, — not by a money line, but by the fear lest their whole plan should be subverted by cunning and powerful enemies, — but susceptible of easy extension whenever the favorable moment was at hand. And they also engrafted the principle of representation, and of a legislative body divided into two branches, which, though necessary to all free governments, were nowhere provided for in the charter. Indeed, the original grant contemplated nothing of the kind, — nothing beyond the four courts held annually, in Leadenhall Street in London, by the present East India Company of Great Britain.

It was the extraordinary construction put upon this instrument by the Puritans, through which they first transferred the seat of government to Boston, and then set to work to raise an active, efficient, and an almost independent national power, out of a trading speculation, — it was this that awakened the attention of the sovereign and his advisers in the mother country. They saw at once that their intentions had not been adhered to. They understood the necessity of immediately taking measures of effectual prevention; but it was already too late. The first design appears to have been to gain the control of the colony through the agency of some of the company, and by the means furnished in the charter itself; but, this failing by reason of the requisition of church membership as a qualification to constitute freemen, at which our author has taken so great offence, the next step was the dissolution of the instrument. And this would certainly have followed, if the rising of that tremendous storm at home had not diverted the attention of the parties in power to efforts for their own defence, yet all in vain. And thus it happened, that the colony of Massachusetts continued to bask in that sunshine of divine Providence, which its infancy required.

Having thus given our view of the proceedings under the charter, it will be at once visible, that we persist in maintaining the position heretofore assumed, "that the principles, which form at once the basis and characteristic of our political institutions, were established in New England by the agency of the Puritans." And, when we use the word "agency," we mean something more than that they were "parties concerned in bringing about measures they did not themselves understand." This may be our author's definition of the word. It is not ours. According to him, they would have been mere instruments. We regard them as responsible moral agents. This distinction is not without its importance in the present discussion. For we will now take the occasion of drawing it, to enter a general protest against the whole theory of history which has been broached by our author in both of his articles. We regard it as utterly subversive of all right judgment upon human action, as well as of the ordinary and only sound rules of moral discrimination. We shall never assent to the doctrine, that the principles of popular liberty now universally recognised among us to be true, have been the offspring of circumstances only, nor that the most arbitrary monarchs known in history are the most meritorious promoters of their spread. We desire to look into the records of the past for the important lessons it can give to mankind for the future. If they have to tell us only of lucky accidents, then let the books be shut up for ever;

"Si fors ista dedit nobis, fors ipsa gubernet."

Men need not trouble their heads with the stream of time, if they have nothing to do but to float upon it. Surely, we owe no gratitude to King John or Edward the First of England, merely because they raised the popular feature of the government a little, that they might the better secure their own power against the assaults of the aristocracy. We give James the Second no credit for advocating toleration against the preponderating system of the Church of England. We do not consider Sylla a patriot, though he abdicated his ill-gotten dictatorship; or Napoleon a friend of freedom, because he was made Emperor by the adoption of a form of popular suffrage. The great element for all judgment of actions is the *intent*. We do not mean to deny, that highly beneficial results to the world may occasionally be the consequence of the most indifferent moral conduct; but it is one thing to assign to the simple fact its weight, and another thing to attach merit to its cause; — one thing to analyze the elements of action, and

another to undermine the whole edifice of moral responsibility, by arbitrarily confounding the motives of good with the actions of bad men.

Having now completed all that we think necessary to be said respecting the argument of our author, we will proceed at once to the objections made by us to his use of the quotations from "The Planter's Plea." It is not without surprise, that we perceive he attempts to misunderstand the nature of those objections. He asks us, "what we mean by falsification of authority. One would suppose," he adds, "that it was misquoting, or the application of language used in reference to one point to that used in reference to another, &c., or the garbling of a passage, *so as* to make it tell a different story from what the author intended. But no charge of this kind is made against the author of the article in the 'New York Review.'" If this is so, then we have greatly misconceived the force of our own language. Perhaps Shakspeare will be more intelligible to our author when he says,

> —"men may construe things after their fashion,
> *Clean from the purpose of the things themselves.*"

We certainly meant to bring the charge, that the reviewer did make his quotation tell a different story from what its author intended, and we thought that we had brought the proof; but, as it does not appear to have been stated with satisfactory distinctness in the former instance, we beg leave to submit it to the public over again, though we must at the same time apologize for troubling them again with it, on the plea that it is strictly in self-justification.

In the "New York Review" for January, 1840, (No. 11,) we find the following passage.

> "We have now arrived at a point where it will be proper for us to pause a moment, and consider the motives, which induced the colonists to leave home and settle in the wilderness. And that our readers may have an opportunity of hearing the testimony of one who lived at the time, we shall give them a sketch of the 'Planter's Plea,' and a few extracts from its pages. The Plea commences with an examination of the 'ground and warrant of colonies.' The second chapter is an answer to the question, 'What ends may be proposed in planting colonies?' To this the author answers, first;
>
> "'Some and the *worst*, and the least warrantable, are such as are only swayed by private respects; as when men shift themselves, and draw others with them, out of their countries, *out of undutiful affection to governors, to exempt themselves from subjection to lawful power*, or aim at a great name to themselves, and to raise their own glory.'
>
> "The author then proceeds," &c. — pp. 62, 63.

Now it must be remembered, that the preceding argument

of our author had been, that "when the Puritans left England, they did it, not because they could not worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, but because they could not obtain the political ascendency which they sought." The marking in italic letters, the words of the citation which are so marked, has therefore a bearing upon the proposition that had been advanced. And the general reader, who knows nothing of "The Planter's Plea," excepting what he sees of it here, is unavoidably left with the impression, that the Planter himself intended to insinuate, that "undutiful affection to governors," &c., was the motive for the plantation of the Puritans, and that he is here cited for the sole purpose of introducing "the authority of one who lived at the time," in order to the better determination of what these motives really were. All this would have been very well for the reviewer to have himself maintained; but, when he puts his own position into the mouth of his authority, he does in point of fact make that authority say the exact contrary of what it means. To show this conclusively, we have only to add the remainder of the passage, as it stands in the original.

"As for the enlargement of trade, which drew on the Spanish and Dutch colonies in the East Indies, or securing of conquered countries, which occasioned many colonies of the Romanes in Italy and other lands, they may bee so far warranted as the grounds of the conquests or trades were warrantable; (if they were carried without injury or wrong to the natives;) seeing natural commerce between nations, and conquests upon just warres, have been alwayes approved by the lawes of God and man.

"As for those colonies, that have been undertaken upon the desire either of disburthening of full states of unnecessary multitudes, or of replenishing vast and voyd countries, they have a cleare and sufficient warrant from the mouth of God, as immediately concurring with one special end that God aimed at in the first institution thereof.

"But seeing God's honour and glory, and next men's salvation, is his own principall scope in this and all his wayes; it must withall bee necessarily acknowledged, that the desire and respect unto the publishing of his name where it is not knowne, and reducing men that live without God in this present world, unto a forme of piety and godlinesse, by how much the more immediately it suites with the mind of God, and is furthest carried from private respects, by so much the more it advanceth this worke of planting colonies above all civill and humane ends, and deserves honour and approbation above the most glorious conquests or successfull enterprises that ever were undertaken by the most renowned men that the sun hath seene, and that by how much the subduing of Satan is a more glorious act than a victory over men, and the enlargement of Christ's kingdome than the adding unto men's dominion, and the saving of men's soules than the provisions for their lives and bodies.

"It seemes this end in plantation hath beene specially reserved for this later end of the world," &c. — pp. 9, 10.

The passage is rather long, but we could not shorten it and clearly establish our point, which is, that the Planter intended to affirm religion to have been the motive for the plantation then in hand, and to show how low and contemptible all other motives, however good in themselves, were in comparison with it. Now we do maintain, that, when considering those motives, if the author in the "New York Review" professed to give from the Planter what he thought they were, he should not have selected the worst and most derogatory to the human character, that were mentioned only for the sake of contrast, without stating even that fact, and have entirely suppressed all notice of those better ones which were positively assigned. We know not what our author may think, but we call this garbling.

Something is however said about the use of italic letters to make sentences emphatic, and a feeble attempt is made to turn upon us, for *not* emphasizing all the words quoted from others in a passage of our author quoted by us, the charge which we originally brought against him of giving no notice when the use of italic letters changes the sense of an author cited. To this a very brief answer is enough. We understand a broad line to lie between the making of a sentence emphatic merely for the purpose of putting in bolder relief its manifest and simple application, and the so laying emphasis upon one part of a passage at the expense of the remainder, as to give to the whole a particular meaning, which, if read in the ordinary way, it would not bear. The first course may be adopted, with or without notice, by any writer, without incurring any censure. It was resorted to by our author in many instances, and we made it the subject of no remark. But when he practised the other, as he did, we think, in the case in hand, it is our opinion that he should have put the reader on his guard against misapprehension. For his failure to do this gave to his citation an application to a particular point of his own making, which it never could otherwise have been made to bear.

Neither is it enough, in our estimation, that an author, when he quotes a passage, should confine himself to the "*precise words*," if he stops short of giving the whole sense of it. We did not charge the writer in the "New York Review" with forging, or inserting extraneous matter in his quotations. We charged him with a suppression of certain important words, which were essential to the full meaning of the author he quoted. In the oath ordinarily administered in our courts of

law, as much consequence attaches to the words, "the *whole* truth," as to the other terms, "the truth," and "nothing but the truth." And so it is in the rules for quotation. We consider our author as having overlooked this in the following instance. Page 63, he says,

"Our author then goes on to speak more at large of the *motives* which induced them to come. He says, 'As it were absurd to conceive they have all one mind, so it were more ridiculous to imagine they all have one scope. *Necessity* may press some, novelty draw others, hopes of gain may prevail with a third sort,' but he is persuaded, 'that the most sincere and godly part have the advancement of the Gospel for their main scope.'

"These facts, and abundance of others of a similar nature, contained in the work, authorize the inference that the colonists were regarded as factious persons, and that their opponents did not credit the pretension that the advancement of the Gospel was the *sole* or *chief* object of their emigration. It is here also confessed, by one of the party, that 'necessity,' 'novelty,' and 'hope of gain,' as well as love of the Gospel, were among the causes that moved the colonists to come to this country." — p. 64.

When persons are about to draw inferences which they hold to be authorized, they ought to be very sure that they state the facts correctly upon which they rest. It will not do to affirm, that one of a party *confesses* that "necessity," "novelty," and "hope of gain," *were* causes for their colonizing, when he tells us, "he shall make bold to manifest *not only what he knows*, *but what he guesses*, concerning their purpose." He accordingly proceeds to "guess," that among many men there *may be* many motives, and among these motives, such as he mentions *may* prevail with a few; but this is surely a very different thing from saying that he knew they did prevail. Moreover, in the extract as made, it does not appear, that any idea is given of the proportion in which these motives would be supposed to predominate. For "the most sincere and godly part" might, notwithstanding, have been, as it generally is, a very small part of the whole. But the text does not give it to be so understood. It expressly affirms, that "the most," or in other words, *the greatest number*, as well as "the most sincere and godly part, have the advancement of the Gospel for their main scope." We therefore insist, that the omission of these two little words makes a very great difference in the sense of the passage cited; a difference which, considering the sinister inferences that were designed to be drawn against the characters of the individuals concerned in the settlement, can in no way be reconciled to the principles of justice and fair dealing.

If therefore, in our review, we used the words "falsification of authority," as applicable to the course of our author, it will be seen, that we did so, not without what we hold to be abundant justification. We consider the true sense of "The Planter's Plea" to have been perverted, in the passages which we have quoted, so far as he is relied upon to sustain the inference, that other and mere worldly motives had quite as much influence in the settlement of New England as religion, when he distinctly and repeatedly declares, that, as far as the diversities of human nature will ever allow, religion was the great and only motive; and, further, that those lower motives operated upon many of the settlers, when he asserts, that, if they operated at all, they were confined to few. Nor, in justification of these perversions, will it do to say, that it is taking the evidence of a witness against himself; for there is no confession, other than what his enemy arbitrarily thrusts into his mouth. His meaning, when gathered, as it should be, from the whole of the context, is plain, and can only be avoided by torturing and maiming his language. That our author has, in our opinion, attempted to do this, is the reason, and the only reason, why we have felt it necessary to treat his argument with a degree of unwonted severity. Of this he has no reason whatever to complain. Every writer, who voluntarily ventures to come before the public, does so under some degree of responsibility. If he has appeared to us to have overlooked or violated his trust, we, who profess to notice such things, have a high duty to perform to that public in warning them of his errors. And if, after a due setting forth of his offence, he insists upon making us follow him out into other expositions of it, we regret the necessity, but see no alternative.

We now drop the subject, conscious that it may not be of so much interest to general readers as to ourselves. We hope, that our author will be too wise to continue in the menacing tone of the conclusion of his present letter; and that he will cease to play the ghost for the future, or warn us of "Philippi." To say nothing of the taste of this, it is not so alarming as it sounds. We acquit ourselves of any wish to turn him into a spirit, though he seems to think, that we have dealt at him a few rather sharp passes. But, if the worst should come to the worst, and the fate of the younger Brutus be meted out to us, we shall hope, at least, to enjoy the credit, with the world, of enduring it like him, though in a far more humble walk, in the defence of the same general principles of liberty.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

AGRICULTURE.

Third Report on the Agriculture of Massachusetts; on Wheat and Silk. By Henry Colman, Commissioner for the Agricultural Survey of the State. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo. pp. 252.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS.

Life of George Washington. By Jared Sparks. Abridged by the Author. Boston: Ferdinand Andrews. 16mo. 2 volumes. pp. 330 and 344.

A Tribute to the Memory of Fitzhugh Smith, Son of Gerritt Smith. By the Author of "Thoughts on a New Order of Missionaries." New York: Wiley and Putnam. 12mo. pp. 284.

Memoir of Sophronia M. Lawrence, who died at Cohasset, Mass., Nov. 2d, 1839, aged 26 years. By Martin Moore, A. M. Boston: C. C. Dean.

Memoirs of the most eminent Mechanics; together with a Collection of Anecdotes, Descriptions, &c., relating to the Mechanic Arts. By Henry Howe. New York: 12mo. pp. 482.

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An Elementary Treatise on Algebra, in Theory and Practice, with Attempts to simplify some of the more difficult Parts of that Science, particularly the Solution of Cubic Equations, and of the Higher Orders; with Notes, Illustrations, &c.; to which is added an Appendix on the Application of Algebra to Geometry. By John D. Williams, Author of "A Key to Hutton's Mathematics," "Arithmetic and Key," &c., &c. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 12mo. pp. 605.

The Fireside Friend, or Female Student; being Advice to Young Ladies, on the important Subject of Education; with an Appendix, on Moral and Religious Education, from the French of Madame de Saussure. By Mrs. Phelps, late Vice-Principal of Troy Female Seminary. Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon, & Webb. 12mo. pp. 377.

A Familiar Exposition of the Constitution of the United States, containing a brief Commentary on every Clause, explaining the true Nature, Reasons, and Objects thereof; designed for the Use of School Libraries and general Readers. With an Appendix, containing important Public Documents, illustrative of the Constitution. By Joseph Story, LL. D., Dane Professor of Law in Harvard University. Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon, & Webb. 12mo. pp. 372.

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A German-English and English-German Pocket Dictionary; denoting the Meaning of all the Words in general Use, and likewise of the principal Idiomatic Phrases; specifying the Parts of Speech to which the Words belong, and the Gender, Genitive, and Plural of the German Substantives, thereby indicating the Declension, and containing also distinct Tables of the Irregular Verbs and Proper Names in both Languages, and a Table of the principal Terminations of German Derivatives. By David Fosdick, Jr. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. 16mo. pp. 369 and 234.

The Young Scholar's Reference Book. Second Edition, enlarged. Andover: Gould, Newman, & Saxton. 18mo. pp. 72.

The American School Geography, embracing a General View of Mathematical, Physical, and Civil Geography, adapted to the capacities of Children; with an Atlas. By Barnum Field, A. M., Principal of the Franklin Grammar School. Twelfth Edition, revised in 1840. Boston: James B. Dow, and Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. Portland: Wm. Hyde. 12mo. pp. 156.

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An Historical and Descriptive Account of British America; comprehending Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, The Burmudas, and the Fur Countries; their History from the Earliest Settlements; their Statistics, Topography, Commerce, Fisheries, &c.; and their Social and Political Condition; as also an Account of the Manners and Present State of the Aboriginal Tribes. By Hugh Murray, F. R. S. E. New York: Harper & Brothers. 18mo. 2 vols. pp. 312 and 290.

Collections of the Georgia Historical Society. Vol. I. Savannah: Printed for the Society. 8vo. pp. 307.

Memoir, Historical and Political, on the Northwest Coast of North America, and the Adjacent Territories; illustrated by a Map, and a Geographical View of those Countries. By Robert Greenhow, Translator and Librarian to the Department of State. Washington: Blair & Rives. 8vo. pp. 228.

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A Course of Reading, drawn up by the Hon. James Kent, (late Chancellor of the State of New York,) for the Use of the Members of the Mercantile Library Association. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 1840. 18mo. pp. 69.

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MUSIC.

The Little Songster; consisting of Original Songs for Children, together with Directions to Teachers for Cultivating the Ear and the Voice, and Exercises for Teaching Children the First Rudiments of Singing. For the Use of Schools and Families. By George J. Webb. Boston: J. H. Wilkins & R. B. Carter. 16mo. pp. 96.

Little Songs for Little Singers. By Lowell Mason. Published under the Sanction of the Boston Academy of Music. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. Philadelphia: H. Perkins. 16mo. pp. 96.

NEW PERIODICALS.

The Monthly Chronicle of Events, Discoveries, Improvements, and Opinions, intended for the popular Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and an Authentic Record of Facts for Future Reference. Illustrated with Maps and Drawings. Vol. I. Nos. 1 and 2. Boston: Samuel N. Dickinson. $3 per annum. 8vo. pp. 60 and 60.

This important work is understood to be under the management of Mr. Nathan Hale, the able and experienced editor of the "Daily Advertiser," and well known as entitled, beyond any other person, to be reckoned the father of the system of Internal Improvement in New England. "It is intended, that the Monthly Chronicle shall be chiefly historical, and its leading object will be to record and disseminate matters of fact, and narratives of events, rather than to discuss principles, or to debate matters of opinion and taste. Yet as there are few subjects deeply connected with the great interests of society, which do not involve questions on which there are divided opinions, and as it would deprive this publication of a great part of its interest and value, either to exclude from it all subjects of a debateable nature, or to undertake to promulgate important doctrines, without any explanation of the principles on which they are founded, it is intended, that it shall embrace articles of a didactic and argumentative

character, as well as those which are entirely historical and narrative. So also, as it is designed for the popular dissemination of knowledge, not merely of historical events, public improvements, and discoveries in the arts, but of the manners of the times, and of the condition of society in different countries, an attempt will be made, sometimes, to enliven it by aids from the imagination. Light and humorous sketches, in almost any form, suited to illustrate the character, manners, or usages, prevailing in any part of the world, and even effusions of poetic talent will be occasionally admitted. These productions of the imagination, however, will be rather exceptions from the general tenor of the work, than a substantial part of it, and, as well as the more serious discussions, they will be introduced with the hope of giving it something more of character and interest, and perhaps of authority, than it could otherwise have, as a mere compilation of facts, and tame record of events." — pp. 1, 2.

This scheme, in connexion with the talent which is to be brought to its prosecution, ought to insure to the work a liberal patronage. We look forward to its progress with the highest expectations. We consider the first two numbers as among the most valuable issues of the periodical press, which have, in a long time, come under our notice. There is scarcely any thing, now-a-days, more important, than an authentic account of passing events, such as a learned, fair, and intelligent witness, like the editor of this work, is able to present. The "Chronicle" will serve, substantially, the purpose of an Annual Register, while it has, from the frequency of its publication the advantage, over that kind of work, of producing its record more seasonably, and, over a newspaper, that of presenting intelligence in its proper relations and combinations, and with greater completeness.

The first number, for illustration of the history of the Florida war, contains the most complete map of Florida that has ever been published. The Index, at the end of each number, relating to all the matter of the preceding numbers, is a new arrangement, affording the most desirable facility for reference.

The Maryland Medical and Surgical Journal; and Official Organ of the Medical Department of the Army and Navy of the United States. Published under the Auspices of the Medical and Chirurgical Society of Maryland. Baltimore: John Murphy. Quarterly. pp. 136.

NOVELS, TALES, AND ROMANCES.

Scenes in the Life of Joanna of Sicily. By Mrs. E. F. Ellet, Author of "Characters of Schiller." Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon, & Webb. 12mo. pp. 254.

The Countess Ida; a Tale of Berlin. By the Author of "Norman Leslie," "Dreams and Reveries of a Quiet Man," &c. In Two Volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo.

Georgia Scenes, Characters, Incidents, &c., in the First Half Century of the Republic. By a Native Georgian. Second Edition, with Original Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 214.

The Pathfinder; or the Inland Sea. By the Author of "The Pioneers," "Last of the Mohicans," &c. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 240 and 233.

The Works of Washington Irving; containing the "Sketch Book," "Knickerbocker's History of New York," "Bracebridge Hall," "Tales of a Traveller," "Chronicles of the Conquest of Grenada," "The Al-

hambra." In Two Volumes. With a Portrait. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. Royal 8vo. pp. 534 and 516.

ORATIONS AND ADDRESSES.

A Discourse pronounced at Barnstable, on the 3d of September, 1839, at the Celebration of the Second Centennial Anniversary of the Settlement of Cape Cod. By John Gorham Palfrey. Boston: Ferdinand Andrews. 8vo. pp. 71.

Address to the Medical Graduates of the University of Pennsylvania. Delivered April 3d, 1840. By Samuel Jackson, M. D., Professor of the Institute of Medicine in the University. Published by the Graduates. 8vo. pp. 21.

A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Rev. Charles Follen, LL. D., who perished January 13th, 1840, in the Conflagration of the Lexington, delivered before the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in the Marlborough Chapel, Boston, April 17th, 1840. By Samuel J. May. Boston: Henry L. Devereux. 8vo. pp. 30.

A Discourse, delivered before the Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, on Wednesday, February 12, 1840. By William Law. Savannah: Published for the Society. 8vo. pp. 43.

Valedictory Address to the Graduates of the Medical Department of Pennsylvania College. By William Rush, M. D. 8vo. pp. 16.

The Annual Address to the Candidates for Degrees and Licenses in the Medical Institution of Yale College, January 21st, 1840. By D. T. Brainard, M. D. Published by Request of the Class. New Haven. 8vo. pp. 6.

An Inaugural Address, delivered in the Chapel of the Hamilton Literary and Theological Institution, August 21st, 1839. By John S. Maginnis, Professor of Biblical Theology. Published by Request of the Students of the Institution. Utica. 8vo.

POETRY AND THE DRAMA.

Voices of the Night. By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Second Edition. Cambridge: John Owen. 16mo. pp. xv., 144.

The Last Days of Jesus. A Poem. By Sophia L. Little. Pawtucket. 12mo. pp. 60.

Harrison Melodies, Original and Selected. Published under the Direction of the Boston Harrison Club. Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 18mo. pp. 72.

Flowers plucked by a Traveller on the Journey of Life. By Charles T. Congdon. Boston: George W. Light. 12mo. pp. 72.

The Triumph of Peace; and other Poems. New York: D. Fanshaw & Co. 12mo.

Pebbles from Castalia. By Isaac Fitzgerald Shepard. Boston: Whipple & Damrell. 12mo. pp. 160.

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THEOLOGY AND SERMONS.

An Historical Presentation of Augustinism and Pelagianism, from the Original Sources. By G. F. Wiggers, D. D., Professor of Theology

in the University of Rostock, &c. Translated from the German; with Notes and Additions. By the Rev. Ralph Emerson, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Theological Seminary, Andover. Andover: Gould, Newman, & Saxton. 8vo. pp. 383.

Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians and the Epistle to the Galatians. By Albert Barnes. New York: Homer Franklin. 12mo. pp. 398.

The Scripture Doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, in their Relation to God the Father. By Nathaniel S. Folsom. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 84.

The Church, the Pulpit, and the Gospel. A Discourse delivered at the Ordination of the Rev. George Edward Ellis, as Pastor of the Harvard Church, in Charlestown, March 11th, 1840. By Alexander Young, Minister of the Church on Church Green. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 64.

The Preacher and the Pastor. Two Discourses delivered in Harvard Church, Charlestown, Sunday, March 15th, 1840, on the Commencement of his Ministry. By George E. Ellis. Printed by Request for the use of his Society. Boston: William Crosby & Co. 8vo. pp. 47.

Unitarian Christianity; What it Is, and What it is Not. A Discourse delivered at the Installation of the Rev. John Parkman, as Pastor of the First Unitarian Church and Society in Dover, N. H., April 22d, 1840. By Ezra S. Gannett, Junior Pastor of the Federal Street Church, Boston. Boston: William Crosby & Co. 8vo. pp. 56.

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A Sermon, delivered in Christ Church, New Haven, the Eleventh Sunday after Trinity, (being August 11th,) 1839, the Hundredth Anniversary of laying the Foundation of the Church. By the Rev. A. B. Chapin, M. A. New Haven: Hitchcock & Stafford. 8vo. pp. 28.

Week Day Religion. By Jason Whitman, Pastor of the Park Street Church, Portland. Portland: O. L. Sanborn. 18mo. pp. 320.

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Liturgy for the Use of the Church at the Warren Street Chapel, in Boston. Collected principally from the Book of Common Prayer. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 16mo. pp. 509.

Christian Hope. A Sermon preached in Berlin, August 13th, 1839, at

the Funeral of Mrs. Ann W. Park. By Robert Carver, Pastor of the Evangelical Church in Berlin. Portland. 8vo. pp. 20.

Obstacles to the Success of the Gospel. A Sermon, preached at the Dedication of the Meeting-house erected by the First Religious Society in North Danvers, November 21st, 1839. By Milton P. Braman, Pastor of said Church. Salem: Ives & Jewett. 8vo. pp. 50.

The Spirit of Prayer. By the Rev. Nathaniel Vincent, A. M. Philadelphia: William S. Martien. 12mo.

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The Spring. A Sermon for Children, preached in the Federal Street Meetinghouse, April 26th, 1840. By Ezra S. Gannett. Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 18mo. pp. 16.

Elisha. By F. W. Krummacher, D. D., Author of "Elijah the Tishbite." Translated from the German, without Alteration or Omission. Philadelphia: J. Whetham. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 12mo. pp. 408.

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Two Discourses, delivered September 29th, 1839, on occasion of the 200th Anniversary of the Gathering of the First Congregational Church in Quincy. With an Appendix. By William P. Lunt. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 8vo. pp. 147.

The Mercy of God; a Centennial Sermon, on the Revival of Religion in 1740. Inscribed to the Memory of the Rev. Nathan Strong, D. D. By Thomas Williams. Hartford, Ct.: Elisha Geer. 8vo. pp. 32.

Academical Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures and Antiquities. By John Gorham Palfrey, D. D., LL. D. Vol. II. Genesis and Prophets. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 8vo. pp. 435.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

France; its King, Court, and Government. By an American. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 8vo. pp. 191.

Narrative of a Tour through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia, and Mesopotamia. With an Introduction, and occasional Observations upon the Condition of Mohammedanism and Christianity in those Countries. By the Rev. Horatio Southgate. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. 2 vols.

The North American Tourist. New York: A. T. Goodrich. 18mo.

Highways and Byways, or Tales of the Roadside; picked up in the French Provinces by a Walking Gentleman. A New Edition, revised and corrected, with an Original Introduction and Explanatory Notes, by the Author. Boston: George Roberts. 3 vols. 12mo.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CIX.

OCTOBER, 1840.

ART. I. — 1. *The Laws of William the Conqueror.*
2. *The Statutes of the Realm.* Vols. I. and II.
3. *The Reports of Savile, Rolle, Levinz, and others.*

IN a former number of this Journal, we gave a brief sketch of the origin and progress of the French language.* We propose in the present article to trace the history of that language, through the English Statute Books and "*Les Reports des Divers Select Matters et Resolutions des Reverend Judges del Ley.*" We are well aware, that but few of our readers can feel any particular interest in this subject, or see any thing attractive in Reports and Statute Books. At the same time, we entreat them not to turn away from these pages, without first casting a glance at our illustrations. They are curious and amusing ; and throw a gleam of light, now and then, upon the manners and customs of the past. On this account they will commend themselves to the notice of those, who care not for the curiosities of language.

The year 1066 is the date of the Norman Conquest. William the Conqueror was crowned King of England on the Christmas day succeeding the battle of Hastings ; and the oath he took before the altar of St. Peter, in Westminster,

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XXXII. pp. 277 *et seq.*

was substantially the same as that of the Saxon kings. Of all the ancient laws of the land, those of King Canute, the Dane, pleased him most; for he and the greater part of his barons had the blood of the Northmen in their veins, and he wished to govern his new realm by the laws of the ancient Dane. But the standing laws of the kingdom at that time were those of Edward the Confessor, and they were dear to the hearts of the Saxon people. So that the Conqueror, in the language of an English writer, "was at last, by tears, and prayers, and adjurations by the soul of Edward, who bequeathed him his kingdom, diverted from his purpose; and at Berkhamstead, in the fourth year of his reign, in the presence of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, for the quieting of the people, he swore that he would inviolably observe the good and approved ancient laws, which had been made by the devout and pious kings of England, his ancestors, and chiefly by King Edward; and we are told that the people then departed in good humor."*

The laws of William the Conqueror are, then, mostly a translation from the Saxon into Norman French, (*Roman Wallon,*) the language of his court in the North of France, and introduced by him as the court language of England. What this language was may be seen by the following extract from King William's Laws.

Ces sont les Les & les Custumes que li Reis William *grantut a tut le Peuple de* Engleterre, *apres le Conquest de la Terre. Ice les meismes que le Reis* Edward *sun Cosin tint devant lui.*

Co est a saveir; Pais a Saint Yglise; de quel forfait que home out fait en cel tens; e il pout venir a Sainte Yglise; out pais de vie e de membre. E se alquons meist main en celui qui la mere Yglise requireit, se ceo fust u Abbeie, u Yglise e de Religion, rendist

These are the Laws and Customs which William *the King granted to all the People of* England *after his Conquest of the Realm; being the same as those which King* Edward, *his Cousin, observed before him,* viz.

Let Holy Church enjoy her Peace; whatever forfeiture a man hath incurred to this time, if he can come to Holy Church, let him have peace of life and limb; and if any man lay hands on him who has sought the protection of the Mother Church, whether it be an Abby or a

* Kelham's *Preliminary Discourse to the Laws of William the Conqueror,* p. viii.

ce que il javereit pris, e cent solz, de forfait, e de Mer Yglise de Paroisse xx solz, e de Chappelle x solz, e que enfraiant la pais le Rei en Merchenelae cent solz les amendes, altresi de Heinfare e de aweit purpensed.

Church of Religion, let him deliver him up whom he has taken, and pay 100s. as a forfeiture, and 20s. to the Parochial Mother Church, and 10s. to a Chapel ; and whosoever breaks the King's peace, the satisfaction, by the law of the Mercians, is 100s. ; the same for Heinfare and premeditated assaults.*

Thus was the French Language introduced into England. Thus, says the ancient chronicler, Robert of Gloucester,

" Thus come lo ! Engelond into Normannes honde,
And the Normans ne couthe speke tho bote her owe speche,
And speke Frenche as dude atom (*did at home*) and have
chyldren dude al so teche."

Scattered all over the land were Norman barons in their castles, and Norman monks and bishops in their monasteries. The sounds of an unknown tongue by day, and of the curfew bell by night, admonished the Saxon peasant, that not only his liberty, but his language also, was to perish, or to change. Saxon children at school were made to " construe their lessons and their things " in French. Saxon gentlemen at court were ashamed of their noble mother-tongue. It was a disgrace not to know the language of their conqueror. A bishop was deposed as " a superannuated English idiot, who could not speak French." How correctly this language was generally spoken by the English, we have no means of determining. Probably no better than by the coy Madame Eglentine, of whom Chaucer says,

" Ful wel she sange the service devine,
Entuned in hire nose ful swetely ;
And Frenche she spake ful fayre and fetisly,
After the scole of Stratford atte bowe,
For Frenche of Paris was to hire unknowe."

Better or worse, all, who wished for advancement in church or state, were forced to learn French. It was then, as now, the shibboleth of refinement and gentility. In this way the

* *The Laws of William the Conqueror, with Notes and References.* By Robert Kelham, of Lincoln's-Inn ; at the end of his " Dictionary of the Norman or old French Language."

Saxon was corrupted and the English formed. "This apayringe of the birthe tongue," says Higden, in his "Polychronicon," "is by cause of tweye thinges; oon is for children in scole, azenes the usage and maner of all other naciouns, beth compelled for to leve her owne langage, and for to constrewe her lessouns and her thingis a Frenche, and haveth siththe that the Normans come first into England. Also gentil mennes children beth ytauzt for to speke Frenche, from the tyme that thei beth rokked in her cradel, and kunneth speke and playe with a childes brooche. And uplondishe men wole likne hem self to gentil men, and fondeth with grete bisynesse for to speke Frenche, for to be more ytold of." And such continued to be the state of things for nearly three centuries, during which the English was formed. Trevisa, the translator and augmenter of the "Polychronicon," says that John Cornwaile first changed the lore in grammar schools, and that at the time he wrote, 1385, in all the grammar schools of England the French had been laid aside, and the urchins construed their lessons in English. The disadvantage of this, he observes, "is that now children of grammar scole kunneth no more Frenche than *can her lifte heele*." He says, also, that the gentry had for the most part ceased to teach their children French. Yes, the insulted Saxon, — the despised mother tongue, — now again asserted her rights. There is no language for the fire-side, but that which has been learned at the fire-side. A foreign tongue may answer the purposes of holidays and state occasions at court, but it will not answer the purposes of affectionate intercourse at home.

Let us now return to the subject of our paper, the history of the Norman French in the Statute Books and Records; and, as a point to start from, take the clear and comprehensive statement of Blackstone.*

"These were formerly all written, as indeed all public proceedings were, in Norman or law French, and even the arguments of the counsel and decisions of the court were in the same barbarous dialect. An evident and shameful badge, it must be owned, of tyranny and foreign servitude; being introduced under the auspices of William the Norman, and his sons; whereby the ironical observation of the Roman satirist came to

* *Commentaries on the Laws of England.* Book III. ch. 21.

be literally verified, that '*Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos.*'* This continued till the reign of Edward III.; who having employed his arms successfully in subduing the *crown* of France, thought it unbeseeming the dignity of the victors to use any longer the *language* of a vanquished country. By a statute, therefore, passed in the thirty-sixth year of his reign,† it was enacted, that for the future all pleas should be pleaded, shown, defended, answered, debated, and judged in the English tongue; but be entered and enrolled in Latin. In like manner as Don Alonzo X., King of Castile, (the great-grandfather of our Edward III.,) obliged his subjects to use the Castilian tongue in all legal proceedings;‡ and as, in 1286, the German language was established in the courts of the empire.‖ And perhaps if our legislature had then directed that the writs themselves, which are mandates from the king to his subjects to perform certain acts or to appear at certain places, should have been framed in the English language, according to the rule of our ancient law,§ it had not been very improper. But the record or enrolment of those writs, and the proceedings thereon, which was calculated for the benefit of posterity, was more serviceable (because more durable) in a dead and immutable language than in any flux or living one. The practisers, however, being used to the Norman language, and therefore imagining they could express their thoughts more aptly and more concisely in that than in any other, still continued to take their notes in law French; and of course when those notes came to be published, under the denomination of Reports, they were printed in that barbarous dialect; which, joined to the additional terrors of a Gothic black letter, has occasioned many a student to throw away his Plowden and Littleton, without venturing to attack a page of them. And yet in reality, upon a nearer acquaintance, they would have found nothing very formidable in the language, which differs in its grammar and orthography as much from the modern French, as the diction of Chaucer and Gower does from that of Addison and Pope. Besides, as the English and Norman languages were concurrently used by our ancestors for several centuries together, the two idioms have naturally assimilated, and mutually borrowed from each other; for which reason the grammatical construction of each is so very much the same, that I apprehend an Englishman (with a week's preparation) would understand the laws of Normandy, collected in their *grand coustumier*, as well if not better than a Frenchman bred within the walls of Paris."

"* *Juv.* xv. 111." "† Ch. 15." "‡ Mod. Un. Hist. xx. 211."
"‖ Mod. Un. Hist. xxix. 235." "§ Mirr. c. 4. sec. 3."

To this we add the general statement, that from the Conquest till the year 1488, the fourth year of Henry VII., the royal charters and the statutes of the realm were published either in Latin or in French. After the time of Henry III. they appear to have been drawn up indiscriminately in either of these languages, and very frequently translated from one into the other. Some writers have supposed, that when the interests of the clergy were particularly concerned, the instrument was drawn up in Latin ; at other times, generally in French. But the correctness of this opinion is questionable ; and at the present day it seems impossible to determine what particular causes gave the one a preference over the other, in promulgating the laws of the land.*

The French introduced into England by the Conqueror, was, as we have stated above, the language of his court and people in the North of France. It was the best form of the language there spoken, and cannot, therefore, be properly called a *barbarous dialect*, as Blackstone denominates it. At a later period, however, as we shall presently show, it richly deserved this title. Well may a language be called barbarous when such expressions have crept into it as *allopers de nunns*, those who elope with nuns ; *crampus de goute*, laid up with the gout ; *dragguent oistres*, drag oysters ; *dobbours des draps*, sellers of cloth ; *estremes des molins*, mill-streams ; *legerte de jaungle*, levity of speech ; *mesces ortieux*, the middle toes ; *moly sigles*, mill-sails ; *nycke nosme*, nickname ; *squiller sergt*, sergeant of the scullery, &c. With still greater reason may we give the name of a barbarous dialect to a language, when it receives into itself such phrases as these, which may be found in Levinz, a writer whom we shall have occasion to cite hereafter. "*Le Plaintiff move en Arrest de Judgment, que cest proscription a dancer en le freehold d'un autre, et spoil son grass fuit void.*" (Reports, Part I. p. 176.) "*Et fuit prove que quand le quarrel fuit en la Tavern, que le Seignor Morly disoit, si nous pugnomus a cest temps, jeo avera le disadvantage per le altitude des heels de mes shooes.*" (Part I. p. 180.)

As William the Conqueror not only published his laws in French, but likewise ordered that all "pleadings should be

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* *Statutes of the Realm.* Introduction, ch. IV.

in French, and that that language should be taught in schools,"* we should very naturally expect to find at least some traces of it in the laws and public acts of his immediate successors. In this, however, we are disappointed. Through the whole of the twelfth century, embracing the reigns of Henry I., Stephen, Henry II., Richard I., and John Lackland, we find no public document in French. If such ever existed, and there can hardly be a doubt of this, they seem to have been lost or forgotten. The Latin seems to hold undivided sway. During the reign of Henry III., the French again appears, and from that time forth, till the close of the fifteenth century, divides with the Latin the honor of being the interpreter of English law. Indeed, it survived the Latin, and continued to be the language of the Reports for two centuries later, that is, to the close of the seventeenth.†

We have, then, no specimen of the law French of the twelfth century, to present to our readers. It is with us, before the time of Henry III., as with others after it; when in the quaint language of Sir Henry Spelman, "God's Omnipotency was in point of Law disabled to purchase or to take by Grant; and so also was the Spouse the Church; for the Law thinks it no reason, that the Wife should be in a better condition than her Husband; and the whole Army of Saints were likewise disabled; let 's come, therefore, to others that had capacity, and consider of them, their Stiles and Additions according to their times." ‡

Being thus obliged to pass over the twelfth century in silence, we come down to the thirteenth for our next illustration. During the reign of Henry III. (1216–1272,) the statutes were nearly all in Latin; during that of Edward I. (1272–1307,) in Latin and French, the Latin predominating. The following extract is from the Statutes of the City

* Herbert's *Antiquities of the Inns of Court.* Lond. 1804, ch. I. p. —. See also Wilkins's *Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ.* Lond. 1721, p. 219, note.

† In the Introduction to the *Statutes of the Realm*, it is stated, that "All the Charters of Liberties and of the Forest, from 1 Henry I. to 29 Edw. I. (with the exception after mentioned,) are in Latin; but translations of some of them into French are found in various Collections." p. xl. It does not appear, however, that any of these translations are earlier than the time of Henry III.

‡ *The English Works of Sir Henry Spelman, Kt.* London, 1727. p. 238.

of London, and was published in the year 1285, the thirteenth year of Edward's reign.

"Ces sont les Articles le queus nostre Seignour le Rey Comaunde qe bien seient gardez en sa Citee de Loundres, pur sa pes garder e meyntenir.

Primerement, pur ceo qe multz des mals com des murdres, robberyes, e homycides ont este fetz ca en arrere deinz la Citee de nuyt e de jour, e gentz batues e mal tretes, e autres diverses aventures de mal avenuz encontre sa pes; Defendu est qe nul seit si hardi estre trove alaunt ne wacraunt par my les ruwes de la Citee apres Coeverfu parsone a Seint Martyn le grant, a espeye ne a bokuyler ne a autre arme pur mal fere, ne dount mal supecion poet avenir ; ne en autre manere nule, sil ne seit grant Seignour ou altre prodome de bone conysaunce, ou lour certeyn message qi de els serra garaunty qe vount li un a lautre parc onduyte de lumere. E si nul seit trove alant encontre la fourme avantdite ou qe il seit encheson de tart venir en vyle seit pris par les Gardeyns de la pes e seit mys en Le Tonel, la quel pur tiels meffesours est assigne, e lendemeyn seit amene e presente devant le Gardeyn ou le Meyre de la Citee qi pur tens serra, e devant les Aldermans, e solong ceo qe il trouveront qil eit trespasse e a ceo seit coustumers seit puny.

These are the articles which our lord the King commands to be well kept in his City of London, for the keeping and maintenance of his peace.

First, whereas many evils, as murders, robberies, and manslaughters have been committed heretofore in the City by night and by day, and people have been beaten and evil entreated, and divers other mischances have befallen against his peace ; It is enjoined that none be so hardy to be found going or wandering about the streets of the City after Curfew tolled at St. Martin's le Grand, with sword, or buckler, or other arms for doing mischief, or whereof evil suspicion might arise ; nor any in any other manner, unless he be a great man or other lawful person of good repute, or their certain messenger, having their warrants to go from one to the other, with lantern in hand. And if any be found going about contrary to the form aforesaid, unless he have cause to come late into the City, he shall be taken by the keepers of the peace, and be put into the watch-house, which is appointed for such offenders ; and on the morrow he shall be brought and presented before the Warden or the Mayor of the City for the time being, and before the Aldermen ; and according as they shall find that he has offended, and as the custom is, he shall be punished.

"E pur ceo qe tiels meffesours avauntditz, alant nutauntre, communalment ont lour recet e lour covynes, e font lour mauveyses purparlances en taverne plus qe aillours, e illoekes querent umbrage attendanz e geitant lour tens de mal fere ; Defendu est qe nul ne tiegne taverne overte de vyn ne de cerveyse apres le Coeverfu avandit parsone ; mes qe il tiegne sa taverne close apres cel houre, e nul leinz bevaunt ne recettant; ne en sa mesoun hors de communes tavernes nul ne recette pur quy il ne voillit estre respoignant a la pes le Rey. E si nul taverner seit trove qe autrement faceo, primerement seit degage par soen hanap de la taverne ou par altre bon gage leinz trove, e seit amercye a quarauntе deniers ; e si altre fiez seit trove qe ceo faceo, seit amercye a demy mark e a la tierce fiez a dys souz ; e a la quarte fiez paie tute la peyne double, cest a saver vynt souz. E la quynte fiez seit forsjugge del mestier pur tutz jourz.

And whereas such offenders as aforesaid, going about by night, do commonly have their resort and their meetings, and hold their evil talk in taverns more than elsewhere, and there seek for shelter, lying in wait and watching their time to do mischief; It is enjoined that none keep a tavern open for wine or ale after the tolling of the aforesaid Curfew; but he shall keep his tavern shut after that hour, and none therein drinking or resorting ; neither shall any man admit others into his house, except in common taverns, for whom he will not be answerable unto the King's peace. And if any taverner be found doing the contrary, the first time he shall be put in pledge by his tavern drinking-cup, or by other good pledge there found, and be amerced forty pence ; and if another time he be found doing the same, he shall be amerced half a mark, and the third time ten shillings; and the fourth time he shall pay the whole penalty double, that is to say, twenty shillings. And the fifth time he shall be forejudged of his trade for ever.

"Ensement pur ceo qe fous, qe sei delitent a mal fere, vount apprendre eskirmye de bokyler, e de ceo plus sei abaudissent de fere lour folyes ; Purveu est e defendu qe nul ne tiegne escole ne aprise de eskyrme de bokyler, dedeinz la Citee de nuyt ne de jour ;

Also, forasmuch as fools who delight in mischief go to learn to fence with buckler, and thereby are more encouraged to commit their follies ; It is provided and enjoined that none shall hold school for, nor shall teach, the art of fencing with buckler, within the City,

e si nul le faceo eit la prison de xl. jours." *

by night or by day ; and if any so do he shall be imprisoned for forty days.

At first sight, the language of this statute for "comprehending vagrams," as Dogberry would call it, seems rude and barbarous. Yet every word of it, with the exception of the title *Alderman*, is French, and as pure French as was used in France at that time. This one word is the only trace of Saxon or English in the whole piece. The word *murdres* is not even an Anglicized form, but merely ancient and in use in France ; as for example, in this passage from an old poet ;

"D'illec viennent les deffiences,
Les *murdres* et les alliances."
(*Roman du Second Renard.*)

The same may be said of the word *pes*, for the use of which we have as good authority, in the old poem *Bataille de Karesme et Charnage ;*

"Dame Balaine estons en *pès*,
Accordons-nous, Sire Karesme ;
Ge l'otroi bien, ce dist la Bresme,
Et li autres poisson après
Tuit s'accordent à fère *pès*."

And so again *supecion* is but a different orthography of the old word *soupeson* or *souppechon*. In order, however, that our readers may compare this language with the current language of the same age in France, we subjoin in a note a passage of the polite French of the day.†

* *Statutes of the Realm*, Vol. I. p. 102.

† It is a letter from Blanche, Duchess of Brittany, to King Henry III., bearing the date of 1265. It may be found in Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. I. p. 464.

"A son treshaut e treschier seignour Henri, par la grace de Deu, Roi d'Engleterre, seignour de Yrlande, e duc d'Aquitene, Blance, duchesse de Bretaigne saluz e reverence, e soi apparellie a ferre sa volence, cum a son chier seignour.

"Sire, je vous pri, si vous plest, que vous me villude vostre estate, le queul nostre sire par sa grace face touzours bon ; quar sachiez mon chier seignour que j'ei mout tresgrant joie, toutes les foiz que je puiz oir e savoir bones noveles de vous.

"Sachiez, sire, que ma dame Beatrix, vostre chier file, e la nostre, est encor deherte de sa feivre, meis el en est mout amende, la Deu merci ; e nous dient les fisechiens que sa feivre ne li puet par longein durrer.

"Je vous pri, mon cher seignour, que s'il avoit riens en nos parties que vous le me mande, comandez cum a le vostre ; quar sachiez, sire, que je arroie mout tresgrant joie de ferre vostre volunte a mon poer.

"E sachiez, sire, que Artus est mout bon suffisant, e mout beil, la Deu merci, e nostre sire vous gart."

For still farther illustrations of the language at this period, we refer our readers to Maynard's "Reports," * Horne's "Mirrour of Justices,"† and to the work of Britton, "a famous lawyer, that lived in the dayes of King Edward the First, at whose commandment and by whose authority, he writ a learned book of the Law of this Realme, the tenour whereof runneth in the King's name, as if it had been penned by himself." ‡

In the fourteenth century, the statutes continued to be published in Latin and French. During the reign of Edward II., (1307 – 1327,) the French predominates; still more so during the reigns of Edward III., (1327 – 1377,) and of Richard II., (1377 – 1399). The following specimen is from the 37th year of Edward III., (1363.)

"Item pur loutrageouse & excessive apparaille des plusours gentz, contre lour estat & degree, a tresgrant destruccion & empoverissement de tote la terre, est ordeigne, qe garsons, sibien servantz as Seignours come de meistere & des artificers, soient serviz de manger & de boiure unfoith le jour, de char ou de pessons, & le remenant daltres vitailles, come de lectee, furmage, bure & autres tiels vitailles, accordantz a lour estat; et qils eient draps pur lour vesture ou chaussure, dont le draps entier ne passe deux mars, et qils ne usent draps de pluis haut pris, de lour acate nautrement, ne nule chose dor, dargent, nenbroydez, aymelez, ne de soye, ne rien appendant

Item, for the outrageous and excessive apparel of many people, against their estate and degree, to the great destruction and impoverishment of all the land, it is ordained, that grooms, as well servants of lords as those of handicraftsmen and of artificers, be served to eat and to drink once a day, of flesh or of fish, and the remnant of other victuals, as of milk, cheese, butter, and other such victuals, according to their estate; and that they have cloth for their vesture and hose, whereof the whole cloth shall not exceed two marks, and that they use no cloth of higher price, of their own buying, nor otherwise, nor any thing of gold nor of silver, nor embroi-

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* Maynard, *Les Reports des Cases argue et adjudge en le temps del' Roy Edward le Second, et auxy Memoranda del' Exchequer, en temps le Roy Edward le Primer*, &c. London, 1678.

† *La Somme appelle Mirrour des Justices, vel Speculum Justiciariorum*, factum per Andream Horne. London, 1642.

‡ *Britton. The Second Edition. Faithfully corrected according to divers ancient Manuscripts of the same Work*, by Edm. Wingate, Gent. Lond. 1640.

des dites choses; & soient lour femmes, filles & enfantz, de mesme la condicion en lour vesture & apparaille, & ne usent nulles veilles, passant la veille dusze deniers.

"Item qe gentz de meistere, dartifice, & de office appelle Yomen, ne ne preignent ne usent draps de plus haut pris, pur lour vesture ou chaceure qe deinz qarant soldz le draps entier, par voie dacat nautrement; ne perry, draps de soy ne dargent, ne ceynture, cotel, fermaille, anel, garter, nouches, rubaignes, cheines, bandes, sealx, nautres choses dor ne dargent ne nule manere dapparaille embraudez, eymelez ne de seie par nule voie; & qe lour femmes, filles & enfantz soient de mesme la condicion en lour vesture & apparaille; & qe eles ne usent nul veille de sey, mes soulement de file face deinz le roialme, ne nul manere de pelure ne de boge mes soulement de aignel, conyng, chat & gopil.

"Item qe Chivalers, qont terre ou rente deinz la value de deux cent mars par an, preignent & usent draps de sys mars le draps entier pur lour vesture & noun pas de plus haut pris; & qils ne usent draps dor ne cloche mantell ne goune furrurez de menevere purrez, maunches dermyn, ne nul apparaille broudez de perre nautrement; et qe lour femmes filles & enfantz soient de mesme la condicion; & qels ne usent

dered, enamelled, nor of silk, nor any thing pertaining to the said things; and that their wives, daughters, and children be of the same condition in their clothing and apparel, and use no veils passing twelve pence a veil.

Item, that people of handicraft, and officers called yeomen, shall not take nor wear cloth of an higher price, for their vesture or hose, than within forty shillings the whole cloth, by way of buying, nor otherwise; nor stones, nor cloth of silk nor of silver, nor girdle, knife, button, ring, garter, brooch, ribbon, chains, bands, seals, nor other things of gold nor of silver, nor any kind of apparel embroidered, enamelled, nor of silk in any way; and that their wives, daughters and children be of the same condition in their vesture and apparel; and that they wear no veil of silk, but only of thread, made within the realm, nor any manner of fur, nor of budge, but only of lamb, coney, cat, and fox.

Item, that knights, who have land or rent within the value of two hundred marks a year, shall take and wear cloth of six marks the whole cloth for their vesture, and not of an higher price; and that they wear not cloth of gold, nor cloak, mantle, nor gown furred with miniver, sleeves of ermine, nor any apparel embroidered with stones, nor otherwise; and that their wives, daughters and children be of the same condi-

ravers dermynes ne de letuses esclaires ne nulle manere dapparaille de perre, sinoun pur lour testes. Mes qe touz Chivalers & Dames qont terre ou rente outre la value de qatre centz mars par an tanqe a la somme de mill livres par an, usent a lour volunte forspris ermynes, letuses, & apparaille de perles, de perre, si noun pur lour testes.

"Item qe Charetters, Charuers, Chaceours des carues, Bovers, Vachers, Berchers, Porchers, Deyes, & touz autres gardeinz des bestes, batours des bleez, & toutes maneres des gentz destate de garson, entendantz a husbandrie, & touz autres genz qe nont qarant soldz des biens, ne des chateaux a la value de qarant soldz, ne preignent ne usent nule manere de draps, si noun blanket & russet, laune de xii d.; & usent lour ceyntures de lenge teile, acordant a lour estat; & qils vivent de manger & de boiure par manere come a eux affiert, & nonpas excessivement. Et est ordeigne qe si nul use ou face au contraire de nules des pointz susdites, qil forface devers le Roi tout lapparaille qil avera issint usee contre la forme de ceste ordinance."*

tion; and that they wear no facings of ermines, nor of letuses . . . . ., nor any manner of apparel of stones, except only for their heads. But that all knights and ladies, who have land or rent over the value of four hundred marks a year, to the sum of one thousand livres a year, wear at their pleasure, except ermines, letuses and apparel of pearls and stones, save only for their heads.

Item, that carters, ploughmen, drivers of ploughs, oxherds, cowherds, shepherds, swineherds, drivers of geese, and all other keepers of beasts, threshers of corn, and all manner of people of the estate of a groom, attending to husbandry, and all other people, that have not forty shillings of goods, or chattels to the value of forty shillings, shall not take nor wear any kind of cloth but blanket and russet at twelve pence the yard; and shall wear their girdles of linen cloth, according to their estate; and that they live, in eating and drinking, in the manner that pertaineth to them, and not excessively. And it is ordained, that if any wear or do contrary to any of the points aforesaid, that he forfeit to the king all the apparel that he hath so worn against the form of this ordinance.

The reader will doubtless be struck with the great number of strange and barbarous-looking words contained in this ex-

* *Statutes of the Realm*, Vol. I. p. 380.

tract. Yet only two of them, *yomen* and *husbandrie* are Saxon. Even *vitailles* is French; as in the old poem of *Le Segretain Moine;*

> "De ses deniers assez li baille
> Por achater de la *vitaille.*"

So likewise *veilles;* as in an old translation of the book of Maccabees; "Et pain mistres sor la table, et pendirent les cortines *veilles.*" In fine, with the two exceptions above-named, all these words are French. The orthography, it is true, varies, even in the same statute. That, however, will not startle a reader of old French. Orthography was not then fixed by authority. We find, for example, in ancient writers, eight forms of the word GOUNE, namely: *gone, gonele, gonelle, gonne, gonnelle, goune, gounelle, gunele;* and fifteen of the word GOPIL; *gopils, gorpilz, gorpis, goupil, goupis, goupls, gourpil, gourpis, verpil, vourpil, vourpis, werpil, werpis, werpiz;* all which may be traced from the Latin *vulpes*, like diaper from King Pepin. *Unfoith* is perhaps an anglicized termination of the old French *une fes*, or *une foiee;* and *garter* is *jarretière.*

For the purpose of comparison we subjoin in the note a chapter from Froissart's "Chronicles," which belong to this century.* For farther specimens of the language, as current in England, we refer to the "Year Books" and the Reports of Maynard and Bellewe.

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* We take the introductory chapter. Froissart was born in 1337, and died in 1401.

"*Cy parle l'Acteur des plus preux Cheualiers qui soient nommez en ce present volume.*

"Pour tous nobles cœurs encourager, & leur monstrer exemple & matiere d'honneur, ie sire Iehan Froissart commence à parler, apres le rapport & relation de mõseigneur maistre Iehan le Bel, iadis Chanoine de S. Lãbert du Liege: & di ainsi, que plusieurs gẽs nobles ont maintefois parlé des guerres de Frãce et d'Angleterre, qui pas iustement ne sauoient ou sauroiẽt dire, se requis ou examinez en estoiẽt, cõmẽt, ne par quelles raisõs elles vindrẽt. Mais veez la droite fondatiõ de la matiere: & pource que ie n'y vueil mettre ny oster, oublier ne corrõpre, n'abreger l'Histoire en riẽ par defaute de langage, mais la vueil multiplier & accroistre en ce que ie pourray, vous vueil, de poinct en poinct parler & monstrer toutes les auentures, puis la natiuité du tresnoble Roy Edouard d'Angleterre, qui si puissammẽt regna, & auquel sont tãt auenues d'auentures notables & perilleuses, & tant de batailles addressees, & d'autres faicts-d'armes & de grans prouësses, puis l'an de grâce M.CCCXXVI. que ce gentil Roy fut couronné en Angleterre: quand luy & tous ceux, qui ont esté auec luy en ses batailles & heureuses auentures, ou auec ses gens, là ou il n'a mie esté en propre personne (si-

In the year 1362, in the reign of Edward III., it was enacted, that all pleas "shall be pleaded, showed, defended, answered, debated, and judged in the English tongue, and that they be entered and inrolled in Latin." * This is the first victory obtained by the English language over the French in the courts. The outworks being thus carried, new successes followed, which prepared the way for the final overthrow of the French in England.

"The earliest instance, recorded, of the use of the English language, in any Parliamentary proceeding," says the Introduction to the Statutes, "is in 36 Edw. III. The style of the Roll of that year is in French, as usual, but it is expressly stated, that the causes of summoning the Parliament were declared 'en Englois'; and the like circumstance is noted in 37 and 38 Edw. III. In the fifth year of Richard II., the Chancellor is stated to have made 'un bone collacion en Englays,' (introductory, as was then sometimes the usage, to the commencement of business,) though he made use of the common French form for opening the Parliament. A petition from the 'Folk of the Mercerye of London,' in the tenth year of the same reign, is in English; and it appears, also, that, in the 17th year, the Earl of Arundel asked pardon of the Duke of Lancaster, by the

comme vous pourrez ouir cy apres) doiuent bien estre tenus et reputez pour preux; combien qu'il en y a grād'foison de ceux qui doiuent & peuuēt estre bien tenus pour souuerains entre les autres deuant tous: comme le propre corps du gentil Roy dessusdit, le Prince de Gales son fils, le Duc de Lenclastre, messire Regnaut de Gobehan, messire Gautier de Manni en Haynaut, Cheualier, messire Iehan Chādos, messire Fouques de Harle, & plusieurs autres qui sont ramenteus par le bien & la prouësse d'eux, a dedans ce liure: car, par toutes les batailles ou ils ont esté, ils ont eu renommee des mieux faisans par terre. & par mer, & s'y sont mōstrez si vaillāment qu'on les doit tenir pour souuerains preux: mais pourtant ne doiuent point ceux, qui auec eux ont esté, pis valoir. Aussi en France ont ils trouué bōne Cheualerie, roide, forte & apperte, & grād'foison; car le royaume de France ne fut oncques si déconfit, qu'on n'y trouuast tousiours biē à qui combatre: et fut le Roy Philippe de Valois vn tres-hardy & vaillāt Cheualier, & le Roy Iehan son fils, Charles le Roy de Behaine, le Comte d'Alençon, le Comte de Foix, messire Saintre, messire Arnoul d'Agle, Messeigneurs de Beauieu, le pere et le filz, & plusieurs autres, que ie ne puis pas maintenant nommer, & qui bien seront en temp & en lieu ramenteus: car pour verité dire & soustenir, on doit biē tenir pour assez preux tous ceux, qui en si cruelles batailles & si perilleuses ont esté veus, & sont demourez ius-ques à la déconfiture, suffisamment faisans leur deuoir."—*Chroniques de Froissart*, par Denis Sauvage. Vol. I. p. 2. fol. Paris. 1574.

* *Statutes*, 36 Edw. III.

award of the King and Lords, in their presence in Parliament, in a form of English words. The cession and renunciation of the Crown by Richard II. is stated to have been read before the estates of the realm and the people in Westminster Hall, first in Latin, and afterwards in English, but it is entered on the Parliament Roll only in Latin. And the challenge of the crown, by Henry IV., with his thanks, after the allowance of his title, in the same Assembly, are recorded in English, which is termed his maternal tongue. So also is the speech of Sir William Thirnyng, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, to the late King Richard, announcing to him the sentence of his deposition, and the yielding up, on the part of the people, of their fealty and allegiance. In the sixth year of the reign of Henry IV., an English answer is given to a petition of the Commons, touching a proposed resumption of certain grants of the crown, to the intent the king might the better live of his own. The English language afterwards appears, occasionally, through the reigns of Hen. IV. and V." *

These were great innovations in established usages, and doubtless exercised a very powerful and direct influence upon the French then in use, laying it open to corrupt forms of speech and the intermixture of English words.

We now come to the fifteenth century. During the reign of Henry IV., (1399 – 1413,) the statutes are all in French, with the exception of one chapter ; and during that of Henry V., (1413 – 1422,) all in French, with two exceptions. In the time of Henry VI., (1422 – 1461,) we find sometimes Latin, and sometimes French, and sometimes both in the same statute. The last statute, wholly in Latin, is in the year 33 of this reign ; and the last, in which Latin is used, is in the 39th year. During the reigns of Edward IV., (1461 – 1483,) and of Richard III., (1483 – 1485,) the statutes are entirely in French ; and from the 4th year of Henry VII. (1488) they have been constantly in English.

As a specimen of the language of this century, we take a statute of 31 Henry VI. (1452). It is the act by which the "*erraunt faulx traitour John Cade*" is accused of sedition.

"En primes qe come le plus abhominable tyranne horrible — First, whereas the most abominable tyrant, horrible,

* *Statutes of the Realm*, Introduction, p. xli.

odious & erraunt faulx traitour John Cade, appellant & nommant soy mesme ascune foitz Mortymer aucune foitz Capteyn du Kent, le quel noun fame actes & feetes sonnt a removeier hors la langage & memorie de chascun foialle cristian homme perpetualment, fausement & traiterousment purposant & ymaginaunt la perpetuelle destruccion del persone du dit Roy, & finalle subversion de cest noble Reame, preignant sur luy poiar roiall, & coillant a luy le people du Roy en graunde nombre par faulx subtiel ymaginouse langage, et ceduciousment fist commocion rebellion, & insurreccion soulz colour de justice & reformacion des leyes du dit Roy, robbant tuant & despoillant graunte partie de son foialle people ; Nostre dit Seignour le Roy les premisses ovesqe plusours autres queux furent pluis odious a remembrier considerant, par advis & assent des Seignours avauntditz & a la request des ditz Communes & par auctorite desuisditz ad ordeigne & establie, que le dit John Cade soit repute ewe nomme & declare faulx traitour au nostre dit Soveraigne Seignour le Roy ; & qe tout sez tirannye actes feetes & faux opynions soient voides casses adnulles anientisez & oustez de remembraunce perpetuelment ; Et qe toutz enditementez & lez dependauntez ent, ewes &

odious, and arrant false traitor John Cade, calling and naming himself sometimes Mortimer, sometimes Captain of Kent, which name, fame, acts, and feats are to be removed out of the speech and memory of every faithful Christian man, perpetually, falsely, and traitorously purposing and imagining the perpetual destruction of the person of the said King and final subversion of this noble Realm, taking upon him royal power, and gathering to him the King's people in great number, by false, subtile-imagined language, and seditiously made commotion, rebellion, and insurrection, under color of justice and reformation of the laws of the said King, robbing, slaying, and despoiling great part of his faithful people ; Our said Lord the King considering the premises with many others that were more odious to remember, by advice and assent of the Lords aforesaid, and at the request of the said Commons, and by the authority above mentioned, hath ordained and established, that the said John Cade shall be reputed, had, named, and declared a false traitor to our said Sovereign Lord the King; and that all his tyranny, acts, feats, and false opinions shall be voided, abated, annulled, destroyed, and put out of remembrance for ever ; And that all the indictments and all things depending thereof,

faitz subz la poiar de sa tyranny ensement soient voides adnulles cassez repellez & tenuz pur nulle ; et qe le sang de nully soit ent defoule ne corrupte, mes par lauctorite du dit parlement cleere & declare perpetuelment. Et toutz enditementez en temps avenir en semble case soubz poiar de tiranny rebellion & comocion euez soient de nulle recorde ne effecte mes voides en ley ; Et touz lez peticions bailles au dit Roy en son darrein parlement tenuz a Westminster le sisme jour de Novembler lan de son reigne xxix^e^ encountre sa entent, par luy nient agrees soient prisez & rebotez en oblivion hors de remembraunce, cassez voides adnullez & anientisez perpetuelment, come chose purpose encountre Dieu & conscience, encountre sa regalie estate & preemynence & auxi dishonorable & nient resonable." *

had and made under the power of his tyranny likewise be void, annulled, abated, repealed, and holden for none ; and that the blood of no man be thereof defiled nor corrupted, but by the authority of the said Parliament cleared and cleansed for ever. And that all indictments in time to come in like case under power of tyranny, rebellion, and commotion had, be of no record nor effect, but void in law. And all the petitions delivered to the said King in his last Parliament, holden at Westminster, the sixth day of November, the nine and twentieth year of his reign, against his intent, by him not accepted, shall be taken and put in oblivion out of remembrance, undone, voided, annulled, and destroyed for ever, as a thing purposed against God and conscience, against his royal state and preëminence, and also dishonorable and unreasonable.

It is not difficult to perceive, by this extract, that the French had not much deteriorated within a century, even under the operation of circumstances to which we have alluded above. Every word in this extract is French, even the suspicious-looking words, *odious*, *traitour*, *cristian*, *robbant*, *request*, *corrupte*, *cleere*, though belonging, perhaps, to an earlier period than the fifteenth century. We cannot cite an authority for the word *odious*, but we can for the word *curious*, which has the same termination ; and we may hence infer, that this termination in *ous* is not English, but old French. The most that can be said, then, of the language of this extract is, that it is no improvement upon that

* *Statutes of the Realm*, Vol. II. p. 360.

of the two preceding centuries. And this seems to bring us to the truth in reference to the language of the French statutes in England; it remained stationary; it did not keep pace with the language in France, but was left behind in the march of refinement. The extract in the note, from Monstrelet's Chronicles * (1400–1467), will serve for comparison; and for further illustrations the reader is referred to the "Year Books," "Littleton's Tenures," and Keilwey's "Reports."

We now come down to the sixteenth century, and bid farewell to the Statutes of the Realm. Our illustrations will henceforth be drawn from "*Les Reports des Divers Select Matters et Resolutions des Reverend Judges del Ley.*" In these we find the language sadly changed from what it was in the statutes of the preceding centuries. For nearly one hundred and fifty years, the proceedings in courts had been in English; and it is not astonishing, that some manifest traces of this should be found in the Reports, which were still in

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* We select a passage from the first chapter, Volume I.

"Or est-il ainsi que le roi dessus dit, chevauchant de ladite ville du Mans à aller audit pays de Bretagne, ses princes et sa chevalerie étant assez près de lui, lui prit assez soudainement une maladie, de laquelle il devint comme hors de sa bonne mémoire; et incontinent tollit (ôta) à un de ses gens un épieu de guerre qu'il avoit, et en férit le varlet au bâtard de Langres, tellement qu'il l'occit; et après occit ledit bâtard de Langres; et si férit tellement le duc d'Orléans son frère; que nonobstant qu'il fût armé, il navra au bras, et de rechef navra le seigneur de Sempy, et l'eût mis à mort, à ce qu'il disoit, si Dieu ne l'eût garanti; mais en ce faisant se laissa cheoir à terre; et là fut, par la diligence du seigneur de Couci et autres, ses feables serviteurs, pris; et lui ôtèrent à grand'peine ledit épieu; et de là fut mené en ladite ville du Mans, en son hôtel, où il fut visité par notables médecins: néanmoins on y espéroit plus la mort que la vie; mais par la grâce de Dieu il fut depuis en meilleur état, et revint assez en sa bonne mémoire, non pas telle que par avant il avoit eue. Et depuis ce jour, toute sa vie durant, eut par plusieurs fois de telles occupations comme la dessus dite; pourquoi il falloit toujours avoir regard sur lui et le garder. Et pour cette douloureuse maladie perdit, toute sa vie durant, grande partie de sa bonne mémoire, qui fut la principale racine de la désolation de tout son royaume. Et depuis ce temps commencèrent les envies et tribulations, entre les seigneurs de son sang, parce qu'un chacun d'eux contendoit à avoir le plus grand gouvernement de son royaume, voyant assez clairement qu'il étoit assez content de faire et accorder ce que par iceux lui étoit requis: lesquels se trouvoient vers lui les uns après les autres; et, à cautelle, en absence l'un de l'autre, l'inclinoient à faire leur singulière volunté et plaisir, sans avoir regard tous ensemble, par une même délibération, au bien public de son royaume et domination. Toute fois aucuns en y eut qui assez loyaument s'en acquittèrent, dont recommandés grandement après leur mort en furent; lequel roi en son temps eut plusieurs fils et filles: desquels, c'est à savoir de ceux qui vécurent jusqu'à âge compétent, les noms s'ensuivent." — *Chroniques de Monstrelet*, par J. A. Buchon, Tom. I. pp. 55, 56.

French. The English was constantly forcing its way, and crowding the foreign usurper from the books. Accordingly, in the Reports of the sixteenth century, we find such expressions as the following; *Walke in le lane; Il dig up un clod del terre; Un puffe de winde; L'owner del Park vient al gate del Park pur hunter, et le Parker ne voile luy suffer de hunter;* and *Le Plaintiff done en evidence que le Defendant causa un quill de plumbe destre fait hors de un grand Pipe del dit Conduit a issuer ou conveyer per un Cocke a son messuage in le dit Parish de Saint Pulchers, part del dit ewe;* phrases, in which not only many of the words are English, but the idiom entirely so. But we must not content ourselves with these brief specimens. The following is the report * of a case in the 31 Elizabeth, that is, in the year 1589.

"Robert Bird vers William Adams. Attachment sur prohibition, pur ceo que il mesme soit seisi en son demaygne come del fée del 60 acres del terre en Owston en le dit County, et que il, et touts ceux que estate il ad, de temps dont memory, &c. ount accustomed a paier al Rector, son fermor ou deputy, del parish del Owston annualment, quant les 60 acres sont semes ove graine, le tenth sheafe de touts les sheaves del les blées la cressant ou remanent, puis le dits blées fueront reaped, bound et mise en sheafes, pur plein satisfaction del tout tythe-corne de et hors del dit 60 acres del terre; quel tenth sheafe, issint bound et sever del 9 parts, touts les Parsons del Rectory avantdit, ses fermors et occupiers, de tout temps, &c. ount accept en plein satisfaction et payment del tout tythe-corne la annualment cressant, et cel manner del tything ount observed del tout dit temps avant: et monstre que ceo nient obstante le dit def. entendant cel manner del tything de infringe, ad prosecute suit en le Court Christian en Yorke pur la substraction de 40 Cart-load del rakings de wheate la cressant l'an 1586. nient obstante que le def. ad received et prise mesme le dit an le tenth sheafe del tout les blées la cressant et collect en sheafe, accordant al custome et manner del tything avantdit; et non obstante que il ad alledge en le Court Christian cest matter en discharge des dits tythes demanded, uncore le spirituall Judge ne voile ceo admitter; et coment que il ad deliver al def. un Prohibition a surceaser, uncore il ne voile cesser de poursecute vers luy en le dit Court Christian, en con-

* Savile (Sir John), *Les Reports de divers special Cases cybien en le Court de Commun Bank, come l'Exchequer, en le Temps de Royne Elizabeth.* Lond. 1688. fol. pp. 100, 101.

tempt del nostre Sñress le Roigne, et al damnum a pl. A que le def. plead rien culp' al contempt et al poursecution en le Court Christian, &c. mes pur aver brief de Consultation, il demurred en ley sur le dit count, &c. Et monstre divers reasons pur cause queux le dit custome del tything est encounter reason. Car quant il dit que il use de paier le tenth sheafe de touts les sheafes de graine la cressant, apres les blées sont reaped, bound et mise en sheafes, la sil ne miste les blées en sheafes, mes leave tout pur rakings, ou miste forsque petit quantity en sheafes, la il poet a son pleasure faire ceo riens ou cy simple satisfaction come il list, et pur ceo tiel manner de custome returnera al nul satisfaction : et pur ceo en cest case il doet aver alledge, que ils use a mitter touts les blées, ou tant part del eux, en garbs, et de paier le tenth sheafe en satisfaction. Et semble que tiel manner del tything nest que le common et usuall course del tything ; et donque ne poet estre alledge destre custome et certaine manner de tything, quant il ne vary del usuall tything en touts lieus. Auter reason fuit alledge que le custome ne fuit bon, pur ceo que choses de un nature et kind ne poent estre apt satisfaction pur mesmes les choses, car satisfaction est de choses del auter nature, et nemy de mesmes les choses : come si un soit oblige de paier 10 l. en money, il ne poet plede que il ad paid 5 l. in satisfaction de 10 l. car il ne poet sound en satisfaction ; mes de paier un Chival en satisfaction del money, et ascun choses del auter nature, ceo poet estre bon. Quel diversity *Pyriam* Justice denied. Car il dit que il sachoit ou il paid un bushell del eggs en satisfaction de touts eggs en un Ville : *& sic de similibus.* Mes pur un auter cause semble que count nest bon, car nest ascun express allegation del satisfaction, mes pur argument, quel est issint incertaine que nul respons poet estre fait al ceo. Et pur ceo quant al touts exceptions al *Pyriam* il semble que le count fuit male, et issint fuit adjudge, et consultation grant. *Et sic vide* que Prescription de paier le tenth sheafe sever de 9 parts pur touts tythes del Corne est male."

If this extract should not suffice to satisfy the reader's curiosity, he will find more of the same kind in Brooke, Benloe, Bendloes, Dyer, Fitz-Herbert, and Staundford, the full title of whose works it is not necessary to give in this place. They will find, in all of them, the English streaming in, like the sunshine through the cracks and crevices of some crumbling ruin, and making the cobwebs shine with a dusty light.

If these matters were in a bad state during the sixteenth century, during the seventeenth they were much worse. The language had now reached its lowest point of degradation. There is misrule in every thing. The distinctions of number and gender are entirely lost sight of, and there is a general revolt among the parts of speech, as if King Grammar had been beheaded. French and English dance the *carmagnole* together, and murder the noble mother tongue. To the truth of this statement, the following Reports will bear ample testimony. The first is from Rolle's Abridgement, Vol. I. p. 58.

"En un Action sur le case si le Plaintiffe declare que il fuit per divers ans devant un *Brewer* et obtaine son viver per *Brewer de Beere* et vender de ceo, al son Customers, et brewe *wholsom Beere*, et le Defendant aiant communication ove ses Customers concernant son dit Trade, et de son Béere brewe per luy, al intent a discredit luy, et son Béere tam bien al son Customers, come al vicines ; ove que il avoit devant Commerce ; dit ceux parols del Plaintiffe et de son Béere, [Here follow the words on which the action is brought.] Per parlons de quel parols il fuit esteeme enter son Customers et vicines a brewer et vender *unwholsom Beere*, et ils apres refuse d'achater Béere de luy, et daver Commerce ove luy en son dit Trade, Nul Action gist pur ceux parols ; sans monstrant ascun particuler perde per ceo, come que ascuns particuler persons abstaine d'achater Béere de luy, ou tiel semble particular perde, car ceux parols serront prise d'estre parle en merriment et in geste, car il est impossible d'estre voier en le understanding de ascun, et poet estre prise que il intend que il brewe *Small Beere*, et nemy *unwholsom Beere*, *Mich.* 15. Car. B. R."*

The other is from the Reports of Levinz, Part I. p. 136.

"*Term. Sanct. Trin. Anno* 16, *Car.* II. *in Banco Regis. Dominus Rex versus Church-wardens de Axminster. Home pendus per le Bell-rope, si le campanes sont Deodands.*

"IN un *Information* pur le Roy, le Case fuit, un *Brockhurst* ringing un Bell en l'Esglise fuit strangle avec le Rope ; et si le Bell serra un *Deodand*, fuit le question sur cest *Information* pur le detainer de ceo del Roy. Et les Objections vers le Roy fueront deux : 1. Que le Bell fuit fix al Freehold ; a que

* *Un Abridgement des plusieurs Cases et Resolutions del Common Ley : Alphabeticalment digest desouth several Titles :* Per Henry Rolle, Serjeant del Ley. *Ovesque un Table de general Titles contenus en ceo.* London. 1668. 2 vols. fol.

fuit respond que ne fuit fix al Freehold, mes tied en le Steple, et bound down avec pins ou Keys que peut estre remove sans alteration del Freeholder. 2. Object. Que les Bells sont parcel des biens del Esglise, et vaine serroit a Forfeiter ceo al Roy d'estre per luy redone al Esglise, arere ; *scil.* al *pios usus* : A que fuit dit que serra forfeit come un satisfaction pur sang, d'estre dispose pur le Roy al auter pious uses. *Hide, Chief Justice, & Windham* fueront de opinion que le Bell ne fuit forfeit, les auters deux semble contra, mes riens *ultra* fuit fait en le case que Jeo Dye." — Part. I. p. 136.*

In the same style with these are the Reports of Anderson, Jones, Latch, Littleton, Lutwych, Palmer, and Siderfin ; and the works of Finch and Winch, and of other learned men of the age. But with this century ceased the use of the French in English law books, without any special edict to that effect, though, it would seem, not without authority. It had been long previously discontinued by legislative enactments, in the pleas of the courts, and the publication of the Statutes. It seems to have fallen into disuse by the common consent of all wise men. Our only astonishment is, that it should have maintained its ground so long. Its disgraceful end forms a sad contrast with its triumphal beginning. It came as a conqueror, and departed as a slave.

The first Reports originally published in English are those of " William Style, of the Inner Temple, Esquire," in the year 1658. They were at first briefly taken in law French. The Reporter says in the Introduction ; " I have made these Reports speak English, not that I believe they will be thereby generally more useful, for I have been always, and yet am of opinion, that that part of the Common Law which is in English hath only occasioned the making of unquiet spirits contentiously knowing, and more apt to offend others, than to defend themselves ; but I have done it *in obedience to authority*, and to stop the mouths of such of this English age, who though they be as confusedly different in their minds and judgments, as the builders of *Babel* were in their languages, yet do think it vain if not impious to speak or understand more than their own mother-tongue." †

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* *Le Reports de Sr. Creswell Levinz, jades un del Justices del Common Bank, en Trois Parts : Commencant en le 12 An de Roy Charles II. & fini en le 8 An de son Majesty William III Imprimée per l'Original, escrie desouth son proper Maine. Ovesque Tables al chescun Part.* London. 1702.

† Style's *Narrationes Modernæ*, fol. Lond. 1658. Introduction, p. 2.

Such is the history of the French language in England; a language which though long since discarded, has left behind it voluminous records of its former power, and still struggles to make itself heard amid "the noisy strife of the hoarse-clamoring bar," in the title of a statute or a term of court, and the loud *Oyes!* of the crier. It came first into use as a cunning contrivance of state policy; it continued in use from the respectability of ancient custom; it went out of use from the persuasion, that a general intelligence of the law is better than either political contrivance or ancient custom.

ART. II.—1. BOECKH; *Erklärung einer Aegyptischen Urkunde in Griechischer Cursivschrift vom Jahre* 104 *vor den Christlichen Zeitrechnung.* (Explanation of an Egyptian Document in Greek cursive Writing, of the Year 104 before the Christian Chronology. By Professor BOECKH. From the Transactions of the Historical and Philological Class of the Prussian Royal Academy of Sciences.)

2. BUTTMANN; *Erklärung der Griechischen Beischrift auf einem Aegyptischen Papyrus aus der Minutoli'schen Sammlung.* (Explanation of the Greek Marginal Writing upon an Egyptian Papyrus in Minutoli's Collection. By Professor BUTTMANN. From the same Academy's Transactions.)

SEVERAL years ago, by a most remarkable concurrence of circumstances, the learned world was put in possession of some original and very ancient legal documents from Egypt, which throw light on the jurisprudence of that renowned country. But, though they have been so long known to antiquaries and scholars, generally, and have not escaped the notice of the jurists also, on the continent of Europe, we regret, for the honor of a liberal profession, to be obliged to say, that we have not seen any allusion to them in the *juridical* journals either of Great Britain or of this country.

It is true, indeed, that, if the value of the historical records of our race is to be measured by their capacity of being turned to account in a pecuniary view, — if an Egyptian deed of real estate, and the record of an Egyptian law-

suit, are to be estimated only by their utility as precedents for modern conveyancers or special pleaders, — they will hardly repay the trouble of a single perusal. But if, as Sir William Jones observes, "the law be a science," then, as in other sciences, comparative views of the jurisprudence of different nations and different ages, or, in other words, an extended process of induction cannot fail to remunerate the scientific lawyer, as well as the statesman and general inquirer, for bestowing a portion of his leisure hours upon such researches. Under the conviction, therefore, that some of our professional, as well as general, readers will take an interest in the subject of the present article, — and we can assure them all, that, if there is any want of interest in this case, it will be owing, not to the subject itself, but to our manner of treating it, — we shall proceed to give a brief account of one of the extraordinary documents in question; which is an Egyptian deed of a piece of land in the city of Thebes, written on the papyrus of that country, more than a century before the Christian era, with the impression of a seal, or stamp, attached to it, and a certificate of registry on its margin, in as regular a manner as the keeper of the registry in the county of Suffolk would certify to a deed of land in the city of Boston at this day. Well may we exclaim, with the sage of holy writ, "Is there any thing whereof it may be said, See this is *new*? It hath been already of old time, which was before us; there is no new thing under the sun."

Before we proceed, however, to the contents of this remarkable conveyance, a brief history of the circumstances connected with its discovery will not be uninteresting. We shall follow the account given of it by the learned Professor Boeckh, of Berlin, who, with the coöperation of his distinguished colleagues, Professors Ideler, Bekker, and Buttmann, translated and elucidated it in the Transactions of the Berlin Academy of Sciences.* In connexion with that account we shall avail ourselves of some emendations and remarks of Dr. Thomas Young, who has justly acquired an enviable celebrity by his discoveries in the hieroglyphic language of Egypt, as well as by his various works in numerous departments both of science and literature. It may

* *Abhandlungen der historisch-philologischen Klasse der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*

not be amiss for us to remark, in passing, that, by a letter received from Professor Boeckh during the last year, we are informed, that, although his Memoir upon this Egyptian document has been long published, nothing further of importance has been since discovered to throw any new light upon the subject of it, or upon Egyptian jurisprudence in general.

The original manuscript Deed in question is written in the *Greek language*, — as was common while Egypt was under its Greek dynasty, — and is known among the learned as *the Papyrus of Mr. Anastasy*, the Swedish consul at Alexandria, to whom it belonged. A perfect fac-simile, exhibiting even the blemishes and coloring of the original, was obtained by General Minutoli, and transmitted by him to the Royal Academy of Sciences in Berlin about the year 1820; and from this fac-simile, an engraving of which is given in the Berlin Transactions above referred to, a translation of the document was made, accompanied with elucidations by the eminent scholars above named. The *fac-simile* annexed to the present article, was made from the Berlin engraving, (without being *drawn* anew,) by the new and admirable process in lithography, called *Dixon's Transferring Process*, from the name of an ingenious American, Mr. Joseph Dixon, of Taunton in Massachusetts; of which we shall give some account in a note at the end of this article.

The *writing*, notwithstanding it is 1944 (or 1946) years old, is in good preservation; the substance of the *papyrus* itself is of an extraordinary firmness; and the dryness of the tomb, in which the manuscript is supposed to have been deposited, together with the balsamic preparation of the mummy, by whose side the roll was doubtless placed, must have been favorable to its preservation; the papyrus itself, too, appears to have been balsamic, as, on being burnt, it emitted an aromatic smoke.

The manuscript is an original instrument of sale of a piece of land in the city of Thebes, bought by one *Nechutes*; and it was probably in his tomb, that the document was found, where the sanctity of the place would the better insure its safe preservation. On the left hand margin there is the figure of a human head, which is either a stamp or a seal, and which has a beard, according to the Greek custom.

This document is, in many respects, of the highest in-

terest. In the first place, we learn from it several circumstances relating to the Egyptians ; and then it is extremely valuable, as a memorial, in the history of the *written* language of Greece. In relation to this last point, it should be recollected, that there has long been a dispute, whether the Greeks, in the common business of life, used an alphabet of *small* letters, technically called, by scholars, *cursive* letters, or had only the *uncial* or capital letters, which have come down to us in the inscriptions upon their marble monuments and their coins. For, although the Greeks of the present day have an alphabet of small letters, the origin of which has not been traced, yet all the manuscripts of the classic authors of Greece which are now extant in the cursive character, are of comparatively modern date ; and, hence, some learned men have too hastily drawn the conclusion, that the small letters of the modern Greeks are one among their many supposed corruptions of the language of their fathers. Hitherto we have never had so ancient an authentic monument of a complete *cursive* or running hand, as the instrument now in question. The inscription from a leaden plate, which was found in a tomb near Athens, and published by Akerblad, was not *cursive*, except a little unconnected scrawl in it ; and the material was not adapted to a cursive handwriting. The verse of Euripides's Antiope,

Ὡς ἓν σοφὸν βούλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χεῖρας [χέρας] νικᾷ,

which was found, in the year 1743, upon an ancient wall at Resina, in Italy, in cursive letters, and having accents and breathings, though received as genuine by Villoison and some other scholars, is now generally believed to be modern, and may have been written on the wall in sport. Some genuine traces, however, of a cursive character, appear in the scrawls, made by the soldiers, upon the pillars of the barracks in Pompeii, which were discovered near the entrance, in the year 1767 ; but these are not of importance. And, finally, the papyrus inscription, which Schow published, and which is genuine, is not more ancient than the second or third century of the Christian era. But, in the document now under our consideration, we have a specimen of cursive writing, of an ascertained date, at least as early as the year 104 *before* Christ ; and we may safely conclude, that a cursive hand was in use before that period. It is worthy of

remark, too, as we may infer from this document, that the Greek language was already in general use in Egypt, — even Upper Egypt, — as the legal or official language in transactions of business.

The writing in question consists of two separate portions; the first or principal part contains the *contract of sale* of the land; the other, which is on the right hand, and in a somewhat smaller character, is a *certificate of the registry* of the sale in the office or records of the appropriate jurisdiction. The certificate is more recent, and in a different and more careless handwriting; and we may hence infer, that this instrument of sale is not a copy, but the original itself.

The contents of the papyrus are, briefly, as follows. In the first part, lines 1 to 5, we have the usual designation of the epoch, or reign, and the names and titles of the sovereigns in whose time the instrument was executed, which were requisite, to give it the proper formalities; just as the deeds of land in England and this country used anciently to begin with a recital of the king's reign, and a designation of his titles, &c. After the introductory recital, from line 6 to 13, we have the formal statement of the contract, the names of the parties, and, — what is very remarkable, — descriptions of their *persons*, just as they would be given in a modern passport of a traveller in the different countries of Europe.

We have made the following copy, principally from that given by Professor Boeckh, but with the subsequent emendations of Dr. Young and Professor Buttmann; the latter of whom has particularly elucidated the certificate of registry, by a comparison of it with one of the same kind found on another papyrus, the body of which is written in the national language of the Egyptians, while the certificate itself is in that of their Greek masters.

In the following copy, the *figures* in parentheses designate the lines of the original manuscript; and the Greek words in brackets, are the different readings of Dr. Young, whose translation we have generally followed.*

* See Young's *Account of some Recent Discoveries in Hieroglyphical Literature and Egyptian Antiquities*, &c., 8vo. London, 1823,— a work, by the way, written in too much haste and under too great agitation, to do justice to the eminent author's well founded claims.

Original Greek Conveyance of a Piece of Land in Thebes.

(1) Βασιλευόντων Κλεοπάτρας καὶ Πτολεμαίου υἱοῦ τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου Ἀλεξάνδρου, θεῶν Φιλομητόρων Σωτήρων, ἔτους ΙΒ τοῦ καὶ Θ, ἐφ' ἱερέως τοῦ ὄντος (2) ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν Σωτήρων καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν καὶ θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων καὶ θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶν καὶ θεοῦ (3) Φιλομήτορος καὶ θεοῦ Εὐπάτορος καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν, ἀθλοφόρου Βερενίκης Εὐεργέτιδος, κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου καὶ θεᾶς [ἱερειας], Ἀρσινόης (4) Εὐπάτορος τῶν ὄντων ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἐν δὲ Πτολεμαΐδι τῆς Θηβαΐδος ἐφ' ἱερέων Πτολεμαίου, τοῦ μὲν Σωτῆρος, τῶν ὄντων καὶ οὐσῶν (5) ἐν Πτολεμαΐδι, μηνὸς Τυβὶ ΚΘ, ἐπ' Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ πρὸς τῇ ἀγορανομίᾳ τὸν μῆνα [μ̄ε̄] ἐπὶ τῆς ψιλοτοπαρχίας τοῦ Ταθυρίτου [Παθυρίτου].

(6) Ἀπίδοτο Παμώνθης, ωσημεμες [ὡς L ΜΕ μέσος], μελάνχρως, καλὸς, τὸ σῶμα μακρὸς [φαλακρὸς], στρογγυλοπρόσωπος, εὐθύριν, καὶ Ἐναχομνεὺς [Σναχομνεὺς], ωσηκμεσος [ὡς LΚ μέσος], μελίχρως (7) καὶ οὗτος στρογγυλοπρόσωπος, εὐθύριν, καὶ Σέμμουθις Περσινῆ, ωσηκβμετηῖ [ὡς LΚΒ μέση], μελίχρως, στρογγυλοπρόσωπος, ἐπίσιμος φύσκη [ἔνσιμος ἡσυχῇ] καὶ Μελὺτ [Ταθλὺτ] (8) Περσινῆ, ωσημεμτηῖ [ὡς LΛ μέση], μελίχρως, στρογγυλοπρόσωπος, εὐθύριν, μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἑαυτῶν Παμώνθου τοῦ συναποδομένου οἱ τέσσαρες (9) τῶν πεπωλιτοσῶν [πεπεψωιτος τῶν] ἓκ τῶν Μεμνονέων σκυτέων, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ ἀπὸ νότου μέρει Μεμνονέων . . . . [πλακο"υ"ς] (10) ψιλοῦ τόπου πήχεις ΕΝ περιτονῆ [ἓν τέταρτον ἡ] Γείτονες, νότου ῥύμη βασιλικὴ, βορρᾶ καὶ ἀπηλιώτου Παμώνθου καὶ Βοκὼ Ἕρμιος [Βοκονσιήμιος] ἀδελφὸς (11) καὶ κοινὸς πόλεως [τοιχὸς] λιβὸς οἰκία Τέφιτος [Τάγητος] τοῦ Χαλόμν [Χαλόμη] ῥεούσης ἀνάμεσον διαφ. εις.. ανωϊν [δ῀ φερούσης ἀπὸ τοῦ, πᾱ.], Γείτονες πάντοθεν. Ἐπρίατο Νεχούτης (12) Μικρὸς Ἄσωτος, ωσημεμες [ὡς LM μέσος], μελίχρως, τερπνὸς, μακροπρόσωπος, ἐυθύριν, οὐλὴ μετώπῳ μίσῳ, χαλκοῦ νομίσματος ΧΑ. Πρωτωληται καὶ (13) βεβαιωται τῶν κατὰ τὴν ὠνὴν ταύτην οἱ ἀποδόμενοι. ἐνδείξατο Νεχούτης ὁ πριάμενος.

Ἀπολ. Κ. Ἀγ῀ρ.

Translation.

(1) IN THE REIGN of Cleopatra and Ptolemy her son surnamed Alexander, the gods Philometores Soteres, in the year XII, otherwise IX, in the priesthood of the existing priests (2) in Alexandria [the priest] of Alexander, and of the gods Soteres, and of the gods Adelphi, and of the gods Evergetæ, and of the gods Philopatores, and of the gods Epiphanes, (3) and of the god Philometor, and of the god Eupator, and of the gods Evergetæ; the Prize-bearer of Berenice Evergetis, the Basket-bearer of Arsinoe Philadelphus and (4) the priestess of Arsinoe Eupator in Alexandria; and in the Thebaic Ptolemais, in the priesthood of the existing priests and priestesses of Ptolemy Soter, (5) in Ptolemais; on the 29th of the month Tybi,* and under Apollonius, presiding over the Market (or Exchange) of the Memnonians, and of the lower government of the Tathyritic [Pathyritic] nome (or district).

(6) PAMONTHES, aged about 45, of middle stature, dark complexion, handsome person, bald, round-faced and straight-nosed; and ENACHOMNEUS,† aged about 20 years, (7) of middle size, yellow complexion, likewise round-faced and straight-nosed; and SEMMUTHIS Persinei, aged about 22 years, of middle size, yellow complexion, round-faced, flat-nosed, and of quiet demeanor; and MELYT‡ (8) Persinei, aged about 30 years, of middle size, yellow complexion, round-faced and straight-nosed, together with their principal, or master, Pamonthes, a party in the sale, the four (9) being children of Petepsais, one of the leather workers of the Memnoneia — HAVE SOLD out of the piece of land belonging to them in the southern part of the Memnoneia, (10) eight thousand cubits of vacant ground, one fourth part of the whole. The bounds are, on the south by the Royal Street, on the north and east by the land of Pamonthes and Bokon of Hermis,§ his brother, and the common land of the city; on the west by the house of Tephis,‖ the son of Chalomn; a canal running through the middle, leading from the river; these are the abutters on all sides. NECHUTES the Less, the son of Asos, aged about 40 years, of middle stature, yellow complexion, cheerful countenance, long face, and straight nose, with a scar upon the middle of his forehead — HAS BOUGHT the same for one talent of brass [or copper] money. The vendors being the acting salesmen [or brokers], and warrantors of the sale; Nechutes, the purchaser, has accepted the same. APOLLONIUS, Pr. Exch. [?]

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* According to Prof. Boeckh, this day of the fifth Egyptian month corresponded to the 13th of February, of the year before Christ, 104. The Egyptian months were as follows;

1. Thoth, beginning	Sept. 18.	4. Choiak, beginning	Dec. 17.	7. Phamenoth, beginning	Mar. 17.	10. Payni, beginning	June 15.
2. Phaophi, "	Oct. 18.	5. Tybi, "	Jan. 16.	8. Pharmuthi, "	Apr. 16.	11. Epiphi, "	July 15.
3. Athyr, "	Nov. 17.	6. Mechir, "	Feb. 15.	9. Pachon, "	May 16.	12. Mesori, "	Aug. 14.

† *Snachomneus*, according to Dr. Young. ‡ *Tathlyt*, according to Young. § *Boconsiemis*, according to Young. ‖ *Tages*. Young.

Certificate of Registry.

(1) "Ετους Ι τοῦ καὶ Θ Φαρμοῦθι Κ ... ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν Ἑρμῶν (2) τράπεζαν, ἐφ' ἧς Διονύσιος, δεκάτης ἐγκυκλίου, κατὰ διαγραφὴν Χωτελῶνου, ὑφ' ἣν (3) ὑπογράφει Ἡρακλείδης ἀντιγραφεὺς τελώνης (4) Νεχούτης Μικρὸς "Ασωτος ψιλὸν τόπον (5) πήχεις ΕΝ ... τὸν ἐν τῷ ἀπὸ νότου μέρει (6) Μεμνονέων, ὃν ἐωνήσατο παρὰ (7) Παμώνθης, τοῦ καὶ Ἐναχομνέως (8) (ἐπιγεγράψαντος) σὺν ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς, (9) χαλκοῦ ταλ. ά, τέλος χ'.

Διονύσιος τραπεζίτης.

Translation.

In the year xii, otherwise ix, on the 20th of the month Pharmuthi,* at the Board in Hermonthis,† at which Dionysius is officer for the usual duty [or tax] of the tenth — according to the official statement of [Cho ?] the collecting officer, which Heraclides the certifying clerk has subscribed — Nechutes the Less, son of Asos, [has] a piece of vacant land of eight thousand cubits, on the southern part of the Memnoneia, which he bought of Pamonthes and Enachomneus signing with their sisters; for one talent of brass (or copper) money. The duty, 600 [drachmæ.]

DIONYSIUS, Officer of the Board.

* May 8th.
† Hermopolis. *Young.*

We subjoin but two or three explanatory remarks, abridged from Dr. Young's publication. The preamble may be illustrated by that of the Rosetta Stone; in which the reigning sovereigns, with their various epithets, are described in a similar manner. The double date is well known to have been adopted by Cleopatra and Alexander; and its origin is sufficiently explained by Eusebius and Porphyry. Professor Boeckh makes it the year 104 B. C.; but from a comparison of different authorities, it seemed to Dr. Young more probable that it was 106 B. C.; which conclusion he arrived at from a comparison of the chronologies of Porphyry, Champollion Figeac, and Saint Martin.

Such are the contents of this remarkable juridical document, so far as the state of the original text enables us at present to determine its meaning with precision; and, in this respect, we may add, that there are very few places in it where the reading is not perfectly ascertained, by a comparison of it with two or three others of the kind. When a few more papyri of this class shall be critically examined, there can be no doubt that they will so elucidate each other, as to leave no uncertainty remaining. For, as Dr. Young justly observes, "It is scarcely conceivable, by a person who has not made the experiment, how much the difficulty of reading a depraved character is almost universally diminished by the comparison of two or three copies of the same or of similar passages; the words, which would be wholly unintelligible in either, taken singly, being often very easily legible when both are at once under the eye; and, still more commonly, a word, which is confused or contracted in one, being written clearly or at length in another." *

In this place, by the way, we cannot avoid noticing a remark made in a late useful English work, which excites our surprise, and at the same time forebodes, that we must (we are sorry to say it) look to some other country than England for the further elucidations above anticipated. The work we refer to is, the account of the Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum, published in the year 1836, under the patronage of the well known London Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and forming a part of the collection called the "Library of Entertaining Knowledge." The re-

* Young's *Discoveries in Hieroglyphical Literature*, p. 63.

mark we allude to is this: the author says, "The *only* Greek copy which we have seen of this curious document, [the instrument under our consideration,] is in Dr. Young's book"! So that the revised text by M. Jomard, in Paris, the important emendations of Buttmann, in Berlin, and the critical discussions of the German and French scholars, though published many years before, appear to have been inaccessible to this English writer; who, in candor, we must admit, is not deficient in cleverness, and has claims to scholarship; though it cannot be denied, that he has suffered some of his Greek to be printed with a degree of carelessness, that would not be tolerated on the *continent* of Europe, in a work published under the authority of any respectable name.

The subject of this article would afford occasion for much discussion, both critical and juridical; but that would probably lead us into details of a professional or technical nature, for which our readers generally would not thank us. We will therefore only add, for the information of those persons, who take an interest in these inquiries, that, by a most extraordinary coincidence, after the discovery of the Egyptian deed which has been the subject of this article, a papyrus was found containing the record of a *law-suit* before an Egyptian tribunal, in which reference is made to several title deeds; by one of which, Asos, the father of the defendants Nechutes and Asos, with *Nechutes the younger*, (the purchaser in our present deed,) bought the land which was in litigation; and the reader will find, to his astonishment, that two, if not three of the very title deeds referred to in that trial, are still preserved, and are in the possession of an individual in England, (George F. Grey, Esq.) who purchased them of an Arab at Thebes, in January, 1820! Surely, this is an age of wonders.*

* *Dixon's Transferring Process.*—This great and invaluable improvement in the lithographic art, was originally announced in the following notice, published in the "Salem Gazette" of May 25th, 1832, which we now have before us. *Seven years afterwards*, (1839), a process apparently similar in its results, though we do not yet know the details of it, was announced as a new discovery, in *France;* which attracted the notice of the Royal Family and men of science in Paris, and was made the express occasion of their attending an exhibition of it, under the direction of the *French* inventor. It is due to the reputation of our own country, that our claim to the origin of this noble invention, at the date we have mentioned, should be established; and we, therefore, re-publish here the original announcement of it, as follows:

"We saw yesterday some fine specimens of lithographic printing, executed in this town, at the lithographic establishment of Colonel Peabody and

ART. III. — *Observations on the Financial Position and Credit of such of the States of the North American Union as have contracted Public Debts; comprising an Account of the Manner in which the Sums raised by each State have been applied, and a Consideration of the Probable Effects of such Application upon the General Wealth and Prosperity of the Country.* By ALEXANDER TROTTER, Esq. London. 1839. 8vo. pp. 455.

THE title of this book fully describes its object. One of the most remarkable consequences of the very complicated system of government which distinguishes this country from all others is, the great difficulty experienced at every step in acquiring information respecting all its parts. There is so little tendency to centralization in the United States, that it is questionable whether, excluding the small number of official persons at Washington, obliged in the course of their duties to look equally round, many individuals can be found who possess that knowledge respecting the portions of their own country remote from them, which should belong to men claiming to be tolerably well informed. Great numbers of the better educated classes are more acquainted with the state of Europe than with that of America. The West knows

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Mr. Dixon, by an entirely new process; and we are informed by the inventors, that it was the result of a number of experiments made by them, for the purpose of ascertaining the reality of the security afforded to our moneyed institutions by Perkins's stereotype plates. The conclusion is, that they afford not the slightest protection against counterfeits, as it has been repeatedly demonstrated that a perfect fac-simile can be transferred from any bank-bill, in the short space of half an hour, and, when the transfer is once made, any number of copies can be taken.

"The specimens of printing now before us, transferred by the new process, are so perfect, that, as we compare them with the originals, we can perceive little or no difference, although the originals are perfectly dry, and were printed in the usual manner. We are aware that transfers are frequently made in common lithography, but it is only from recent prints, and with a peculiar ink. But in the mode invented by our townsmen, it is of no consequence how old the printing may be.

"According to the representations made to us, which appear to be borne out by facts, this appears a valuable acquisition to the arts. Printed despatches, received by mail or from foreign places, can be distributed by this process, without regard to size, form of type, or language, in less than an hour. Books, also, which have many plates, it is stated to us, can be reprinted at an expense much below the present cost.

"We are assured that the invention is to be given to the public, as soon as the banks can be made secure, by the adoption of a method of which Colonel Peabody and Mr. Dixon are the patentees, which will put their notes beyond the power of lithography to counterfeit."

very little of the East, and in that little prejudice has a greater sway than the desire for truth. On the other hand, the East is almost as indifferent about exactness respecting the West, considering it in such a perpetual state of change as to baffle every hope of arriving at fixed ideas. The local matters, that interest any one State, seldom make themselves felt far beyond its limits ; and nothing but a Presidential election has force enough to inspire an adequate idea, in the general mind, even of the relative political power of the different members of the Union.

If the truth of these remarks should be doubted in some points, we think it will be generally conceded when we limit them to the financial questions which arise in the States. It is but very lately that these, in their separate capacity, have come forward as dealers in money, and few persons who are not themselves engaged in the same business have yet formed adequate notions of the extent to which they have gone. Mr. Trotter will, in all probability, be able to furnish many with particulars that will surprise them. Although a foreigner, he has collected, with great industry, facts not generally understood by natives of this country. In consequence of the applications for loans, that are perpetually making by the States to the capitalists of Europe, and particularly of London, an obvious necessity arises for the information essential to estimate properly the ability of the respective applicants to fulfil the engagements they are disposed to make. Hitherto, it would certainly seem as if a suitable degree of attention had not been paid to the duty of collecting this, and as if money had been advanced at hap-hazard, with more reference to the tempting nature of the terms offered, than to the resources of the parties offering them. It is high time that this mode of proceeding should be changed ; for it will inevitably lead to disappointment upon one side, and irritation upon both. The more usurious a contract is, the more oppressive it will be felt by the borrower ; and, if ultimately there should be found an unwillingness to comply with its conditions, amounting in fact to inability, the greater will be the disposition to seek in the severity of those conditions an excuse for non-performance. This is the nature of man whether taken individually or in society ; and when we hear of some of the agreements which have been made in London, it is, we confess, with no small surprise, that we perceive how far the ordi-

narily shrewd and careful citizens of that great metropolis appear to have overlooked or forgotten it.

Nineteen States out of the twenty-six, and one Territory, have authorized the contracting of a debt, which in the aggregate may now be estimated as equal to two hundred millions of dollars. A very large part of this is actually due to foreigners, and consequently subjects the country to a heavy annual drain of money in the form of interest, which must, in most cases, be remitted to Europe at the hazard and expense of the borrowers. It is, therefore, highly incumbent upon every citizen of the United States, if he does not now know, directly to set about understanding, what he has got to represent the debt thus created, and how far his industry and his capital have been assisted or hazarded by the mode in which the money raised has been spent. The work of Mr. Trotter is very well calculated to aid him in his investigation; for, although not in itself pretending to be perfect, nor yet embracing many items which the passage of time has already added to the list to be learned, it nevertheless furnishes, in a small compass, a more complete notion of the most essential facts than any which it has been our fortune hitherto to meet with.

The first chapters are devoted to a general view of the financial history of the Union, involving a sketch of the most disputed political questions of the day. They embrace also some account of the resources of the soil, of the products of the different sections of the country, and of the advantages and disadvantages believed to attend them, the operation of slavery on one side, and the barrenness of the land on the other, and the general tendency of the credit system. All these are unquestionably important elements in the consideration of the financial position of the States. But it is obvious, that, unless they are touched upon in the slight and cursory way of the author, they would each of them furnish the materials for a book as large as his. We cannot venture to follow him in the estimates which he makes of them, nor to give our reasons where we disagree with him in opinion. After all, every mind will make a scale for itself, according to the impressions it has heretofore received, and this will not be liable to modification by the force of mere abstract reasoning. The author has acted very judiciously in submitting only the facts and his own impressions, without pretending to decide upon any thing.

The fifth chapter displays the immediate object of the

book. The author here begins with a notice of the important difference which exists between the creation of loans for the purpose of increasing the productiveness of a country, and that where mere consumption is intended. This distinction is always made in the relations between private individuals, and materially affects the degree of credit given to one person over another ; but it has not been customary to apply it in the same manner to nations. Perhaps this may be owing to the fact, that borrowing money by a State for investment is an idea peculiarly American, and another ramification of the system of credit, for the extension of which we are so remarkable. However this may be, the fact is too important to be lost sight of in an estimate of the resources of a borrowing party ; for it cannot be doubted, that a debtor will be more able to repay the money he has borrowed, if he has invested it in some shape that may return a part, even admitting that it may be but a small part, than if he had spent it without leaving himself any thing at all to show in its stead.

After all, however, the great test will be in the application, judicious or otherwise, of the means thus obtained ; and by this must our borrowing States be tried. It is important to know exactly what has been gained in exchange for the money ; and if we find that the object acquired is in reality more than an equivalent, then is the position of a State benefited by the loan she has made, and her credit is strengthened ; but, on the other hand, if we find that there is no great probability of a return proportionate to the outlay, or that some other undertaking is reasonably likely to impair or destroy the fair promise before full performance, then has the borrowing of money been a positive disadvantage, and the credit of the borrower is diminished.

Of the large amount that has been borrowed within a few years by the States, considerably more than half has been expended in works of internal improvement, such as canals, railways, turnpike roads, &c. ; the rest has been made the basis of banking institutions. The first mode of appropriation has been that most generally adopted in the free States of the Union ; the second has been confined in a great degree, though not entirely, to the slave-holding States. Both of them have been productive of very important immediate effects upon the industry of the community. Yet it remains to be seen, whether the disadvantages that may be experienced hereafter from the manner in which the works have been carried on,

will not require a great deduction from the benefits derived. There was, no doubt, much weight in the objections made to the adoption of the policy of internal improvements by the national government, when it was agitated. The principal ones were, that the system could not be carried on with a proper regard to economy, and that it would be the means of creating an army of dependents upon the administration, whose votes could be influenced to settle the popular elections. There were other arguments drawn from the jealousy of encroachment upon State rights, which showed more narrowness of mind, than solidity of judgment or comprehensiveness of policy ; we therefore do not state them. Of the two objections enumerated, the first appears to us to have been far the stronger. The tendency of the members of our national legislature to regard measures rather in the light of instruments with which to advance their popularity within their districts at home, than as modes of promoting the general prosperity, would inevitably have given rise to much contention, and to the proposal of many schemes of no great national benefit, the adoption of which it would nevertheless have been difficult successfully to resist. And the execution of the system might have made an opening to much favoritism and jobbing, which would have put the country to great expense with little benefit.

Admitting these objections to a national system of internal improvements to have very great weight, it is nevertheless much to be doubted whether those, which lie against the one adopted as a substitute for it, do not more than counterbalance them. In the first place, the tendency to improvements of a local and wholly useless character, instead of being counteracted by the separate action of the States, has been infinitely increased. The competition, from being between great sections of country, the West, the East, the South, and the North, as it was in Congress, has been between the several States, and in some cases has degenerated into a contest between the different counties in the same State. In addition to this, there has been no system adopted to make the works executed conduce to the common benefit. The utter want of general plan has led to a hurtful emulation, by which each State strives to secure to itself whatever it may gain from its neighbour, and this at a constant expense of new undertakings to divert trade from one point and to another, which, if carried on, must in the end absorb all the profits

attending even the most judiciously executed ones. There can be little hope of permanent profit in any one quarter, where success becomes the signal for new efforts in others to diminish if not to destroy it. Moreover, the extraordinary expense at which all this is carried on by the States would have covered a great many fat jobs given to favorites of the national government, even if we are to suppose that such things do not also sometimes happen with the States themselves. Most of the money which has been raised to pay for these State undertakings, has been borrowed upon terms much less advantageous than it would have been, had the United States been the applicant. The wealthy capitalists of Europe who would have been glad to advance to the national government the whole sum, which has been actually procured, at a very low rate of profit, on account of the general confidence in the security of the loan, have been induced to do the same thing to the separate States only by extraordinary appeals to their avarice, and by the offer to them of terms, which, in many cases, if they had been made in private among individuals at home, would have been reckoned to be highly usurious.

On the whole, therefore, if we strike the balance between centralism and consolidation on the one side, and State pride on the other, we shall perhaps discover that the latter, however good in itself, is apt, when carried to an extreme, to prove, like all other pride, equally expensive and inconvenient. And we may also find, that the very moment, when it appears to have most firmly established its preponderance in the national councils, is the one from which the heaviest counterpoise begins to make itself felt. The Americans are proverbial for never being discouraged. If they cannot carry a point directly, they will manage to do it by some roundabout way. They were determined upon improving the communications between the seaboard and the interior. A very large number of them thought it best that this work should be done under the superintendence of a common head, and they proposed a method of action accordingly. But the extent of it excited the apprehensions of a still greater number, and these refused to adopt it. According to them, the business could be intrusted with safety only to the care of the separate States, upon whom it was in the end devolved. The consequence has been the outlay of quite as much money, if not a great deal more, than would have been expended on the other plan, the creation of a great many more works of doubtful utility

than could have been carried through under the jealous eyes of the national legislature, and the establishment of an enormous debt, which the States, as such, will find it difficult, — as to a few of them, it is not hazarding too much to say, impossible, — ever to pay. And, after all, it is not improbable that Hercules will be obliged ultimately to put his shoulder to the wheel, or they will sink beyond the hope of extrication.

We have given this short chapter for the benefit of the school of strict construction, although at the expense of a little digression. We mean by it to show of how little avail is the resistance of any human power, when directed to check the developement of a country like this. The course of events will, far more unerringly than man can do, distinguish the statesman from the small politicians who may have made a figure in their day; and posterity will take care to award to each, provided it shall stop to recollect the names of the latter, the share of credit which his good acts alone shall have earned for him.

The policy of borrowing money for the sake of establishing banks, appears to have originated in the State of Louisiana, where there is a sufficient inducement existing for so singular an undertaking in the great profits that can be drawn from the use of it. This establishes a rate of interest much higher than can be safely borne in older countries. The mode in which this system has been carried into effect is, however, but imperfectly understood among us. We will, therefore, take from the work of Mr. Trotter, now before us, the clear and simple account he gives of it.

"The cases in which the State is co-proprietor in a bank are very numerous; and while this system, as we have seen, affords a greater degree of security to the holder of the State's engagements, the benefits which the State derives from it are very considerable.

"The Bank of Louisiana was one of the earliest institutions of this nature, and its charter seems to have served as a model for similar establishments in other States; for this reason, and on account of its having now been sufficiently long in operation to have presented several interesting results, some details may be entered into, as illustrative of the general proceedings of banks founded on this principle. This bank was established by an act, which was finally approved of by the legislature on the 10th of April, 1824, and soon afterwards commenced business; the charter extends to 1870. The capital consisted of $4,000,000, of which one half was subscribed by the State,

and paid for by an issue of bonds bearing interest at 5 per cent.; the remaining half was subscribed by individuals, and was to be paid for in specie, although the enforcement of this provision was afterwards relaxed. The credit of the State being then untried, the bonds were only received at the rate of 83⅓ per cent. of their nominal amount, so that bonds for $2,400,000 were given as the State's subscription, which were to be redeemed in equal portions at the end of ten, fifteen, twenty, and twenty-five years from the date of the act; the bonds were not to be sold by the bank otherwise than for specie, and not below the rate at which they received them; the bank was allowed to appoint the place where the half-yearly interest was to be paid; but any additional charge, loss on exchange, or other expenses which might be consequent upon the payment at any other place than New Orleans, were to be defrayed by the bank.*

"The faith of the State was pledged for the payment of the principal and interest of the bonds, but, so long as the share of the State in the profits of the bank was more than sufficient to pay the interest, the payment was to be made by the bank, and the surplus was to be retained under the joint administration of the treasurer of the State and the officers of the bank, to constitute a sinking fund for the redemption of the principal; and it was enacted that, until the full liquidation of the first series of $600,000, no part of the surplus profits on the State's share should be otherwise appropriated than to the payment of the principal of these bonds; but, it was stipulated, that, after the redemption of this first series, one fourth part of the half-yearly dividends upon the stock held by the State might be applied towards the current expense of the government; no greater portion of the dividends, however, was to be so applied until a further sum of $600,000 had been redeemed, when one half of the dividend might be applied to the use of the State; after which no greater amount was to be applied by the State to its own use until the whole of the bonds were paid off.

"Many judicious regulations were laid down by the charter for the management of the bank, with a view both to the accommodation of the public and the security of the institution. One half of the capital was to be appropriated solely for the purpose of being lent upon notes or bonds secured by mortgages or immovable property; but no mortgages were allowed to be taken upon land not in a state of cultivation, and not

* The State bonds were sold at a profit of $322,000; but, by an engagement to pay the interest in London at the rate of 4*s.* 6*d.* per dollar, the bank loses the premium on the current rate of exchange between England and America, which will absorb nearly one half of this profit before the bonds are all repaid.

more than one half of the net value of the real property to be mortgaged, after deducting all previous mortgages or incumbrances, was, in any case, to be advanced. The rate of interest to be charged by the bank was limited to nine per cent. per annum upon loans and on discount of bills, and to six per cent. when the period did not exceed four months.

"The success of this bank has now been fairly tried; a half-yearly dividend of four per cent. has been regularly paid to the shareholder; and, at the expiration of the first ten years, the sinking fund had accumulated to a sum sufficient to effect the liquidation of the first fourth part of the loan; the second series, which becomes due in the course of this year, has in like manner been provided for, and notice has been given that it will be paid on an appointed day; for the last five years, therefore, the State has had the power of applying one fourth part of the dividends falling to its share to the general purposes of the government; and henceforward, till the remaining portion of the bonds are redeemed, it will have the disposal of one half, or four per cent. per annum, on its share of the capital. If the same prosperous course is continued, the State, at the expiration of ten years more, will have become possessed of one half of the capital of the bank, and will be in the enjoyment of the full dividend upon that share, without a single dollar having been advanced by the treasury." — pp. 92–95.

The same kind of process that is described in this extract has been adopted with more or less of modification in many of the States in the south and west of the Union. Sometimes they have only guarantied the payment of the money borrowed to form the capital of the banks, and, at others, they have become principals by assuming part or the whole of the ownership of those institutions. Of the propriety or the expediency of adopting any plan of the sort, there will be different opinions. We are not prepared to deny that it may sometimes turn out for the advantage of all the parties concerned. Our own opinion is, that successful banking does not depend upon skill in legislation, but upon the particular system of management which shall be adopted. A bank may prosper under a charter very loosely put together, and it may fail under one adapted with the utmost accuracy to the axioms of political economy. The success of the former will not, however, sustain an argument in favor of unsound principles, any more than the failure of the latter will weaken the force of sound ones. In the one case as in the other, the persons who shall have conducted the banks will have acted with little reference to the mere directions of the charters which create

them ; and the returns will generally prove to be in exact proportion to the prudence, discretion, and honesty, which shall have been exercised.

Aside from this, however, there are some very grave objections against the connexion thus formed between the States and banks, which Mr. Trotter has barely glanced at. The temptation to force large dividends without much reference to the profits made, in order to meet the interest that falls due on the bonds, is doubtless very great. But it is nothing in comparison with the errors that are likely to grow out of a wrong system of making loans. A bank is created, as in Alabama for example, upon the distinct understanding that the inhabitants of each county in the State are to be entitled to borrow on mortgage a certain amount of money bearing some proportion to its extent and population. The practical effect of this is to stimulate planters to extend their plantations upon this borrowed money beyond a safe line, and consequently to excite a spirit of competition, which for a time runs up the prices of land and negroes above the level of natural demand and supply. Presently things take an unfortunate turn ; the price of cotton falls, and no longer returns enough to pay, besides the cost of production, the interest on the mortgages ; and the bank must foreclose or go behindhand with the interest on its own bonds. Then it is, that the evil of the State's connexion with such an institution developes itself. The elections to the legislature soon come on, and in every county a party is at once organized, which is in favor of adopting any measures, however injurious they may ultimately prove, that will relieve the planters from immediate pressure. This is the fruitful parent of suspensions of specie payment, restrictions upon the bank's power to collect debts, general bankruptcy and stop laws ; — in short, of the whole train of evils that attend a connexion between avarice and unbridled ambition. We do not know whether any State in the Union has yet run through the whole circle of this experience ; but it is apparent from the work of our author, even though it does not include the history of the past year, that one or two of them are in full career to arrive at it.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature distinguishing the inhabitants of the United States from all other nations is, their disposition not to leave any plan untried, provided only that it bears a plausible shape. This is not yet fully understood by foreigners, and the mistakes they commit for want of the

knowledge often lead to injurious surmises respecting the intentions of our countrymen, that are not deserved. Enterprise and adventure are qualities much more generally developed among us, than prudence and caution. The consequence is, that an infinite number of promises made in perfectly good faith, but the performance of which depends upon a somewhat too sanguine calculation of probabilities, are destined to be broken. The moral effect of this must be admitted to be bad. It breeds an indifference to the precise terms of contracts, deeply to be regretted. Yet, although this has been for a long time regarded as a national characteristic, the fact that the credit of American citizens has never been more than temporarily impaired, goes to show, that, with much of disregard, there must be more of substantial performance, of engagements. The success which frequently attends well directed energy will more than compensate for a great deal of rashness. When we look round upon the South American States, as well as some of those in the old world, we can form a better idea of the extent to which indolence and apathy can extinguish credit. And we may discover, that, however great doubt may surround the fulfilment of the obligations of some States of this Union, there would be not a few persons glad to exchange for the most questionable of them, the best of those of other and more indolent countries.

Our author considers all these things only in a business point of view. The object of his work is to estimate the solvency of the debtor States, and he does so with fairness and candor as well as judgment. To this end he commences with Massachusetts, and goes through with them all in order, specifying in each case the nature of the debt contracted, the amount and object for which the money was borrowed, and the special provisions made for the ultimate payment, or the general resources, which, in the absence of these, may be relied upon. This is an excellent method, calculated to furnish to all who are interested in the subject, in very brief compass, the information they may want. His conclusions are highly favorable to the credit of Massachusetts and New York ; but, as the financial condition of those States is generally better understood than that of the others, we abstain from discussing it. As to Pennsylvania, he sums up the amount of her liabilities as follows ;

"The public debt, and the engagements of this State, according to the last annual report on the finances of the Com-

monwealth, consisted, at the close of the fiscal year, on the 31st of October, 1838, of

Loans not pertaining to canals and railroads,		$1,680,000·00
Loan for the Eastern Penitentiary, per act 21st March, 1834,		120,000·00
Loan for the Union Canal Company, per act 1st March, 1833,		200,000·00
Temporary loan, per act 16th June, 1836,		200,000·00
Ditto, per act 14th April, 1838,		800,000·00
Appropriations to miscellaneous objects; viz.		
For Turnpike and State roads,	$69,302·72	
Bridges,	82,512·50	
Colleges, Academies, &c.	525,000·00	
Common Schools,	616,511·61	
Penitentiaries,	21,314·98	
Miscellaneous, viz.		
Geological Survey, &c.	231,088·05	
		1,545,729·86
Appropriations for internal improvements,		532,057·01
Debts pertaining to public improvements by canals and railroads,		22,229,003·32
Debt due to the United States on account of surplus revenue,		2,867,514·78
Total,		$30,174,304·97

"The faith of the State is also pledged for $300,000·00 to the Pottsville and Danville Railroad Company, and for the payment of the interest on $200,000·00 of the stock of the Bald Eagle and Spring Creek Navigation Company.

"The temporary loans contracted in June, 1836, and in April, 1838, amounting to one million of dollars, and a portion of the canal debt, making in all $1,694,000·00, have however either become payable since the date of the report, or will be due in the course of the present fiscal year. The repayment of these sums will lessen to that extent the liabilities of the State; but on the other hand, two loans amounting to $2,480,000·00 have since been contracted, (under an act of the 26th of January, 1839,) and another of $1,150,000 has been authorized by the legislature, (by act 27th June, 1839,) which will add so much to the amount. Deducting and adding these sums respectively, the debt will be increased on balance, to $32,110,304·97.

"As, however, the excess of the sums thus raised, over the amount of the loans falling due will, together with the ordinary revenue of the State, provide for the portion of the appropriations likely to be immediately called for, and as the revenue of the State will, it is supposed, be sufficient to meet the remaining

appropriations as the several sums may be required, the whole of the liabilities under the head of appropriations ought, in considering the future prospects of the State, to be deducted from this amount.

"The portion of the surplus revenue received by the State ought not either, under the prevailing notions entertained upon the subject by the other States of the Union, to be considered in the light of a debt; if this amount be likewise deducted, the sum forming the permanent debt of the State will be $27,165,003·32."

We believe this amount has been considerably increased within the present year, as well to finish some works partially executed, as to pay the interest upon the old debt. At the same time, this ruinous expedient of compounding interest has been stopped for the future by the passage of a law for levying a direct tax. The author proceeds to explain the nature of the improvements which have absorbed so vast a sum. Of the probability whether they will ever yield sufficient to pay the interest on the debt, he does not undertake to express an opinion; but, inasmuch as it is provided that the deficiency shall be taken from the treasury, he considers the point of no consequence to the creditors. The debt seems therefore to him to be perfectly secure, as, to use his own words, "the great wealth of the State appears to offer a sufficient guaranty that its public credit may be maintained at an easy cost to the inhabitants."

There can be no doubt that this is true. But, in a country like ours, where so much depends upon the popular opinion, the question with a creditor should never be what the ability to pay is, so exclusively as to lose sight of the inconvenience and burdensome nature of a tax levied to pay it. A disposition to comply with engagements to a reasonable extent may be relied upon; but, in moments of distress, when the resources of the people are shortened, it is not to be expected of human nature that they will not complain, and there will then always arise men of a demagogue spirit, who will, for the sake of advancing themselves, give a distinct voice to the secret wishes of all. We do not desire to be understood as saying that this will happen under any circumstances like the present, or in a very short time; but we throw out the suggestion as worthy to be considered by all those persons at home or abroad, by whom the present work may be retained as a guide. Pennsylvania has carried her system of inter-

nal improvement a little further than would seem altogether prudent, considering the temper of her population; but, on the other hand, she has great resources within herself, the developement of which will, whenever the debt ceases to be enlarged, very soon provide for its extinguishment.

We very much fear that the engagements into which the State of Maryland has entered will prove much more burdensome. The amount of the debt authorized by her is stated by our author to be equal to the sum of $16,160,667·00, which, estimating the free white population of that State at about 375,000, is equal to $43 per head. As a set-off, she holds a property in various canals and railroads, some of which have already proved profitable, and are now doubtless worth more than they cost; but of others it may be questioned whether they will soon, if ever, cease to be a burden. If she should be driven to resort to direct taxes to meet the interest accruing upon her debt, they will fall upon a population, in some portions of the State already from other causes on the decline, and upon lands which the cultivation of tobacco has gone very far to exhaust. Emigration to the new and fertile regions in the West is so easy an alternative, that the presence of a tax-gatherer would doubtless decide many to the complete abandonment of their lands. This expedient must obviously be adopted with a great deal of caution. The individuals to whom the government of the State is now intrusted have a great responsibility, for upon them will depend, in a great degree, her extrication in safety from the embarrassments in which she is involved. We would by no means desire to intimate any thing, which should have the slightest effect to impair the credit which this State has enjoyed; but it is impossible for calm observers not to be startled by the magnitude of the sums for which our author shows she has made herself liable, and the unfavorable condition of the annual account of her treasury. Neither does it need any spirit of prophecy to show to what end, unless there is an energetic change of policy, these two things must inevitably lead.

The debt authorized by the State of Louisiana is set down by Mr. Trotter at $23,139,000·00, which is far greater, in proportion to the probable number of free white inhabitants, than that of Maryland. Nearly the whole of the amount thus raised has been made the basis of banking operations in New Orleans. It is consequently very clear, that the prosperity

of that State will very much depend upon the prudence and skill exercised by the banks. A large proportion of the lands in the State are mortgaged to secure the ultimate payment of the sums borrowed of these institutions by the planters. Hence any misfortune, which should make industry cease to be profitable in Louisiana, would have the effect of making most of the territory revert into the hands of the State. How this may happen, we can best learn from the pages of our author.

"Besides the instances in which the State is either the sole owner or the co-proprietor of the institutions which have arisen out of the application of the public funds to banking purposes, there are other cases in which the States assist by their credit, without deriving any direct advantage beyond reserving a power, under the act which incorporates the bank, of taxing the dividends, or requiring a payment for the privileges granted in the charter, although sometimes the State stipulates for an eventual share of the profits in consideration of its guaranty. The mode of putting the banks thus constituted into operation is not necessarily in all cases the same; but, in general, the property of the individuals who embark in the undertaking is mortgaged in the first instance to the bank, which pledges the mortgages so obtained to the State; and the State, on the actual deposite of the title-deeds, issues its bonds to the bank for a stipulated proportion of the amount, by the sale of which the capital is either wholly or in part raised. The State stipulates, in almost all cases, for the right of examining into the condition and management of the bank; and, as the value of the property mortgaged is ascertained by the appraisement upon oath of commissioners appointed by the legislature, whose appraisement is often again subjected to revision, the system seems to offer a considerable security to the holder of the State's bonds, and one which is constantly increasing; for, in a country progressively improving, the property thus pledged must every year acquire a greater value. In some instances, the State further requires, that the whole profits of the establishment should be set aside until the bonds issued by the State are redeemed."

The banks created in this manner are called *Property Banks*, and are peculiar to the Southern States of the Union. We shall not pretend to pass any judgment upon them. After all, as we observed in the early part of our article, every thing depends upon the management. Yet, if we consult the abstract principles of political economy, fortified by the experience of the past, we shall hardly find land to be a solid

basis for bank operations, or the province of the banker to be to deal in money no part of which he owns. We in America have to say, in answer to all such objections, what Molière's "Médecin malgré lui" said to an inconvenient contradiction of his anatomical theory, "Cela était autrefois ainsi ; mais nous avons changé tout cela, et nous faisons maintenant la médecine d'une méthode toute nouvelle." We doubt whether a patient would ever survive medical treatment based upon the position that his heart was on the right side ; but the case is not parallel with that of a young State, which may strike out a novel path for itself and be prosperous notwithstanding.

We will now pass to the States in the West, which have borrowed a little of the policy of their neighbours in both of the other sections of the Union. They have raised money with which to create banks, and also money for internal improvements. The State of Illinois has authorized a stock of $3,000,000 for the first of these purposes, and $8,600,000 for the second. But our author has found it difficult to collect exact information respecting the manner in which either portion of this large sum has been employed. Some particulars have been supplied in the last number of this Journal,* which furnish a clear idea of the evils attending the system of internal improvements when carried on by the States. Illinois has commenced many things and executed nothing. She has borrowed just enough, to make it an absolute necessity that the debt should be greatly enlarged in order that she may realize any advantage at all from the money already obtained. She has rushed into banking with extravagant expectations of the profits to be realized from it, the usual forerunner of errors in policy. We perceive that the suspended debt of her banks is already equal to $637,509·77. And she has bribed the dissatisfied counties to consent to a series of railroads and canals, which must infallibly entail upon them a burden of taxation far heavier in the end, than the sum which they received as a consideration. It is, however, much too early to predict what the end of all this will be. There is now little prospect of any revival of the credit which was so liberally extended to the States in Europe a short time since. Every dollar of money to be raised hereafter in this way, with very few exceptions, will be realized, if at all, at an enormous sacrifice. The consequence must be, that the works will lag on

* See pp. 133 *et seq.* of this Volume.

heavily, and the interest running on the existing debt will require means, the providing of which will furnish a fine opportunity for the developement of financial talent in America.

Even the young States of Arkansas and Michigan, and the still younger Territory of Florida, appear to have rushed headlong into this debt-creating system. The first of these has authorized the issue of six per cent. bonds, to the extent of $3,100,000 for the purpose of establishing two banks, the Bank of the State of Arkansas with a capital of $1,000,000, and the Real Estate Bank for which $2,100,000 are to be raised. The credit of the State does not appear to have been very strong; for few of its bonds were taken up, until the United States government thought proper to invest $800,000, including nearly the whole of the Smithson fund, in the purchase of them. We allude to this more particularly on account of the following note of Mr. Trotter, at the foot of page 337.

"The United States government became the purchaser of both the sums of stock issued on account of this bank, $100,000 having been purchased on account of the commissioners of Indian affairs, and $200,000 on account of the Chickasaw Orphan fund. A further purchase of $500,000 Arkansas stock has been made by the federal government since the account in the Appendix was rendered, but in which loan does not appear. This was the investment of a legacy to the United States, left by Mr. James Smithson of London, to found a literary institution at Washington. These instances afford a proof of the estimation in which the security of State stock is held in America."

Now we must venture to deny the truth of the assertion made in the last sentence. It is no proof of the estimation in which stock is held in America, that bonds which cannot be sold elsewhere at par should be taken by the Secretary of the Treasury. It only proves the opinion of the Secretary himself. We believe there are few persons at all well informed upon financial matters in the United States, who did not learn with surprise the manner in which the Smithson fund had been invested, and a still smaller number, who would not have loudly protested against it, if it was not generally understood that the nation regarded that fund in the light of a sacred trust, which no financial error should be permitted to diminish, or State embarrassments impair. Neither in saying this do we mean to injure the credit of Arkansas. She

should have been made to take her chance in the market with all her sisters, without being favored with the deposit of a sum, which ought to have been secured by all the capital and industry of the oldest and most wealthy of them. We think it important that Mr. Trotter should not mislead his European readers, or himself, by the inference which he has drawn in this instance. For his experience should by this time have taught him, that the acts of the financial head of the national government in the United States are not in all cases the safest guide to the opinions of the most intelligent of the moneyed circles of the country.

The last chapter of Mr. Trotter's book is devoted to a general review of the grounds for State credit, which is drawn up with much ability and candor. As an evidence of what foreigners think of our political condition, perhaps the following passage may not be without its use.

"Though, in estimating the future by the past, there is great reason, therefore, to believe, that a determination to adhere strictly to their engagements is still likely to characterize the people of the several States, yet the effect of the continued and rapid strides which democratic principles are making in the United States may have too important consequences to be altogether overlooked in the present inquiry.

"Until late years, the middling classes, which in all free countries constitute the most important section of the community, enjoyed in the United States a practical importance in no degree inferior to that of the corresponding classes in this country. Possessed of wealth, of talent, and of station, they were able to exert the influence which these ought ever to command in the selection of their representatives in the national councils; but the subjugation of this important and respectable class to the numerical force of the majority, in the wealthiest States of the Union, at the period of the elections in 1834, evinces the power which the dangerous right of universal suffrage is calculated to confer on those who are little fit to judge of the true interests of the State, and most open to the influence of uncontrolled feelings.

"The growth of popular opinion, in the worst sense of the word, in the United States, and the influence it has had in overruling the wiser and better principles advocated by the more enlightened portion of the citizens, have been lamentably shown in the little power which the executive has been proved to possess on all points where it has been opposed by popular clamor, which, whether expressed throughout the Union gener-

ally, or in a detached portion of it, has in the end always proved victorious.

"The continuance of slavery, and still more the unnecessary recognition of it in Missouri, on that State being admitted into the Union; the want of power in the local governments to protect the abolitionists at New York, or the Roman Catholic establishment at Boston; and the inability of the general government to confirm the decisions of the Supreme Court in cases of the violation of treaties with the Indians; the yielding to the Carolina tariff question, and the abolition of a national bank, though the clamor in the first of these instances had common sense in its favor, and in the other was sanctioned by the head of the government, — are all proofs of the supreme authority of the popular voice, when the feelings of the people are excited.

"The effect which this prevalence of democratic principles may have in the case before us is very evident; for, should the States be obliged hereafter to have recourse to taxation to defray the interest on their loans, it will not, probably, be till the different undertakings for which the loans were raised will have been rendered unpopular by want of success; and, although it does not follow that the people, under these circumstances, will refuse to submit to the necessary sacrifice, their adhering to their engagements cannot be so confidently depended upon, as it might be if the legislative bodies were returned by classes more directly interested in the maintenance of the financial integrity of the States.

"In deprecating, however, the dangerous tendency of democratic principles, it must be borne in mind that the direction of the bias which this power will give to the course of events, will depend on the character of the people who exercise it; and as, in the supposed instance, the question is a simple one, of whether the States will act honestly or fraudulently, much will depend on the prevalence of religious principles among them; for no views of expediency, however far-sighted, or even principles of national honor, can, under the supposed circumstances, be relied upon. To what extent, therefore, religious feelings prevail in the United States, and are likely to form a principle of action, must be a question of deep importance if viewed only in connexion with the subject under discussion; for, in deciding whether, in times of difficulty, the States will keep good faith with their creditors or not, the existence of such an influence, or of an opposite one, must infallibly be found to throw its weight into one side of the balance or the other.

"Being without the means of forming an opinion on this

subject, and wishing neither lightly to admit the existence of this feeling among the inhabitants of the United States, nor lightly to deny it, I shall content myself with pointing out the importance of it." — pp. 353 – 356.

We think this a fair, though not an exact, statement of the difficulties that attend State credit in America. Mr. Trotter does not recollect, that the great majority of voters throughout the United States are small landholders, too poor to bear much taxation. So very cheap is the fee of the soil, that a very small burden upon it in one place will make an owner sell out for what he can get, and remove to another, where he will not feel it. Now it may be the case, that the floating and movable voters, without property of any kind, will in particular places get the upper hand, and, with or without the consent of the land-owners, impose taxes, the weight of which they never will feel, or from which, if they do, they can escape at once by removal. Whenever these taxes become burdensome, it is the land-owners who will be the discontented, for they are the only fixed class of the population. And they will either refuse to continue them, or they will begin to remove. The latter branch of the alternative leads to depopulation, which is as fatal to the maintenance of a debt as the former. Hence it will be seen, that too great caution cannot be exercised, as well in the manner and degree in which direct taxes are resorted to, as in the extent to which they are relied upon as a resource by persons disposed to become creditors. It is not the disposition in which the debt is contracted, that is to be censured ; for we have no doubt that every proposition which has been made on the part of the debtor States has been in perfectly good faith, and there is on their part a sincere determination to abide by the terms of the engagements they have entered into, however onerous they shall prove. Neither is it so clear that a failure in performance, if any such happens, is to be apprehended from the precise cause mentioned by our author, the preponderance of the masses, who have no property, in the legislative bodies ; for these will never feel the weight of a tax. The dissatisfaction, if it arises at all, will spring up among the small freeholders, who may get rid of their burdens by removal to the West at little sacrifice, — thus devolving the whole upon the few persons of large property, upon whom the weight would prove intolerably great.

But it is altogether too early, at this time, to undertake to foresee evils of the kind described. The foreign creditors, who may feel uneasy at the present appearances, have in their favor the extraordinary resources of the country, the certainty that the people are well disposed to maintain their engagements, and the probability that a majority of the States would ultimately prefer that the national government should be made to assume their debts, to the adoption of any act of declared bankruptcy. At the same time, a result of this kind is so uncertain, and must be brought about against so great a degree of resistance, that it should never be made the basis of any extension of obligations.

The general observations made by our author upon the nature of our government present a wide field for discussion, which we regret that our limits must prevent us at this time from entering upon. There can be little doubt in the minds of reflecting persons, that a change has already taken place in the action of the federal constitution, which does not appear to have been foreseen by any of its framers. The people manifest an increasing distaste for the complicated theory of a division of powers, and more and more incline to the purely democratic feature of a single executive head precisely representing their will. We hope soon to find an opportunity for the developement of our views upon this topic, without however any design to take part in the political differences of the day. We do not perceive that this change is likely to have much effect upon the financial credit of the country, which will depend more upon the reputation acquired by those to whom its affairs may be intrusted, than upon any abstract notion. There can be no doubt, that in America there is a great fund of intelligence, judgment, and practical skill in matters of finance, always at hand in the commercial cities, which may be drawn upon with great advantage whenever the embarrassments of the public shall become such as absolutely to need its assistance.

Art. IV. — 1. *I Promessi Sposi. Storia Milanese del XVII. Secolo, scoperta e rifatta* da Alessandro Manzoni. Firenze. 3 Vol. 1829. 12mo.

2. *Sulla Storia Lombarda del XVII. Secolo Ragionamenti* di Cesare Cantri. Lugano. 1833.

It would have afforded us great satisfaction to be able to present to our readers a detailed biographical sketch of the brightest ornament of historical romance in Italy, Alexander Manzoni. Trite as the observation is, we cannot help repeating it, there is no introduction to an author's works like a knowledge of his life and character. Nothing brings your eye so close to the written picture of his mind; nothing gives such force to his observations, or explains so well those little traits which drop from his pen, almost without his perceiving it, the spontaneous, strongly-marked expression of the heart. Nor is the converse less true. Some men have received from nature so rare a power of communication, that to read their works is to know them. It is like listening to a free and familiar conversation, where the heart pours itself out, without check and without reserve. How delightful the friendship we thus form with a favorite author! How he winds himself into our affections! What a hold he gains upon our sympathies! The intimacy of daily intercourse could do no more. And there, too, he always is, with the same serenity of aspect, the same cheering tones, and all those little winning ways, that so often find access to the heart, when closed to every other appeal.

We have never seen a Life of Manzoni. We know him only through his works. And yet, were we called upon to draw a portrait of him, we should hardly hesitate to make the attempt. We should paint him as one of the most amiable of men; with sympathies easily awakened, and a heart to receive and preserve their slightest impressions. We should expect to find him freest and most expansive in the midst of his friends, or of his own domestic circle. We should there look for the benignant smile; glances beaming with a love too strong to be repressed; every now and then somewhat of sly humor lurking around the eye and the corners of the

mouth ; a play of features not so remarkable for its variety, as for a tone of decided individuality, which we should suppose it to preserve throughout every change. We should expect to hear him talk in a mild, firm tone of voice, flexible to a certain point, and never too sharp or too decided, except when he approached one or two particular topics. Should there be any striking character in the room, he would perceive it at once, approach him gradually (we do not mean cautiously), and draw him out. If any thing extravagant were said or done, the author need not be under any apprehension of meeting it in print ; yet, if some time or other in the course of his reading, he should chance to come across something very like it, it would be easy to guess how it got there. We should say too, that he was a man to walk through a wood, view a sunset, a fine landscape, or even go through some sorts of adventures with. And if he said nothing to you in your twilight walk, if he uttered not a word while gazing upon nature in her majesty, yet there would be a tremulous pressure of the hand, a glow upon his countenance, that would go further than any words could go, and make you feel that his heart, like your own, was overflowing. But we must check our pen. We have a long path before us, yet, unless our readers could turn to Manzoni's volumes, instead of our meagre account of them, hardly enough so to justify what we already have said.

It is now more than twelve years since the " Promessi Sposi " was first published ; and it is generally believed that the author, in strict accordance with the Horatian precept, kept his manuscript by him nine full years before he ventured to submit it to the public eye. It came, if our recollection of the first edition be correct, in no very inviting form, with a title, of which it would be hardly saying enough to call it unpretending, and with none of that parade of preparation and anticipated applause, with which it is so often found convenient to usher in a new candidate for public favor. Yet, before six months were over, you would have found it in every corner of Italy, and in such a variety of editions, that, had the law of copyright been known there, the author might easily have interwoven his laurels with gold. Nor was it long left in solitary possession of the field. First came the " Monaca di Monza," a rib from the lovers' own side, to claim rela-

tionship and keep them in countenance. Others, of various forms and sonorous titles soon followed, each enforcing its claim in some style of rhetoric peculiar to itself; while our author, like the good vicar of Wakefield with his poor relations, was obliged to acknowledge the tie, though the blind, the lame, and the halt were of the number. Since that time, it has not only kept its ground, but apparently gone on extending and confirming its reputation. Rivals have striven to supplant it, and failed; critics have attacked it, and been forgotten; and, hardest of all, admiring editors have swelled it with notes and glosses and comments, and been laughed at for their pains. The author too, as if satisfied with his success, has locked his portfolio, although we have often heard it whispered, that there was still something in it. Will it be counting too much upon the indulgence of our readers, if we ask them to follow us through a minute examination of this beautiful production?

The writer of an historical romance voluntarily assumes a double task; and, while he aims at giving a correct picture of particular traits of human character, attempts to illustrate some of those incidents peculiar to different ages, which are too closely connected with every-day life, to obtain a separate place upon the page of the historian. In judging works of this class, therefore, it becomes necessary to study them with an eye to this double intention, and to consider their historical bearing as well as their truth to nature. If they fail in either of these respects, whatever be their merit in one class, they fall below the standard at which they professedly aim, and must be judged accordingly. Truth to nature will not atone for historical infidelity; nor will a knowledge of the manners and usages of a distant epoch, however profound, supply the place of a clear perception of the great laws of human character. And what shall we say of invention, of the power of delineating individual character, of describing particular incidents and scenes, and of binding the whole together by a clear, simple, yet warm and animated, narrative?

The first question, therefore, which claims our attention in the present inquiry, is purely historical. What was the state of Lombardy in the seventeenth century?

Lombardy, at the moment in which our story commences, had been for nearly a century under the absolute dominion of the crown of Spain. Twenty-one governors, the representa-

tives of four sovereigns, had succeeded one another in the space of ninety-three years; and a term, which would hardly be considered sufficient for learning the details of a common office, was the utmost limit allotted to the administration of men, on whose knowledge and judgment the fortunes and the happiness of thousands depended. Absolute in his control, freed by distance and the peculiar character of the Spanish court, from that restraint, which the consciousness of an ultimate responsibility might have imposed, each governor gave himself up, without fear or scruple, to the pursuit of his capricious pleasures, or the still more dangerous study of personal aggrandizement. And, although the Spanish dominion, both in Naples and in Sicily, was distinguished by corruption and oppression, by the hauteur, the cruelty, and the lasciviousness of its ministers, the first rank on this dark catalogue has been reserved, by a well known and popular saying, to the governors of the Milanese.

Worthy companions and instruments of such rulers, the Milanese nobles seem to have joined them heart and hand in their task of oppression, and to have sought, in the privileges and immunities of their order, a compensation for the loss of the higher privileges which they had once possessed as citizens. Surrounded on all occasions by a band of desperate ruffians, armed both in public and in private, raised above the laws, either by family interest or by personal power, they pursued whatever chanced to be the fancy of the moment, without hesitation and without remorse. To accomplish a difficult enterprise in open opposition to the laws; to inflict immediate and signal punishment upon whoever hesitated to comply with their demands; to be distinguished by superior audacity and a more relentless cruelty, from the common mass of crime with which they were surrounded, was their highest ambition, and the aim of their lives. And, were it possible to adopt the theory of the great Italian dramatist, the same qualifications, which had enabled the founders of those names on which they prided themselves to win for them so brilliant and so durable a glory, contributed to fit the men who then bore them for succeeding, to the utmost extent of their wishes, in the career of crime and pollution which they had chosen.

No one who knows what human nature is, will expect to find the clergy exempt from this deep-rooted and universal corruption. Religious, like all other forms of power, has

ever been made the instrument of vice, where vice has prevailed ; and the men who, on some occasions, would urge on their enterprises by industry or by force, will not hesitate to resort, on others, to the more stealthy but equally efficient aid of the cassock and the cowl. But corruption in the church is of a far more extensive and dangerous import than in a merely civil community. It is the duty of the clergy to instruct, to console, and to defend. They speak to us in the language of the Deity ; and how large is that portion of every nation to which the promises and the precepts of religion never penetrate, except through the mouths of their religious teachers. They have voluntarily assumed, in the name of the Being whose laws they interpret, a burthen, which nothing but a firm reliance on him, and a constant recurrence to his aid, can give them strength to bear. Like their divine Master in his mission upon earth, they interpose themselves between the sinner and the ruin to which he is hastening, between the oppressed and the oppressor, the wretched and their wretchedness. They have a consolation for every sorrow, and a balm for every wound.

But the existence of the clergy as an independent body will always be attended with serious disadvantages. The peculiar facilities which they enjoy for acquiring a strong influence over the minds of their disciples ; the position which they occupy as intermediary between the delinquent and the only Being by whom his delinquency can be pardoned or punished ; the habit, which, from childhood upward, is formed of relying upon them for instruction, consolation, aid ; offer facilities for the abuse of power, which have sometimes been found too tempting even for the strongest minds. Add to these, privileges and exemptions ; raise the men, already possessed of this fearful weapon of mystery and faith, high above their fellows by temporal rights and the dazzling prosperity of this world ; knit them together in a strong bond of alliance, where common interests, common dangers, and common pursuits concur to draw the tie closer, the greater the strength with which it is assailed ; and you put them to a test too severe for unassisted human power.

Hence in times of general oppression, when law is too feeble to protect the lower classes, or its ministers too corrupt to enforce its injunctions ; when no one can place sufficient reliance upon his personal rights, or his individual power,

to separate himself from the class in which he was born, unless he can secure the support of some order, which privilege or power has raised above the common level; the clergy, like every other privileged body, will be filled by thousands, that resort to it for protection, and swell its ranks with a devoted multitude of retainers. It can hardly be necessary to say what would be the character of a clergy thus constituted. Yet such was the clergy of the epoch which Manzoni has undertaken to illustrate.

Fortunately for the poor, for the oppressed, for religion herself, two men were called, within a few years of each other, to the archiepiscopal chair of Milan, who seem to have been expressly sent, in that period of suffering and pollution, to confirm the wavering, and recall those who had wandered astray, by the visible presence of pure Christian virtue. These were Charles and Frederic Borromeo. The former has been raised by the Catholic Church to the rank assigned to those, whose virtues seem to be of too pure and elevated a cast, not to be the immediate and special inspiration of the Deity. Frederic was already twenty when his uncle died. During that important period, which so often irrevocably decides the character of a whole life, he had been within the influence of the exalted qualities of his kinsman. To imitate these was the study of his life. Their revered example was his guide in doubt, his support in trouble, his consolation in sadness and in sorrow. And the first question that he asked himself, upon any new or trying emergency, was, What would St. Charles have done in such a situation? By a rare but all-important combination, his intellectual qualifications were hardly inferior to those of his heart. An indefatigable student from his earliest years, the absorbing duties of his station never prevented him from devoting some hours of each day to composition and reading; and the catalogue of the works which he dictated, or wrote with his own hand, while conscientiously engaged in functions, which of themselves would be too great a burthen for a common mind, would seem astonishing even for a professed author. He founded the Ambrosian Library of Milan; he restored the Academy of Fine Arts; he extended his patronage to every branch of intellectual culture, and with a judiciousness and earnestness of purpose, equal to the zeal which he displayed in the more immediate duties of his calling. Like his uncle, he waged a constant

warfare with the vices of his age and of his order ; and, if some few escaped the general contamination, and the wretched and the lowly were not always without a refuge, it is to Charles and Frederic that the praise belongs.

Next to the privileged body, come the ministers of their crimes, the extensive and terrible race of bravoes. Daring, unscrupulous, incapable of remorse or of attachment, yet preserving, even in the depths of their moral debasement, a certain pride of profession, they formed a band of determined and obedient retainers, on whom their master could rely for the accomplishment of every wish. The menaces of government were of no avail against them ; they walked abroad in open day, under the very eyes of the ministers of justice ; and the rewards, which were offered for their lives or their capture, seem to have added to their audacity, by multiplying the proofs of the terror which they inspired.

The laws and privileges of this period were worthy of the men for whom they were designed. The right of asylum, which forms so singular a feature in the history of modern Europe, was still preserved in full vigor ; nor will any comment of ours be required to show what influence it exercised upon such a state of society as that which we have attempted to sketch.

Agriculture and commerce were trammelled with protections and checks, planned with so minute a specification of detail, that there was hardly a stage in the progress of any natural production, from the moment when the seed was first laid in the ground till the harvest was consigned to the vender, for which there is not some especial provision. Nor is the exactness of the criminal code less striking. It is hardly an extravagance to say, that not a year passed without some new device for the suppression of crime, or some new form of reward or of punishment, for alluring the penitent or for terrifying the guilty. The decrees against the bravoes alone would fill a volume. And lest ordinary means should prove insufficient, the torture in all its various forms was applied upon the slightest suspicion. The cord, the most common form of torture, was frequently held in readiness in the public squares, and at the corners of the principal streets. But with a church, a convent, or the palace of a noble within his reach, who would fear the impotent threats of a careless and timid legislator ?

The natural fertility of the Milanese territory, and the industry of its inhabitants, were but an inadequate resource against such complicated abuses. The manufactories, which, from the times of the Lombard republics, had supplied the materials of an active foreign commerce, were suffered to fall to decay; the artisans, by whose skill and industry they had flourished, were driven for support to foreign states; and the territory gradually, we had almost said systematically, was drained of its wealth and of its inhabitants. In eight years, from 1616 to 1624, the city of Milan alone lost twenty-four thousand workmen, and seventy manufactories of cloth were reduced to fifteen. When the Spanish government first took possession of the Milanese, they found in the capital a population of three hundred thousand souls. They left one hundred thousand. They found seventy manufactories of woollens; they left five. Add to facts like these, the plague, which raged with a violence, of which it is difficult, even with the recent ravages of the cholera fresh in our memories, to form an adequate conception; and famine, in her most revolting form, extending from the cottage of the husbandman to the palace of the noble, and filling the streets and the highways with the dying and the dead.

Such is an outline of the period which Manzoni has chosen for the scene of his narrative. Leaving to the historian the exposition of those general facts, which are now peculiarly his province, he has endeavoured to carry his readers back to the daily life, the private interests and private sorrows, which are so often the consequence of those facts. A profound study of contemporary authorities has enabled him to enter fully into the spirit of the age, and give to every scene and character its appropriate coloring. The public incidents of which he has availed himself possess a decided interest for the student of Italian history. A famine, the real causes of which must be sought in the ill-devised economical laws of the Spanish rulers, and in the oppression and outrages of the Spanish garrisons; a plague, which, even in that age, was remarkable for its extent and its duration; and the passage of the imperial troops to the siege of Mantua, which was attended with scenes of havoc and wanton cruelty, such as even the ravages of a hostile army could not have exceeded; — these events gave rise to scenes and incidents of the highest interest, where the heroes of the romance, by a simple and per-

fectly natural action, are made to paint in the strongest colors the character of their age.

Three of these are borrowed from history. Frederic Borromeo is drawn from life. His habits, his virtues, his aims, even the tone of his conversation, are such as the most rigid research would justify. If our author has not interwoven the weaknesses of this great mind with the exquisite picture that he has drawn of its higher qualities, he has not denied their existence, and the occasion called for nothing more. The introduction of Frederic gives a peculiar moral beauty to the whole work. It is in the course of a pastoral visit that he first comes before us, and with that rare union of mildness and resolution, that bland dignity, those gentle reproofs, those ardent exhortations, that expansiveness of heart which embraces with equal readiness the highest and the lowest interests; that rare combination, in short, which commands universal love and admiration, since there is hardly a human being but finds in it some quality that he particularly admires. He enters so promptly into the cause of the humble heroine of our tale, and does it with so much delicacy, so much good sense, and withal so naturally, that he has at once a complete hold of the reader's heart.

No less remarkable is the second historical character; but he is a being of a very different class. Those of our readers, who are familiar with the local history of that period, will remember in the general picture of crimes one individual, who stands distinguished by guilt and daring of a peculiar order. His name is not known, but Cantri, in his admirable dissertations upon this portion of Lombard history, gives strong reasons for supposing him to have been a Visconti. He seems to have possessed a vigorous mind; an intrepidity of character, which set every form of danger at defiance; a firmness of purpose, which neither pity nor opposition could move; and a restless ambition of preëminence, which a few centuries earlier would have exalted him into a hero; but which, in the age and country in which he was cast, left him little more than the part of an outlaw and a ruffian. His residence, for many years, was a castle on the Venetian frontiers, in a spot which Nature herself seemed to have formed for the haunt of a bandit. This he had fortified with care, and garrisoned with a band of the boldest bravoes. Guards were stationed at every avenue. Not a member of his vast household but

was inured to crime. And even at the present day it will hardly be considered strange, that few were willing to hazard their lives against men whose native ferocity was thus supported by the vigilance of military discipline. The exercise of his power was not confined to the lower classes ; the wealthiest nobles were equally under his control ; nor was there any one so strong as not to find himself, sooner or later, constrained to court the alliance of this master spirit. At length, after years spent in outrages upon society, he, of his own accord, suddenly sought an interview with Frederic Borromeo, changed the whole course of his life, and devoted the remainder of his days to a rigorous atonement for the vices of his former career.

There are two other characters, drawn from the minuter history of the age ; a nun of a noble family, whom domestic tyranny had forced into a convent, and her lover, a hardened villain, the worthy accomplice of the Innominato. Others are incidentally introduced, but the part which they perform is too slightly connected with the general story to call for a particular description.

The rest are purely of invention. In these, accordingly, we have a right to require a fuller expression of the author's feelings, and a more delicate test of his knowledge of the age he has undertaken to illustrate.

We speak first of Padre Cristoforo, not merely because he has so much to do with the narrative, but because he has imperceptibly come to be a standard in our mind for monastic virtue. The old man first meets us in a moment of perplexity and sorrow ; one of those moments, in which the heart would break, if left to itself ; and yet precisely those, when we feel how hard it is to find one that will lend a willing ear to our complaints, and repay the outpouring of grief with words of commiseration and of hope. He is hurrying along the road from his convent to a little mountain village, where the inmates of an humble cottage await his coming as the condemned awaits his reprieve. The coarse garb of his order is not unsuited to his venerable form ; for the severity of the folds, and the heaviness with which it falls in straight, unwavering lines, correspond with the gravity, the almost sternness, of his aspect. His silver beard waves upon his breast in the fulness of unshorn majesty ; and the cowl, that has fallen backward, brings out, in clearer proportion, the noble lines of his

head. There is but little hair left there ; yet age would account for that ; but will age alone tell the secrets of that furrowed brow, and the flitting play of the mouth and the eye ? There is something written there in deeper characters, than age, with all its sorrows, could form ; some absorbing thought, that for years and years has been setting deeper and stronger its indelible seal. We must go back to his early life, if we would know all the secrets of that brow.

He was born to affluence, but not to nobility. In his education the same disparity prevailed. He was taught all the accomplishments of a gentleman ; but the taint in his blood separated him from those, who by similitude of cultivation and of taste should naturally have been his companions. Yet perhaps his heart would have kept him from them, if his rank had not ; for his was gentle and affectionate, and ill fitted to share in the acts of outrage and cruelty which were their daily occupation. It was natural, that, from pitying the oppressed, he should soon become their protector ; for what noble heart can content itself with barren expressions of commiseration ? But oppression can only be resisted by power ; and thus he was gradually led on, from scene to scene of violence, and forced, by his love of justice and of virtue, to associate with the men whom he most abhorred, and mingle in the scenes most revolting to his nature. Wearied, heart-sick with such a life, he began to look with longing eyes toward the calm of the convent. Compunctions, suddenly excited by one terrible incident, decided at once and irrevocably his wavering mind. It was while returning one day from his usual walk, that he chanced to meet a nobleman, well known to him for his haughty and tyrannical character. A dispute arose ; angry words were exchanged ; they soon came to blows ; a servant of Cristoforo, in parrying a thrust aimed at his master, fell dead at his feet ; but Cristoforo, at the same instant, planted his own sword in the breast of his antagonist. A convent of Capuchins was at hand ; the crowd urged, forced him to its gate ; and there, in the silence of his inviolable asylum, he found leisure to mature the thought, which, half formed and indistinct, had so often flitted through his mind. He assumed the robe of the order. His first act was to humble himself to the kinsman of his adversary, kneeling to the brother of the deceased in his crowded hall, and asking his pardon for the blood that he had shed ; the next, to de-

vote the remainder of his days to the atonement of his crime, and to the aid and consolation of the wretched. And this he does, with so pure a courage, so earnest a zeal, such an abundance of charity and of love, and yet with so much humility, and such deep-rooted and constant compunction, that, be your creed what it may, you can hardly give him any other name than that of saint.

Don Rodrigo and his cousin Attilio, although the parts they perform are not of equal importance, may, without any violation of propriety, be classed together. They are cast in the same mould, worthy representatives of that nobility to which they belong. Yet, however insignificant in themselves, as far as our author is concerned, they are drawn with great truth and vivacity.

But how shall we describe Don Abbondio, the poor old parish priest, who had trembled on thus far through life, and asked no higher blessing than to be allowed to tremble on through the rest of his days ; with the proviso, however, that there should be as many of them and as long as possible ? The poor man had taken orders, for by doing so he had united himself to a class, redoubtable both for its numbers and for its immunities. He endeavoured also to perform his duty, as far as his fears would allow him ; but with that regard to personal safety which was ever his presiding care. He is a perfect exemplification of the selfishness of fear ; of its tendency to concentrate every thought, every feeling, upon our personal convenience ; to lose sight of duty, and suppress all the nobler sympathies and tendencies of our nature in presence of this debasing thought. He serves as a foil for Frederic and Padre Cristoforo, whose virtues seem, if possible, to borrow a new lustre from the contrast.

In the three remaining characters, our author seems to have proposed nothing more than a faithful picture of human nature under the influence of peculiar circumstances. Agnes, the mother of the betrothed, is a kind-hearted, good-natured country-woman, industrious from habit, and pious from the united influence of habit and conviction. She neither says nor does any thing remarkable ; yet her part is an important one, and it would be difficult to make a person of her class speak or act with more propriety and truth to nature.

Lucia, her daughter, the heroine of the narrative, is somewhat more idealized. Not that any of the qualities assigned

to her are such as we should not expect to find in one of her station, but there is a certain delicacy of coloring, and a softening down of the features, which, without falsifying the likeness, give it to you in its most favorable and intellectual form. It is like a bust modelled in the style of the ancients, broad, full of feeling for all that gives character to the face, but with a total disregard of those accidental details, which have nothing to do with real expression. Lucia is made beautiful as a matter of course, for who would think of painting a bride and a heroine in any other way? But it is a beauty peculiar to her class, and one which such of our readers, as have turned aside from the post-roads of Italy, to wander through the secluded mountain districts, can easily form an idea of. In her mind you perceive at once the forming hand of Padre Cristoforo; a certain degree of cultivation; a ready apprehension of duty; a piety pure, undoubting, refined; even elevated, if unwavering conviction and an intuitive abhorrence of wrong can constitute moral elevation; that piety, in short, which belongs to a warm and innocent heart.

In Renzo there is nothing ideal. He is a country artisan in the costume of the seventeenth century, frank and bold; thanks, too, to Padre Cristoforo, sincere and virtuous-minded; yet hasty, and full as ready to trust to his own hand for protection, as to that of the law. Like some few, whom we have actually met with in life, he improves upon acquaintance; you like him better the more you know of him.

Such are the simple materials from which Manzoni has drawn one of the most striking pictures, that ever have been given, of the manners and the customs of a distant age. All the leading characteristics of the individual, of the degree of civilization to which he has attained, and of the extent to which that civilization has been diffused, are brought into play; and each receives a developement proportioned to its real importance. No historian has ever painted with more truth the influence of circumstances upon character, or the vigorous vitality with which the Deity has endowed those principles, which he designed for the guide and the solace of mankind. The sublime piety of Frederic is beautifully contrasted with the timid morality of Don Abbondio. The devoted charity of Fra Cristoforo is set in bold relief by the temporizing policy of the superior of his order at the table and in the closet of the privy counsellor. And while our

author thus withdraws the veil from the corruptions of the clergy, who does not feel his confidence increased in the exalted picture which he has given of what they might and ought to be? The Innominato and Rodrigo, with their ruffian retainers, the remorseless license of their lives, and the lowness of the objects for which they willingly encountered so much obloquy and guilt, form the best illustration of the aims and character of the corrupt nobility whom they represent. And from the persecution and sufferings of Renzo and Lucia, the desolation of the famine, the terror produced by the passage of the German troops and the ravages of the plague, results a picture of the miseries, the trials, the peculiar characteristics of the age, which surpasses the highest coloring of the most eloquent historian.

The story by which these personages and incidents are bound together is a very simple one. Renzo and Lucia are upon the eve of being married. Don Rodrigo, the feudal lord of the district, has met Lucia a few weeks before, on her return from her work, and conceived for her a passion which he is resolved to gratify at every hazard. Accordingly, the evening before the marriage was to take place, two of his bravoes are sent to waylay Don Abbondio, and forbid him, in the name of their master, and at the peril of his life, to perform the ceremony. He promises compliance and secrecy. But the bridegroom, who comes early next morning to fix the hour for the completion of his happiness, soon finds the way of extracting from the frightened curate his terrible secret; and the poor old man, after two such scenes, and with still more dismal forebodings for the future, shuts up his house and goes to bed with a fever. The desolation of the betrothed may be easily imagined, and it is then that Renzo and Agnese hear for the first time of the odious persecutions to which poor Lucia has been exposed. Agnese, with the confidence which people in trouble are apt to feel in the learned in the law, sends Renzo a couple of miles across the country, to ask the advice of Doctor Azzecca-garbugli, who, it would seem, had a high reputation for holding the clue to all sorts of scrapes. As a recommendation to the Doctor, he takes with him the two well-fattened capons that were to have decked the wedding board. But what is his surprise, after having heard from the lips of the complaisant man of law full half a dozen acts and edicts, which seemed to have been made on

purpose for his case, to find himself thrust away by the shoulders the moment he lets out that he is not the criminal, but the victim, and that the author of the outrage is Don Rodrigo. Disconsolate, bewildered, hardly knowing what to do, he retraces his steps towards the cottage of his promised bride. He there finds a more faithful counsellor, Padre Cristoforo. The old man resolves at once to beard Rodrigo in his den, and, if he can arouse neither his fears nor his conscience, at least to ascertain to what length he is resolved to carry his brutal design. The scenes that follow, the dinner-table of Rodrigo, the interview of the tyrant and the friar, the hurried and almost penitential warning of the old family servant, are executed with a masterly hand. But the result is as might have been expected; and all that Cristoforo obtains is a secret ally in the old butler.

In the mean time, poor Lucia has been prevailed upon, by the entreaties of her mother and the desperation of Renzo, to consent to attempt a forced marriage; for, by the laws of that period, if they could only succeed in declaring themselves husband and wife before the curate and in the presence of witnesses, the ceremony was in every respect legal and binding. The trial was made the next evening. Two friends of Renzo accompany him as witnesses, and Agnese undertakes to hold the curate's talkative attendant, Perpetua, at bay. But this time his very fears come to the aid of Don Abbondio, and give him an unusual alertness in warding off the blow. Just as Lucia is in the act of uttering the fatal words, he throws down the light, casts the baize covering of his table upon her head, and, in the confusion that ensues, makes good his retreat to an adjoining room. Here he begins to cry lustily for help. The sexton, aroused at his call, sounds the alarm from his steeple, and in a few moments the village comes pouring, *en masse*, upon the green plot in front of the church. Our adventurers have barely time to save themselves by a back path. Here they meet a messenger from Cristoforo. They have failed in their attempt upon the curate, but have escaped a danger more terrible than any that had thus far threatened them.

Don Rodrigo, stung by the reproaches of the friar, and the taunts of his cousin Attilio, had resolved to resort to a measure for obtaining possession of Lucia, which even to his eyes seemed hazardous. He forms his plan in concert with his trusty Griso; sets his bravoes at work; and awaits the issue

with a mixture of exultation and doubt. The ruffians had already forced their way into the house, when the village bell sounded the alarm at the cry of Don Abbondio. Startled at the sound, which seemed to menace them with an indefinite, uncertain danger, they become confused, hesitate, and with difficulty are kept together by their more experienced leader, who, though taken equally by surprise, preserves enough of his native daring and presence of mind to guide them back to the castle.

Our readers will remember the old butler. The extraordinary movements at the castle had not escaped his vigilant eye. Warning had been given to Padre Cristoforo ; and it is his messenger calling them to the convent, that the betrothed and their mother meet, on their flight homeward from the alarm in front of the church. They find the good father waiting for them at the convent chapel ; and there, after a short prayer, and a parting benediction, he consigns them to a boatman, whom he had already engaged to convey them across the lake, whence they proceed by land, the females to Monza, and Renzo towards Milan.

Our mountaineer first enters the capital in a moment of universal confusion. The scarcity of provisions, which for some time had been growing more sensible, and gradually assuming all the features of a famine, had at length reached a pass at which popular feeling could no longer be restrained by ordinary means. It was chiefly directed against the bakers, whom common report accused of being concerned in a monopoly of grain. From being a simple spectator of the ravages of the excited populace, Renzo is betrayed into some indiscretions of the tongue, which a government spy turns to his own advantage, and awakes him next morning a prisoner in the hands of the *sbirri*. Fortunately for him, the tumult had not wholly subsided. He dexterously avails himself of an opportunity of rescue that occurs as he is on his way to prison, and escapes into the territories of Venice. Being a skilful workman, he finds immediate occupation in a manufactory, where one of his own family had long stood foreman, and begins to look forward to the happy moment when he can invite Lucia and her mother to join him in his new abode.

Poor Lucia has also her share of troubles. Their first care had been to present the letter, of which they were bear-

ers, to the guardian of a Capuchin convent in Monza. The good friar, like his friend Cristoforo, enters warmly into the sufferings of the maiden, and obtains for her, by his personal recommendation, the protection of the personage whom we have already mentioned as the Monaca di Monza. Agnese remains a short time with her daughter, and then returns upon a visit to her native place. Lucia, by her gentle and winning manners, soon gains a strong hold upon the affections of the capricious princess.

But what is Don Rodrigo doing all this while? To sit tamely down after such an insult, and acknowledge himself beaten by a country clown and a Capuchin friar, — what noble could bear so humiliating a thought? He traces Lucia to the convent. But the stroke was too bold a one for him. In this exigence he addresses himself to the Innominato; and such is the occasion on which we first meet this formidable outlaw. The Innominato takes up the enterprise with warmth. He repents of his engagement, the moment after; for he had already become wearied with his career of guilt; yet his word has been passed, and the pledge must be redeemed. He bethinks him of Egidio, the lover of the noble nun. Hard is the struggle in the breast of the princess; but, the first crime committed, who can flatter himself that he will have strength to resist the second? A pretext is found for sending Lucia upon an errand at a distance from the convent, and on the way she is seized by the emissaries of the Innominato, and conveyed, half dead with affright, to his castle. What a night! what tears, what agony, what desperation! In the midst of her anguish, her consciousness of the present, her terrors for the future, she invokes the aid of the Virgin, and vows, as the dearest offering she can make, never to marry.

Nor was the night of the Innominato a tranquil one. He had long been tormented by the occasional upbraidings of remorse. The sight of Lucia, the few words of supplication, of heart-wrung entreaty, that she had uttered, had completed the work, and conscience now spoke in a voice that would not be hushed. After tossing for hours on his feverish couch, he is roused at early dawn by the ringing of bells and shouts of joy from below. They are for the coming of Frederic, who was that day to make a pastoral visit to a neighbouring village. "Who is he? Why should one man have the power of making so many people happy, and I only the com-

mon one of making them miserable? I will see him; I will hear him." Imagine that interview, for we cannot describe it. See the Innominato as he issues from the presence of Frederic; mark his relaxed brow, and the change in his eye; observe with what anxious steps he retraces his way towards the castle, each instant seeming an age, for each seemed to prolong the torment of his victim; see him follow the litter of Lucia till she is once more placed in safety in the hands of a kind-hearted villager, and then flying again to the presence of him from whom he had heard such words of joy and consolation as had never fallen upon his ears before. And if you would change a little the coloring of the scene, recall to your minds who the Innominato was; think how long his dwelling-place had been the scene of every horrid tale, and his name a word of terror even to babes; and then picture to yourselves our friend Don Abbondio, mounted upon a mule, and riding at his side even into the jaws of that very den. One alone of all the exclamations that broke from him in that hour of trial, will sufficiently explain the state of his mind. "It could not have gone worse with me, even if I had married them at once!" And so too he thought, when stammering and unable to reply, he listened to the reproofs of Frederic for this grave transgression of his duty.

The story of Lucia, of the conversion of the Innominato, of the part taken by Frederic, is rapidly noised abroad; and, in the interest generally awakened for our heroine, a Milanese lady of rank volunteers to take her under her protection. In Milan, therefore, we must leave her for the present, and look around for other personages who have an equal claim upon our notice.

Don Rodrigo was not the last to hear of the conversion of his ally and the liberation of Lucia, and to perceive what a figure he was making in the eyes of the world. Every thing had promised so well! By the assistance of Attilio, Padre Cristoforo had been sent off to Rimini to preach during Lent. Renzo, after his adventures at Milan, had been publicly proscribed, and a reward offered for his capture. The ground was clear; and to think that just at that moment, Frederic, with his out-of-the-way piety, and the Innominato, with his ridiculous scruples, which after all looked so much like hypocrisy, should spoil so fine a game, and one that had cost him more anxiety, and greater efforts, than all his other enter-

prises put together! To complete his embarrassment, Frederic was coming, in a few days, into his part of the country; and with what face could he meet him? And yet how could he, the first lord of the district, avoid going in person to welcome so high a dignitary? There was no choice, and away he goes to Milan, to drown in dissipation the recollection of his defeat, or throw it at once into the shade by some new and signal triumph.

Poor Renzo! his first thought had been to escape, and then to open a correspondence with Lucia. But he soon found it necessary to change his name for a while and secrete himself. Then, as he did not know how to write, think of his task in making out his story, and telling what he hoped and what he intended, and what grounds he had both for his hopes and his intentions; and all this with the aid of a scribe who was not to be let fully into the secret, and who moreover knew his business too well, not to throw in a few flourishes of his own pen, by way of embellishment to the simple story of the mountaineer. And then there was the answer of Agnese, which he could not read, and was accordingly obliged to have recourse to his scribe again. Here were the adventures of Lucia; the story of the barbarous outrage upon her person; of her miraculous deliverance; and, last of all, the vow, — that terrible vow to the Madonna. Think how all this sounded in the poor swain's ears, and so distinctly told too, for the scribe of Agnese was cousin-german to that of Renzo, and repaid his embellishments with interest. In short it was all confusion, doubt, mystery; with just light enough to drive a man mad. And all this for that wretch of a Rodrigo, and that cowardly old curate! But patience; their time is coming.

First follows the passage of the Imperial army to the siege of Mantua; friends, it is true, but such friends! Every village sacked; every field laid waste; such wanton havoc; such brutal outrages! The peasants flying to the mountains for shelter, driving their flocks and herds before them; and old and young, men and women, tottering under the weight of whatever there was a hope of saving from the hands of the invader. Among the fugitives we find three of our old acquaintances, Agnese, Don Abbondio, and his faithful Perpetua. They take refuge at the castle of the Innominato, whose name was then covered with more benedictions than

perhaps balanced the bitter tears which his former excesses had drawn forth. But what an asylum for Don Abbondio ! A regular camp ; provisioned, that was well enough ; fortified, that too might pass. But the armed men ; the muskets ; the swords ; the change of sentinels ; the busy note of preparation ; the sudden and oft-repeated alarms ! The poor priest was almost dead with terror ; and, had it not been for one important duty, that kept him constantly occupied during the whole three weeks of his imprisonment, Heaven only knows how he would have survived them. He was employed from morning to night, searching out among the glens and precipices by which the castle was surrounded, some nook, where, in case of a fight, he might hide himself away.

The troops all gone, the famine became more general, and more fatal. And just as the minds and bodies of men seemed to have been prepared for some new calamity, comes the plague. It was the parting legacy of the Germans. Its progress in the beginning was slow, although the forms that it assumed were always terrible. During the winter it crept stealthily onward, silently spreading from hamlet to hamlet, strengthening its hold with each progressive step, and gradually becoming more and more evident, until of a sudden, like a long-smothered flame, it broke forth in all its terrors. And then the bands of society were severed, the dearest ties broken asunder. Every thought centred in the all-absorbing care of self-preservation. The ordinary resources of government were soon exhausted ; the hospitals crowded to overflowing ; men and children left to perish by the wayside ; the holiest recesses of domestic life profaned by the tread of the loathsome instruments, who alone could be found in those moments of desolation, to perform the duties of the sick bed and the grave ; the laws without force ; the very men who had made them, and who should have watched over their execution, victims of the common scourge. It is here, in the thronged chambers of the Lazzaretto, that we meet once more the four principal personages of our narrative, two of them for the last time.

Renzo no sooner recovers from the plague, than he sets out in search of his beloved. His steps are first turned towards his native village ; and there whom should he meet, pale, emaciated, leaning upon a staff, that hardly yields the desired support to his trembling limbs, but Don Abbondio ?

From him he hears the long catalogue of woes, which, to the native of a little mountain hamlet, where every next door neighbour seems a kinsman, might almost be called domestic. Agnese is safe, but with a relation in a distant village; Lucia at Milan, but whether dead or alive he knows not. Away then once more to the capital, with a hurried pace and a beating heart. He finds the house of her protector, but she is at the Lazzaretto. Thither he turns his steps, and there, amid the dying and the dead, surrounded by every form of desolation and of woe, he finds Padre Cristoforo. The old man is well nigh his end, with the pestilence already written in unerring lines upon his pallid features; but still active, still regardless of himself; hoarding, as it were, the last sands of life, that he may gain one more hour to the service of others. The interview is a brief, a melancholy one. Renzo is worked up to the highest pitch of excitement; and even there, with such a scene before him, he breaks out, for a moment, in execrations upon his oppressor. A few words from the friar recall him to himself. With a stricken conscience and a moistened eye, he listens to his reproof; but how much deeper does the lesson sink into his heart, when the Father leads him to the couch where Don Rodrigo is breathing away in insensibility the last moments of his wicked life. A prayer at that bed-side, an entreaty, warm from the depths of his soul, that the Almighty might forgive him as he had forgiven, and he resumes, with a calmer, almost with a lighter heart, his melancholy search. We will not follow him. We will not count those moments of agonizing doubt. He finds Lucia, finds her safe, safe from that hand which had laid so many low. Padre Cristoforo releases her from her vow. It is their last sight of the good old man; for, but a few days after, he is called to that reward for which he had so long been toiling. The pestilence ceases. Agnese, Lucia, Renzo, meet again in their own dear mountain home. The curate, freed from the fear of Don Rodrigo, no longer withholds the nuptial blessing; and our hero and heroine, and their kind-hearted mother, their hearts purified by sorrow, are left as happy as mutual love and the gratification of their warmest desires could make them.

Such is the plot of the "Promessi Sposi." There is not an extravagance in the whole work; not a scene that might

not have actually occurred; not a phrase or a sentiment in the mouth of any individual, which might not have been expected from such a person, under such circumstances. Every character is in perfect keeping; from the terrors of Don Abbondio to the garrulity of Perpetua; from the meek piety of Lucia to the sublime morality of Padre Cristoforo.

The general management of the narrative is not less happy; and each personage, and each incident, is introduced with singular skill. The work opens with a description of one of the loveliest scenes in Italy, a branch of the lake of Como. The description is not long, but yet enough so to make you feel the power of the author, and raise your expectations of what is to follow. The first scene is the meeting of Don Abbondio with the bravoes of Rodrigo. From this moment you are interested for Lucia and her lover. Who are they? What is the meaning of this tyranny? What is there in a simple country girl, that a noble of the land should resort to such high-handed measures in order to prevent her marriage? Then come Perpetua, and poor old Abbondio, at home. Renzo follows next; and, if you get thus far, you must read the whole book, for you must see how it is going to end, and what Padre Cristoforo can do, and whether that wretch Rodrigo really will succeed, and what is to become of poor Lucia; the whole story, in short, for it is so well woven together, that one part seems to follow the other like real life.

The historical incidents are managed with equal felicity. The famine, the passage of the Germans, the plague, are so necessarily connected with the rest of the tale, that you would be puzzled how to bring one part about without the help of the other. We will even say as much for the historical characters. Frederic, the Innominato, the Monaca di Monza, have not so much the air of having been sought out by our author, as of having come, of their own accord, to place themselves just where they stand.

A great variety of scenes result from this arrangement. The flight of the betrothed, and their first separation from home, are described in language which none but a poet could have used. The mob at Milan, Renzo's escape from the *sbirri*, and his flight into the territory of Bergamo, particularly the last, with that long, long night of wandering, are told with wonderful power. Nothing can be more ludicrous than the

appearance of Don Abbondio on almost every occasion; while the closing incidents, the aspect of Milan, of the Lazzaretto, and the scenes that pass there, are equal to the finest passages of Scott himself. We are at a loss, in fact, to select, where all is so beautiful; but perhaps were we called upon to fix on any particular chapter as giving an idea of the real power of Manzoni, we should choose the sketch of Padre Cristoforo.

The general character of the narrative is simplicity. Of this our author never loses sight, even in the most elevated or in the most pathetic passages. The result is a truth to nature, which almost makes you fancy the whole story to be true. There is, moreover, a quiet vein of humor running through it, so well managed, and brought out with such skill, as to produce a most delightful effect. It will remind the English reader of the exquisite humor of the good Vicar of Wakefield.

We would not have it supposed however, that, much as we admire this work, we consider it faultless. It has several defects, and some that we could hardly pardon in any other author. Interesting as the stories of Frederic and of the Innominato are, they are too long. This remark applies with still greater force to Don Ferrante and the Monaca di Monza. They are not enough before our eyes as actors in the general plot, to bear so minute a detail of their private history. After having read so much about what they have done on other occasions, we want them to do more on this. Nor does it better the matter to say, that these stories are beautifully told; that the portrait of the Monaca di Monza is drawn with a vigor, that has seldom been equalled; that Don Ferrante is a decided "Secentista," and painted to the life. They are not at all the more connected with the story for all this; and they give it, moreover, an episodical character, which has more than once made us think, that our author has not always distinguished the style of the school of "Gil Blas," (where story is interwoven with story, and every new comer feels bound to tell you the history of his life,) from the more concentrated and continuous narrative which belongs to historical romance. In the catalogue of the library of Don Ferrante, we are almost afraid of making a gross blunder, but we cannot help thinking of the celebrated library of Don Quixote.

The description of the famine is accompanied with many rare and interesting notices, but still it fills up too much room; and many a reader who is seeking for mere amusement, and who must have the brim of his cup sweetened if you would make him draw in instruction with it, will be apt to skip it all, after the first page. How easily, too, might the whole history of the plague have been interwoven with the narrative. What Renzo sees in the country, in the streets of Milan, and in the Lazzaretto, conveys a far more impressive idea of the real extent of the suffering, than the whole introduction. When your feelings have once become interested in the heroes of the story, you cannot bear to lose sight of them so long. The interest flags, unless they are constantly before you; and, when you return to them after a minute description of any event, however important in itself, they no longer look as familiar as they ought. In these instances, therefore, our author seems to us to have failed in those very qualifications, in which he has succeeded so well in other parts of his work. He has encroached somewhat too much upon the province of the historian; and, although the details into which he enters are highly interesting, and not to be found elsewhere, yet are they not the less out of place. This becomes still more apparent, upon comparing them with the description of the passage of the German army; a portion of real history, yet so skilfully interwoven with the general plot, that the narrative never for a moment stands still, and some one or other of the persons that interest us, is kept constantly before our eyes. The same may be said of the scenes that occur during Renzo's second journey to Milan. He is constantly with us, from the first to the last of the melancholy search; and the idea which this mode of narration gives us of the ravages of the plague, of the desolation and terror that reign in every part, is so clear, so distinct, and so powerful, that you feel as if he had taken you by the hand, and carried you with him through all the horrors of the scene. Why then that long, misplaced introduction?

One more complaint, and we have done. Manzoni has most of the qualifications of a great writer. He feels deeply. He thinks clearly. His knowledge of life and of man is extensive and profound. He has a perfect command over his conceptions, and all his ideas are distinct and well defined.

Why, then, neglect his language? Why refuse the aid of those graces of expression, those artifices of style, which add to the charm even of the profoundest ideas, and of the strongest feelings? It is but a cold conclusion to say, that his work is well written; and yet we cannot in conscience say any thing more. With a language unrivalled for richness and variety; with idioms and phrases that seem to have been purposely formed to give a winning grace, an irresistible energy, to every conception of the mind, and every emotion of the heart; with beauties courting his attention on every side; he has preferred a meagre parsimony of all, that nowhere seems so much out of place as in a work written purely to please. His fear of affectation, and his abhorrence of the *secentisti*, have betrayed him into a neglect of those higher beauties, which are as far removed from the vapid turgidness of that forgotten school, as they are true to nature herself. He could never be an affected writer. He possesses too much of real feeling, of that spontaneous feeling which is the surest guard against affectation. We know that Manzoni's diction bears the coloring of his literary opinions. This is not the place for discussing them; yet, in so long an examination of his principal work, it would have been both difficult and unfair to avoid a passing allusion.

We would say in conclusion, that we look upon the "Promessi Sposi" as one of the most beautiful productions of the age. As a work of art we have ventured to criticize it, and point out, one by one, what seem to us blemishes. Yet, however much these may diminish our pleasure in one sense, we lay down these volumes with a firm conviction, that the author has accomplished the task which he had set himself. We have seen what materials the age furnished him, and what he formed for himself. We have seen, too, the beautiful use that he has made of them; how, by the very simplicity of the heroes of the tale, he has heightened the picture of oppression and crime; how, by the introduction of Cristoforo and Frederic, he has set religion in the most fascinating light; how truly he has entered into the spirit of the age, and how faithfully he has preserved its coloring. And yet we believe that we are adding even to these eulogiums, when we praise its calm and soothing tone; that tranquillizing influence, which it preserves throughout, and which

leaves the reader, like the hero and heroine of the tale, quiet, contented, but not boisterously happy, for they have felt what a chastening power there is in the hand of adversity.*

ART. V. — *Letters of* MRS. ADAMS, *the Wife of John Adams. With an Introductory Memoir, by her Grandson*, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS. Boston : Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1840. 16mo. pp. lxiv. and 448.

JOHN ADAMS, second President of the United States, died at the age of ninety-one, at the ancient seat of his family in Quincy, Massachusetts, on the 4th day of July, 1826, a half century from the day on which he had affixed his signature to the Declaration of American Independence. Eight years before his death, after a union of fifty-four years, he was bereaved of his wife, one of the illustrious women of New England, in that great day of its heroes and heroines. The work before us is a small selection from her letters. Prefixed to them is a Memoir, which, while it is a beautiful specimen in that department of writing, affords valuable illustration to the contents of the volume.

Mrs. Abigail Adams was the second daughter of the Reverend William Smith, the Congregational clergyman of Weymouth, a village on the coast of Massachusetts Bay, bordering

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* Since writing the preceding pages, we have been favored by a literary friend with a biographical sketch of Manzoni. "What is writ is writ," and we do not feel disposed to alter it. But the following dates may, perhaps, not be uninteresting. Manzoni is a grandson of the celebrated Beccaria. He was born in 1784, and was married in 1808 to a Protestant lady of Geneva, who subsequently embraced the creed of her husband. His first publications were two short poems in blank verse. In 1810 he published his "Inni Sacri," five sacred lyrics, of which two at least are of a very high order; in 1820, the "Conte di Carmagnola," and, in 1823, the "Adelchi," two tragedies which have been more admired by foreigners than by Italians. An Ode upon Napoleon, which we shall not hesitate to call the finest that ever has been written upon that difficult subject, was published about the same time. He has also written a defence of the Catholic religion in reply to some passages in Sismondi, and a disquisition on some questions in the history of the Lombards. He resides at Milan, and is now married to a second wife.

upon Quincy, and about twelve miles from Boston. Educated at a time when there was no public provision in the colonies for the instruction of females, her opportunities for intellectual culture were only such as could be found in private reading, and the society of her family friends. "I was never sent to any school," she says to one of her correspondents; "and female education, in the best families, went no further than writing and arithmetic; in some few and rare instances, music and dancing." In her twentieth year, in October, 1764, she was married to Mr. John Adams. He was a young lawyer of rising reputation; but, so far were her high destinies in this union from being anticipated, that it appears the disparity of rank between the minister's daughter and the legal aspirant, presented some interruption to the course of that true love, which, for one reason or another, has never yet been known to run smooth.

"The father of Mrs. Adams," we quote from the Memoir, "was a pious man, with something of that vein of humor, not uncommon among the clergy of New England, which ordinarily found such a field for exercise as is displayed in the pages of Cotton Mather. He was the father of three daughters, all of them women of uncommon force of intellect, though the fortunes of two of them confined its influence to a sphere much more limited than that which fell to the lot of Mrs. Adams. ..... It is an anecdote, told of Mr. Smith, that, upon the marriage of his eldest daughter [Mary], he preached to his people from the text in the forty-second verse of the tenth chapter of Luke, 'And Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her.' Two years elapsed and his second daughter, the subject of this notice, was about to marry John Adams, then a lawyer in good practice, when some disapprobation of the match appears to have manifested itself among a portion of his parishioners. The profession of law was, for a long period in the colonial history of Massachusetts, unknown; and, after circumstances called it forth, the prejudices of the inhabitants, who thought it a calling hardly honest, were arrayed against those who adopted it. There are many still living, who can remember how strong they remained, even down to the time of the adoption of the present Federal Constitution; and the records of the General Court, at its very last session, of 1840, will show that they have not quite disappeared, to this day. Besides this, the family of Mr. Adams, the son of a small farmer of the middle class in Braintree, was

thought scarcely good enough to match with the minister's daughter, descended from so many of the shining lights of the colony. It is probable that Mr. Smith was made aware of the opinions expressed among his people; for he is said, immediately after the marriage took place, to have replied to them by a sermon, the text of which, in evident allusion to the objection against lawyers, was drawn from Luke vii. 33; 'For John came neither eating bread nor drinking wine, and ye say, *He hath a devil.*'*"—*Memoir*, pp. xxxiv, xxxv.

The first ten years of Mrs. Adams's married life were passed in tranquil domestic happiness. In August, 1774, her husband, entering on that course of distinguished public service, which occupied him for nearly thirty years, repaired, as a delegate from Massachusetts, to the General Congress, while she remained at home, a witness and sharer of the severe sufferings of Boston and its neighbourhood in the early period of the revolutionary struggle. In the winter of 1777–8, having made in the interval a few short visits to his family during the recesses of Congress, Mr. Adams sailed for France, as one of the commissioners to negotiate a treaty with that power, and remained abroad during the war, with the exception of a few weeks in the autumn of the following year. In 1784, having been sent to London to negotiate a treaty of commerce, Mrs. Adams joined him there, and was introduced at court, the first female representative of her country in the diplomatic circles. Mr. Adams returned from Europe on the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and, having been elected Vice-President, fixed his winter residence for the sessions of Congress, first at New York, and then at Philadelphia. When, with the downfall of the Federal party in 1801, he was superseded in the Presidency, he retired to finish his days at his early home. The small property, accumulated in his few years of professional practice, had been so judiciously administered by his wife during his devotion to public duties, as to make the retreat of his declining years the seat of an easy independence, and of a modest but liberal

"* As this anecdote rests entirely upon tradition, it has been differently told, and it is here admitted in this form, rather as a characteristic feature of the age, and of the individual, than from any positive reliance upon its accuracy. There are yet transmitted, among the inhabitants of Weymouth and Hingham, many stories of Mr. Smith's application of texts, in a similar manner, to the events of the Revolution; which render the truth of this far from improbable."

hospitality. Mrs. Adams lived long enough to see her eldest son employed in some of the highest public trusts, though not to witness his elevation to the chief magistracy of the Union.

The selection from her correspondence before us consists of letters written at different times between the years 1761 and 1814. Most of them are addressed to Mr. Adams, two before their marriage, and others during his absence, in Congress, and abroad upon the public service. There are a few to her son, Mr. John Quincy Adams, while a child and youth, and the rest, with a small number of exceptions, are to her sisters and nieces in New England. They are charming specimens of epistolary composition ; and the last, by a matron of more than threescore and ten, does not suffer in point of grace, — scarcely in point of vivacity, — in a comparison with the first by a girl of seventeen. But their chief value is of a different kind, and one which we should do injustice to indicate in any other words than those of the author of the Memoir.

"In every instance of domestic convulsions, and when the pruning-hook is deserted for the sword and musket, the sacrifice of feelings made by the female sex is unmixed with a hope of worldly compensation. With them there is no ambition to gratify, no fame to be gained by the simply negative virtue of privations suffered in silence. There is no action to drown in its noise and bustle a full sense of the pain that must inevitably attend it. The lot of woman, in times of trouble, is to be a passive spectator of events, which she can scarcely hope to make subservient to her own fame, or to control.

"If it were possible to get at the expression of feelings by women in the heart of a community, at a moment of extraordinary trial, recorded in a shape evidently designed to be secret and confidential, this would seem to present the surest and most unfailing index to its general character. Hitherto we have not gathered much of this material in the United States. The dispersion of families, so common in America, the consequent destruction of private papers, the defective nature of female education before the Revolution, the difficulty and danger of free communication, and the engrossing character, to the men, of public, and to the women, of domestic cares, have all contributed to cut short, if not completely to destroy, the sources of information. It is truly remarked, in the present volume, that 'instances of patience, perseverance, fortitude, magnanimity, courage, humanity, and tenderness, which would have graced the Roman character, were known

only to those who were themselves the actors, and whose modesty could not suffer them to blazon abroad their own fame.'* The heroism of the females of the Revolution has gone from memory with the generation that witnessed it, and nothing, absolutely nothing, remains upon the ear of the young of the present day, but the faint echo of an expiring general tradition. There is, moreover, very little knowledge remaining to us of the domestic manners of the last century, when, with more of admitted distinctions than at present, there was more of general equality ; very little of the state of social feeling, or of that simplicity of intercourse, which, in colonial times, constituted in New England as near an approach to the successful exemplification of the democratic theory, as the irregularity in the natural gifts of men will, in all probability, ever practically allow.

"It is the purpose of the present volume to contribute something to the supply of this deficiency, by giving to tradition a form partially palpable. The present is believed to be the first attempt, in the United States, to lay before the public a series of private letters, written without the remotest idea of publication, by a woman, to her husband, and others of her nearest and dearest relations. Their greatest value consists in the fact, susceptible of no misconception, that they furnish an exact transcript of the feelings of the writer, in times of no ordinary trial. Independently of this, the variety of scenes in which she wrote, and the opportunities furnished for observation in the situations in which she was placed by the elevation of her husband to high official positions in the country, may contribute to sustain the interest with which they will be read." — pp. xxiv – xxvi.

We select, for our first extract, a letter to Mr. Adams of May 24th, 1775, five weeks after the battle of Lexington and Concord. It conveys a vivid idea of the disturbed state of things, which continued throughout that year in the writer's neighbourhood.

"I suppose you have had a formidable account of the alarm we had last Sunday morning. When I rose about six o'clock, I was told, that the drums had been some time beating, and that three alarm guns were fired ; that Weymouth bell had been ringing, and Mr. Weld's was then ringing. I immediately sent off an express to know the occasion, and found the whole town in confusion. Three sloops and one cutter had come out and dropped anchor just below Great Hill. It

"* Letter, 4 March, 1786, p. 325."

was difficult to tell their designs ; some supposed they were coming to Germantown, others, to Weymouth ; people, women, children, from the iron-works, came flocking down this way ; every woman and child driven off from below my father's ; my father's family flying. The Doctor * is in great distress, as you may well imagine, for my aunt had her bed thrown into a cart into which she got herself, and ordered the boy to drive her to Bridgewater, which he did. The report was to them, that three hundred had landed, and were upon their march up into town. The alarm flew like lightning, and men from all parts came flocking down, till two thousand were collected. But, it seems, their expedition was to Grape Island for Levett's hay. There it was impossible to reach them, for want of boats ; but the sight of so many persons, and the firing at them, prevented their getting more than three tons of hay, though they had carted much more down to the water. At last a lighter was mustered, and a sloop from Hingham, which had six port-holes. Our men eagerly jumped on board, and put off for the island. As soon as they perceived it, they decamped. Our people landed upon the island, and in an instant set fire to the hay, which, with the barn, was soon consumed ; — about eighty tons, it is said. We expect soon to be in continual alarms, till something decisive takes place. We wait, with longing expectation, in hopes to hear the best accounts from you, with regard to union and harmony, &c. We rejoice greatly on the arrival of Dr. Franklin, as he must certainly be able to inform you very particularly of the situation of affairs in England. I wish you would, if you can get time, be as particular as you *may*, when you write. Every one hereabouts comes to me, to hear what accounts I have. I was so unlucky, as not to get the letter you wrote at New York. Captain Beale forgot it, and left it behind. We have a flying report here, with regard to New York, but cannot give any credit to it, as yet, that they have been engaged with the ships, which Gage sent there, and had taken them, with great loss upon both sides.

"Yesterday we had an account of three ships coming into Boston. I believe it is true, as there was a salute from the other ships, though I have not been to learn from whence they come. I suppose you have had an account of the fire, which did much damage to the warehouses, and added greatly to the distresses of the inhabitants, whilst it continued. The bad

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" * Dr. Cotton Tufts, of Weymouth, well known for many years, as a leading man in the County of Norfolk, had married a daughter of Colonel John Quincy's, and, therefore, a sister of Mrs. Adams's mother."

conduct of General Gage * was the means of its doing so much damage.

"Our house has been, upon this alarm, in the same scene of confusion, that it was upon the former. Soldiers coming in for a lodging, for breakfast, for supper, for drink, &c. Sometimes refugees from Boston, tired and fatigued, seek an asylum for a day, a night, a week. You can hardly imagine how we live; yet

> 'To the houseless child of want
> Our doors are open still;
> And, though our portions are but scant,
> We give them with good will.'

"My best wishes attend you, both for your health and happiness, and that you may be directed into the wisest and best measures for our safety, and the security of our posterity. I wish you were nearer to us; we know not what a day will bring forth, nor what distress one hour may throw us into. Hitherto I have been able to maintain a calmness and presence of mind, and hope I shall, let the exigency of the time be what it will. Adieu, breakfast calls." — pp. 32–35.

Her woman's heart does not fail her in all these distresses. "Courage," she writes in the next letter, "I know we have in abundance; and conduct, I hope we shall not want; but powder, — where shall we get a sufficient supply? I wish we may not fail there." The following relates to the battle of Bunker's Hill.

"Sunday, 18 June, 1775.

"DEAREST FRIEND,

"The day, — perhaps, the decisive day, — is come, on which the fate of America depends. My bursting heart must find vent at my pen. I have just heard, that our dear friend, Dr. Warren, is no more, but fell gloriously fighting for his country; saying, better to die honorably in the field, than ignominiously hang upon the gallows. Great is our loss. He has distinguished himself in every engagement, by his courage and fortitude, by animating the soldiers, and leading them on by his own example. A particular account of these dreadful, but I hope glorious days will be transmitted you, no doubt, in the exactest manner.

"'The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong; but the God of Israel is he, that giveth strength and power

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"* He had taken the engines under guard, in consequence of a report, that the liberty party intended to fire the town. See 'The Remembrancer,' for 1775, pp. 95, 98."

unto his people. Trust in him at all times, ye people, pour out your hearts before him; God is a refuge for us.' Charlestown is laid in ashes. The battle began upon our intrenchments upon Bunker's Hill, Saturday morning about three o'clock, and has not ceased yet, and it is now three o'clock Sabbath afternoon.

"It is expected they will come out over the Neck to-night, and a dreadful battle must ensue. Almighty God, cover the heads of our countrymen, and be a shield to our dear friends! How many have fallen, we know not. The constant roar of the cannon is so distressing, that we cannot eat, drink, or sleep. May we be supported and sustained in the dreadful conflict. I shall tarry here till it is thought unsafe by my friends, and then I have secured myself a retreat at your brother's, who has kindly offered me part of his house. I cannot compose myself to write any further at present. I will add more as I hear further.

"Tuesday Afternoon.

"I have been so much agitated, that I have not been able to write since Sabbath day. When I say, that ten thousand reports are passing, vague and uncertain as the wind, I believe I speak the truth. I am not able to give you any authentic account of last Saturday, but you will not be destitute of intelligence. Colonel Palmer has just sent me word, that he has an opportunity of conveyance. Incorrect as this scrawl will be, it shall go. I ardently pray, that you may be supported through the arduous task you have before you. I wish I could contradict the report of the Doctor's death; but it is a lamentable truth, and the tears of multitudes pay tribute to his memory; those favorite lines of Collins continually sound in my ears;

'How sleep the brave,' &c.

"I must close, as the Deacon waits. I have not pretended to be particular with regard to what I have heard, because I know you will collect better intelligence. The spirits of the people are very good; the loss of Charlestown affects them no more than a drop of the bucket." — pp. 39–41.

Mrs. Adams's first impressions, from an interview with the Commander-in-chief, soon after his arrival, are recorded in the following terms.

"I was struck with General Washington. You had prepared me to entertain a favorable opinion of him, but I thought the half was not told me. Dignity with ease and complacen-

cy, the gentleman and soldier, look agreeably blended in him. Modesty marks every line and feature of his face. Those lines of Dryden instantly occurred to me ;

> ' Mark his majestic fabric ! he 's a temple
> Sacred by birth, and built by hands divine ;
> His soul 's the deity that lodges there ;
> Nor is the pile unworthy of the god.' " — pp. 51, 52.

In the autumn of this year, the horrors of pestilence in the lately peaceful and happy neighbourhood, were added to those of war. An epidemic dysentery, which first appeared in Boston, extended its ravages through the adjoining towns. Mrs. Adams was severely attacked, and only recovered to become the sole nurse of three persons under her own roof. A domestic died, and about the same time her mother, to whom she was tenderly attached. The severity of this latter affliction may be judged from the language in which it is communicated to her husband.

" Have pity upon me. Have pity upon me, O thou my beloved, for the hand of God presseth me sore.

" Yet will I be dumb and silent, and not open my mouth, because thou, O Lord, hast done it.

" How can I tell you, (O my bursting heart !) that my dear mother has left me ? — this day, about five o'clock, she left this world for an infinitely better.

" After sustaining sixteen days' severe conflict, nature fainted, and she fell asleep. Blessed spirit ! where art thou ? At times, I am almost ready to faint under this severe and heavy stroke, separated from *thee*, who used to be a comforter to me in affliction ; but, blessed be God, his ear is not heavy that he cannot hear, but he has bid us call upon him in time of trouble.

" I know you are a sincere and hearty mourner with me, and will pray for me in my affliction. My poor father, like a firm believer and a good Christian, sets before his children the best of examples of patience and submission. My sisters send their love to you, and are greatly afflicted. You often expressed your anxiety for me when you left me before, surrounded with terrors ; but my trouble then was as the small dust in the balance, compared to what I have since endured. I hope to be properly mindful of the correcting hand, that I may not be rebuked in anger.

" You will pardon and forgive all my wanderings of mind, I cannot be correct.

" 'T is a dreadful time with the whole province. Sickness and death are in almost every family. I have no more shock-

ing and terrible idea of any distemper, except the plague, than this.

"Almighty God! restrain the pestilence which walketh in darkness and wasteth at noonday, and which has laid in the dust one of the dearest of parents. May the life of the other be lengthened out to his afflicted children."—pp. 67 – 69.

Some of the movements, which terminated in the evacuation of Boston by the British troops, are thus described, while they were in progress and their object was unknown.

"Saturday Evening, 2 March, 1776.

"I dare say there would be no difficulty in procuring a vote and instructions from all the Assemblies in New England for Independency. I most sincerely wish, that now, in the lucky moment, it might be done.

"I have been kept in a continual state of anxiety and expectation, ever since you left me. It has been said 'to-morrow' and 'to-morrow' for this month, but when the dreadful to-morrow will be, I know not. But hark! The house this instant shakes with the roar of cannon. I have been to the door and find it is a cannonade from our army. Orders, I find, are come for all the remaining militia to repair to the lines Monday night by twelve o'clock. No sleep for me to night. And if I cannot, who have no guilt upon my soul with regard to this cause, how shall the miserable wretches, who have been the procurers of this dreadful scene, and those who are to be the actors, lie down with the load of guilt upon their souls?

"Sunday Evening, 3 March.

"I went to bed after twelve, but got no rest; the cannon continued firing, and my heart beat pace with them all night. We have had a pretty quiet day, but what to-morrow will bring forth, God only knows.

"Monday Evening.

"Tolerably quiet. To-day the militia have all mustered, with three days' provision, and all are marched by three o'clock this afternoon, though their notice was no longer ago than eight o'clock, Saturday. And now we have scarcely a man, but our regular guards, either in Weymouth, Hingham, Braintree, or Milton, and the militia from the more remote towns are called in as seacoast guards. Can you form to yourself an idea of our sensations?

"I have just returned from Penn's Hill, where I have been sitting to hear the amazing roar of cannon, and from whence I could see every shell which was thrown. The sound, I think, is one of the grandest in nature, and is of the true species of the sublime. 'T is now an incessant roar; but O! the fatal

ideas, which are connected with the sound! How many of our dear countrymen must fall!

"Tuesday Morning.

"I went to bed about twelve, and rose again a little after one. I could no more sleep, than if I had been in the engagement; the rattling of the windows, the jar of the house, the continual roar of twenty-four pounders, and the bursting of shells, give us such ideas, and realize a scene to us of which we could form scarcely any conception. About six this morning, there was quiet. I rejoiced in a few hours' calm. I hear we got possession of Dorchester hill last night; four thousand men upon it to-day; lost but one man. The ships are all drawn round the town. To-night we shall realize a more terrible scene still. I sometimes think I cannot stand it. I wish myself with you, out of hearing, as I cannot assist them. I hope to give you joy of Boston, even if it is in ruins, before I send this away. I am too much agitated to write as I ought, and languid for want of rest."—pp. 88–90.

The letters of Mrs. Adams, which hitherto we have extracted, were all addressed to her husband. The following, to her son John Quincy Adams, who, then a boy in his eleventh year, accompanied his father to France in 1778, reveals her admirable character in a not less interesting aspect.

"MY DEAR SON,

"'T is almost four months since you left your native land and embarked upon the mighty waters, in quest of a foreign country. Although I have not particularly written to you since, yet you may be assured you have constantly been upon my heart and mind.

"It is a very difficult task, my dear son, for a tender parent to bring her mind to part with a child of your years going to a distant land; nor could I have acquiesced in such a separation under any other care than that of the most excellent parent and guardian who accompanied you. You have arrived at years capable of improving under the advantages you will be likely to have, if you do but properly attend to them. They are talents put into your hands, of which an account will be required of you hereafter; and, being possessed of one, two, or four, see to it that you double your numbers.

"The most amiable and most useful disposition in a young mind is diffidence of itself; and this should lead you to seek advice and instruction from him, who is your natural guardian, and will always counsel and direct you in the best manner, both for your present and future happiness. You are in pos-

session of a natural good understanding, and of spirits unbroken by adversity and untamed with care. Improve your understanding by acquiring useful knowledge and virtue, such as will render you an ornament to society, an honor to your country, and a blessing to your parents. Great learning and superior abilities, should you ever possess them, will be of little value and small estimation, unless virtue, honor, truth, and integrity are added to them. Adhere to those religious sentiments and principles which were early instilled into your mind, and remember that you are accountable to your Maker for all your words and actions.

"Let me enjoin it upon you to attend constantly and steadfastly to the precepts and instructions of your father, as you value the happiness of your mother and your own welfare. His care and attention to you render many things unnecessary for me to write, which I might otherwise do; but the inadvertency and heedlessness of youth require line upon line and precept upon precept, and, when enforced by the joint efforts of both parents, will, I hope, have a due influence upon your conduct; for, dear as you are to me, I would much rather you should have found your grave in the ocean you have crossed, or that any untimely death crop you in your infant years, than see you an immoral, profligate, or graceless child.

"You have entered early in life upon the great theatre of the world, which is full of temptations and vice of every kind. You are not wholly unacquainted with history, in which you have read of crimes which your inexperienced mind could scarcely believe credible. You have been taught to think of them with horror, and to view vice as

> 'a monster of so frightful mien,
> That, to be hated, needs but to be seen.'

"Yet you must keep a strict guard upon yourself, or the odious monster will soon lose its terror by becoming familiar to you. The modern history of our own times, furnishes as black a list of crimes, as can be paralleled in ancient times, even if we go back to Nero, Caligula, or Cæsar Borgia. Young as you are, the cruel war, into which we have been compelled by the haughty tyrant of Britain and the bloody emissaries of his vengeance, may stamp upon your mind this certain truth, that the welfare and prosperity of all countries, communities, and, I may add, individuals, depend upon their morals. That nation to which we were once united, as it has departed from justice, eluded and subverted the wise laws which formerly governed it, and suffered the worst of crimes to go unpunished, has lost

its valor, wisdom, and humanity, and, from being the dread and terror of Europe, has sunk into derision and infamy.

"But to quit political subjects, I have been greatly anxious for your safety, having never heard of the frigate since she sailed, till, about a week ago, a New York paper informed, that she was taken and carried into Plymouth. I did not fully credit this report, though it gave me much uneasiness. I yesterday heard that a French vessel was arrived at Portsmouth, which brought news of the safe arrival of the *Boston ;* but this wants confirmation. I hope it will not be long before I shall be assured of your safety. You must write me an account of your voyage, of your situation, and of every thing entertaining you can recollect.

"Be assured I am most affectionately yours." – pp. 122 – 125.

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"Your father's letters came to Salem, yours to Newburyport, and soon gave ease to my anxiety, at the same time that it excited gratitude and thankfulness to Heaven, for the preservation you all experienced in the imminent dangers which threatened you. You express in both your letters a degree of thankfulness. I hope it amounts to more than words, and that you will never be insensible to the particular preservation you have experienced in both your voyages. You have seen how inadequate the aid of man would have been, if the winds and the seas had not been under the particular government of that Being, who 'stretched out the heavens as a span,' who 'holdeth the ocean in the hollow of his hand,' and 'rideth upon the wings of the wind.'

"If you have a due sense of your preservation, your next consideration will be, for what purpose you are continued in life. It is not to rove from clime to clime, to gratify an idle curiosity ; but every new mercy you receive is a new debt upon you, a new obligation to a diligent discharge of the various relations in which you stand connected ; in the first place, to your great Preserver ; in the next, to society in general ; in particular to your country, to your parents, and to yourself.

"The only sure and permanent foundation of virtue is religion. Let this important truth be engraven upon your heart. And also, that the foundation of religion is the belief of the one only God, and a just sense of his attributes, as a being infinitely wise, just, and good, to whom you owe the highest reverence, gratitude, and adoration ; who superintends and governs all nature, even to clothing the lilies of the field, and hearing the young ravens when they cry ; but more particu-

larly regards man, whom he created after his own image, and breathed into him an immortal spirit, capable of a happiness beyond the grave ; for the attainment of which he is bound to the performance of certain duties, which all tend to the happiness and welfare of society, and are comprised in one short sentence, expressive of universal benevolence, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' "

"Justice, humanity, and benevolence are the duties you owe to society in general. To your country the same duties are incumbent upon you, with the additional obligation of sacrificing ease, pleasure, wealth, and life itself for its defence and security. To your parents you owe love, reverence, and obedience to all just and equitable commands. To yourself,—here, indeed, is a wide field to expatiate upon. To become what you ought to be, and what a fond mother wishes to see you, attend to some precepts and instructions from the pen of one, who can have no motive but your welfare and happiness, and who wishes in this way to supply to you the personal watchfulness and care, which a separation from you deprived you of at a period of life, when habits are easiest acquired and fixed ; and, though the advice may not be new, yet suffer it to obtain a place in your memory, for occasions may offer, and perhaps some concurring circumstances unite, to give it weight and force.

"Suffer me to recommend to you one of the most useful lessons of life, the knowledge and study of yourself. There you run the greatest hazard of being deceived. Self-love and partiality cast a mist before the eyes, and there is no knowledge so hard to be acquired, nor of more benefit when once thoroughly understood. Ungoverned passions have aptly been compared to the boisterous ocean, which is known to produce the most terrible effects. 'Passions are the elements of life,' but elements which are subject to the control of reason. Whoever will candidly examine themselves, will find some degree of passion, peevishness, or obstinacy in their natural tempers. You will seldom find these disagreeable ingredients all united in one ; but the uncontrolled indulgence of either is sufficient to render the possessor unhappy in himself, and disagreeable to all who are so unhappy as to be witnesses of it, or suffer from its effects.

"You, my dear son, are formed with a constitution feelingly alive ; your passions are strong and impetuous ; and, though I have sometimes seen them hurry you into excesses, yet with pleasure I have observed a frankness and generosity accompany your efforts to govern and subdue them. Few persons are so subject to passion, but that they can command themselves,

when they have a motive sufficiently strong ; and those who are most apt to transgress will restrain themselves through respect and reverence to superiors, and even, where they wish to recommend themselves, to their equals. The due government of the passions, has been considered in all ages as a most valuable acquisition. Hence an inspired writer observes, 'He that is slow to anger, is better than the mighty ; and he that ruleth his spirit, than he that taketh a city.' This passion, coöperating with power, and unrestrained by reason, has produced the subversion of cities, the desolation of countries, the massacre of nations, and filled the world with injustice and oppression. Behold your own country, your native land, suffering from the effects of lawless power and malignant passions, and learn betimes, from your own observation and experience, to govern and control yourself. Having once obtained this self-government, you will find a foundation laid for happiness to yourself and usefulness to mankind. 'Virtue alone is happiness below;' and consists in cultivating and improving every good inclination, and in checking and subduing every propensity to evil. I have been particular upon the passion of anger, as it is generally the most predominant passion at your age, the soonest excited, and the least pains are taken to subdue it ;

— 'what composes man, can man destroy.'

"I do not mean, however, to have you insensible to real injuries. He who will not turn when he is trodden upon is deficient in point of spirit ; yet, if you can preserve good breeding and decency of manners, you will have an advantage over the aggressor, and will maintain a dignity of character, which will always insure you respect, even from the offender.

"I will not overburden your mind at this time. I mean to pursue the subject of self-knowledge in some future letter, and give you my sentiments upon your future conduct in life, when I feel disposed to resume my pen.

"In the mean time, be assured, no one is more sincerely interested in your happiness, than your ever affectionate mother." — pp. 146 – 151.

The tenderness and address, with which the counsels in the last extract are insinuated, are beyond all praise. One might imagine them to have proceeded from some foresight of the momentous future responsibilities of the mind they were meant to guide.

The feelings of the exulting patriot were sometimes, it seems, no more than strong enough to control those of the lonely wife. We transcribe some records of the frequent

struggle between them, which occur in letters addressed to Mr. Adams in the third year of his second absence in France.

"MY DEAREST FRIEND,

"The family are all retired to rest; the busy scenes of the day are over; a day which I wished to have devoted in a particular manner to my dearest friend; but company falling in prevented it, nor could I claim a moment until this silent watch of the night.

"Look, (is there a dearer name than *friend*? Think of it for me,) look to the date of this letter, and tell me, what are the thoughts which arise in your mind? Do you not recollect, that eighteen years have run their circuit since we pledged our mutual faith to each other, and the hymeneal torch was lighted at the altar of Love? Yet, yet it burns with unabating fervor. Old Ocean has not quenched it, nor old Time smothered it in this bosom. It cheers me in the lonely hour; it comforts me even in the gloom which sometimes possesses my mind.

"It is, my friend, from the remembrance of the joys I have lost, that the arrow of affliction is pointed. I recollect the untitled man, to whom I gave my heart, and, in the agony of recollection, when time and distance present themselves together, wish he had never been any other. Who shall give me back time? Who shall compensate to me those years I cannot recall? How dearly have I paid for a titled husband? Should I wish you less wise, that I might enjoy more happiness? I cannot find that in my heart. Yet Providence has wisely placed the real blessings of life within the reach of moderate abilities; and he who is wiser than his neighbour sees so much more to pity and lament, that I doubt whether the balance of happiness is in his scale.

"I feel a disposition to quarrel with a race of beings who have cut me off, in the midst of my days, from the only society I delighted in. 'Yet no man liveth for himself,' says an authority I will not dispute. Let me draw satisfaction from this source, and, instead of murmuring and repining at my lot, consider it in a more pleasing view. Let me suppose, that the same gracious Being, who first smiled upon our union and blessed us in each other, endowed my friend with powers and talents for the benefit of mankind, and gave him a willing mind to improve them for the service of his country. You have obtained honor and reputation at home and abroad. O! may not an inglorious peace wither the laurels you have won." — pp. 168 – 170.

* * * * *

"MY DEAREST FRIEND,

"I have omitted writing by the last opportunity to Holland, because I had but small faith in the designs of the own-

ers or passengers ; and I had just written you so largely, by a vessel bound to France, that I had nothing new to say. There are few occurrences in this northern climate, at this season of the year, to divert or entertain you ; and, in the domestic way, should I draw you the picture of my heart, it would be what I hope you still would love, though it contained nothing new. The early possession you obtained there, and the absolute power you have ever maintained over it, leave not the smallest space unoccupied. I look back to the early days of our acquaintance and friendship, as to the days of love and innocence, and, with an indescribable pleasure, I have seen near a score of years roll over our heads, with an affection heightened and improved by time ; nor have the dreary years of absence in the smallest degree effaced from my mind the image of the dear, untitled man to whom I gave my heart. I cannot sometimes refrain considering the honors with which he is invested, as badges of my unhappiness. The unbounded confidence I have in your attachment to me and the dear pledges of our affection, has soothed the solitary hour, and rendered your absence more supportable ; for, had I loved you with the same affection, it must have been misery to have doubted. Yet a cruel world too often injures my feelings, by wondering how a person, possessed of domestic attachments, can sacrifice them by absenting himself for years.

" ' If you had known,' said a person to me the other day, ' that Mr. Adams would have remained so long abroad, would you have consented that he should have gone ? ' I recollected myself a moment, and then spoke the real dictates of my heart. ' If I had known, Sir, that Mr. Adams could have effected what he has done, I would not only have submitted to the absence I have endured, painful as it has been, but I would not have opposed it, even though three years more should be added to the number, (which Heaven avert !) I feel a pleasure in being able to sacrifice my selfish passions to the general good, and in imitating the example, which has taught me to consider myself and family but as the small dust of the balance, when compared with the great community.' " — pp. 175, 176.

We give another letter addressed, in 1783, to John Quincy Adams.

" This evening, as I was sitting with only your sister by my side, who was scribbling to some of her correspondents, my neighbour, Field, entered with, ' I have a letter for you, Madam.' My imagination was wandering to Paris, ruminating upon the long, long absence of my dear son and his parent, so that I was rather inattentive to what he said, until he repeated,

'I have letters for you from abroad.' The word 'abroad,' roused my attention, and I eagerly seized the letters, the handwriting and seal of which gave me hopes, that I was once more about to hear from my young wanderer; nor was I disappointed.

"After two years' silence, and a journey of which I can scarcely form an idea, to find you safely returned to your parent, to hear of your health and to see your improvements! You cannot know, should I describe to you, the feelings of a parent. Through your father, I sometimes heard from you, but one letter only ever reached me after you arrived in Russia. Your excuses, however, have weight and are accepted; but you must give them further energy by a ready attention to your pen in future. Four years have already passed away since you left your native land and this rural cottage; humble indeed when compared to the palaces you have visited, and the pomp you have been witness to; but I dare say, you have not been so inattentive an observer as to suppose, that sweet peace and contentment cannot inhabit the lowly roof and bless the tranquil inhabitants, equally guarded and protected in person and property in this happy country as those who reside in the most elegant and costly dwellings. If you live to return, I can form to myself an idea of the pleasure you will take in treading over the ground and visiting every place your early years were accustomed wantonly to gambol in; even the rocky common and lowly whortleberry bush will not be without their beauties.

"My anxieties have been and still are great, lest the numerous temptations and snares of vice should vitiate your early habits of virtue, and destroy those principles, which you are now capable of reasoning upon, and discerning the beauty and utility of, as the only rational source of happiness here, or foundation of felicity hereafter. Placed as we are in a transitory scene of probation, drawing nigher and still nigher day after day to that important crisis which must introduce us into a new system of things, it ought certainly to be our principal concern to become qualified for our expected dignity.

"What is it, that affectionate parents require of their children, for all their care, anxiety, and toil on their account? Only that they would be wise and virtuous, benevolent and kind.

"Ever keep in mind, my son, that your parents are your disinterested friends, and that if, at any time, their advice militates with your own opinion or the advice of others, you ought always to be diffident of your own judgment; because you may rest assured, that their opinion is founded on experience

and long observation, and that they would not direct you but to promote your happiness. Be thankful to a kind Providence, who has hitherto preserved the lives of your parents, the natural guardians of your youthful years. With gratitude I look up to Heaven, blessing the hand which continued to me my dear and honored parents until I was settled in life ; and, though now I regret the loss of them, and daily feel the want of their advice and assistance, I cannot suffer as I should have done, if I had been early deprived of them.

"You will doubtless have heard of the death of your worthy grandpapa before this reaches you. He left you a legacy more valuable than gold or silver ; he left you his blessing and his prayers that you might return to your country and friends, improved in knowledge and matured in virtue ; that you might become a useful citizen, a guardian of the laws, liberty, and religion of your country, as your father (he was pleased to say) had already been. Lay this bequest up in your memory, and practise upon it ; believe me, you will find it a treasure that neither moth nor rust can devour.

"I received letters from your father last evening, dated in Paris the 10th of September, informing me of the necessity of his continuance abroad this winter. The season is so far advanced that I readily sacrifice the desire of seeing him to his safety ; a voyage upon this coast at this season is fraught with dangers. He has made me a request, that I dare not comply with at present. No husband, no son, to accompany me upon the boisterous ocean, to animate my courage and dispel my fears, I dare not engage with so formidable a combatant. If I should find your father fixed in the spring, and determined to continue abroad a year or two longer, the earnest desire I have to meet him and my dear son might overcome the reluctance I feel at the idea of engaging in a new scene, and the love I have for domestic attachments and the still calm of life. But it would be more agreeable to me to enjoy all my friends together in my own native land ; from those who have visited foreign climes I could listen with pleasure to the narrative of their adventures, and derive satisfaction from the learned detail, content, myself, that

> 'The little learning I have gained,
> Is all from simple nature drained.'

"I have a desire that you might finish your education at our University, and I see no chance for it unless you return in the course of the year. Your cousin, Mr. Cranch, expects to enter next July. He would be happy to have you his associate. I hope your father will indulge you with a visit to England this

winter. It is a country I should be fond of your seeing. Christianity, which teaches us to forgive our enemies, prevents me from enjoining upon you a similar vow to that which Hamilcar obtained from his son Hannibal, but I know not how to think of loving those haughty islanders.

"Your friends send you their affectionate regards; and I enjoin it upon you to write often to your ever affectionate mother." — pp. 188 – 192.

In the summer of 1784, as we have already mentioned, Mrs. Adams left home to join her husband, who had been appointed minister to England. On board ship, though almost disabled by sea-sickness, and incommoded by more than a common share of the other *désagrémens* incident to a passage across the Atlantic in those days, she, with her habitual industry and consideration for the happiness of her friends, began a journal, which was continued through several weeks. It is given entire in the present volume, and is followed by several long letters, principally addressed from England and France to her female friends, communicating, with a sort of continuity, the adventures and observations of three years. Together they make one of the most agreeable records of a traveller's experiences in a foreign country that are to be found in print. Mrs. Adams would anywhere have been a quick observer, and lively delineator, of life, scenery, accidents, and manners; but the interest of her journal is much enhanced by the peculiarity of that position, from which (experienced in life, but new to courts, — exalted in station, but a novice in society, — highly intellectual, but simply bred, — the New England village wife of one who had shaken the thrones by which they now stood together,) she made her observations upon foreign men, modes, and institutions; and that too at a period, which has already become historical, and of which perhaps no other such record remains from the pen of an American observer, — certainly none from any observer occupying the same advantageous point of view. We cannot undertake to indicate the most attractive portions of what is throughout highly entertaining or instructive, or both. Now great people and events of the day are brought before the view, and now modes of dress and ceremony are sketched with a distinctness, of which only the female hand is capable. We must, however, give our readers one glance at the octogenarian sage, who

"Eripuit cœlo fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis."

"As to the people here," writes Mrs. Adams, "they are more given to hospitality than in England, it is said. I have been in company with but one French lady since I arrived; for strangers here make the first visit, and nobody will know you until you have waited upon them in form.

"This lady I dined with at Dr. Franklin's. She entered the room with a careless, jaunty air; upon seeing ladies who were strangers to her, she bawled out, 'Ah! mon Dieu, where is Franklin? Why did you not tell me there were ladies here?' You must suppose her speaking all this in French. 'How I look!' said she, taking hold of a chemise made of tiffany, which she had on over a blue lutestring, and which looked as much upon the decay as her beauty, for she was once a handsome woman; her hair was frizzled; over it she had a small straw hat, with a dirty gauze half-handkerchief round it, and a bit of dirtier gauze, than ever my maids wore, was bowed on behind. She had a black gauze scarf thrown over her shoulders. She ran out of the room; when she returned, the Doctor entered at one door, she at the other; upon which she ran forward to him, caught him by the hand, 'Helas! Franklin;' then gave him a double kiss, one upon each cheek, and another upon his forehead. When we went into the room to dine, she was placed between the Doctor and Mr. Adams. She carried on the chief of the conversation at dinner, frequently locking her hand into the Doctor's, and sometimes spreading her arms upon the backs of both the gentlemen's chairs, then throwing her arm carelessly upon the Doctor's neck.

"I should have been greatly astonished at this conduct, if the good Doctor had not told me that in this lady I should see a genuine Frenchwoman, wholly free from affectation or stiffness of behaviour, and one of the best women in the world. For this I must take the Doctor's word; but I should have set her down for a very bad one, although sixty years of age, and a widow. I own I was highly disgusted, and never wish for an acquaintance with any ladies of this cast. After dinner she threw herself upon a settee, where she showed more than her feet. She had a little lap-dog, who was, next to the Doctor, her favorite, and whom she kissed. This is one of the Doctor's most intimate friends, with whom he dines once every week, and she with him. She is rich, and is my near neighbour; but I have not yet visited her. Thus you see, my dear, that manners differ exceedingly in different countries. I hope, however, to find amongst the French ladies manners more consistent with my ideas of decency, or I shall be a mere recluse." — pp. 252 – 254.

Here, too, is a passing glimpse, some years later, of the man "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." Who would have guessed, were it not so written, that the great hand, that had wielded the triumphant truncheon of America and freedom, ever picked plums from a cake for a baby?

"On Thursday last I dined with the President, in company with the ministers and ladies of the court. He was more than usually social. I asked him after Humphreys, from whom I knew he had received despatches a few days before. He said that he was well, and at Lisbon. When I returned home, I told your father that I conjectured Mr. Humphreys would be nominated for Lisbon, and the next day the Senate received a message, with his nomination, as resident minister at the Court of Portugal; the President having received official information that a minister was appointed here, Mr. Friere, as I before informed you. He asked very affectionately after you and the children, and at table picked the sugar-plums from a cake, and requested me to take them for master John." — pp. 415, 416.

On the 8th day of February, 1797, Mr. Adams, as President of the Senate, was to count the votes of the electoral colleges, and announce himself President elect of the United States. If we may trust our heads or hearts, few things finer can be read than the following letter, addressed to him from Quincy on that day. One is half ready to say, that to be allied to such a wife was to be qualified for high place and great actions.

> "'The sun is dressed in brightest beams,
> To give thy honors to the day.'

And may it prove an auspicious prelude to each ensuing season. You have this day to declare yourself head of a nation. 'And now, O Lord, my God, thou hast made thy servant ruler over the people. Give unto him an understanding heart, that he may know how to go out and come in before this great people; that he may discern between good and bad. For who is able to judge this thy so great a people?' were the words of a royal sovereign; and not less applicable to him who is invested with the chief magistracy of a nation, though he wear not a crown, nor the robes of royalty.

"My thoughts and my meditations are with you, though personally absent; and my petitions to Heaven are, that 'the things which make for peace may not be hidden from your eyes.' My feelings are not those of pride or ostentation upon

the occasion. They are solemnized by a sense of the obligations, the important trusts, and numerous duties connected with it. That you may be enabled to discharge them with honor to yourself, with justice and impartiality to your country, and with satisfaction to this great people, shall be the daily prayer of your A. A." *

— pp. 428, 429.

We are not satisfied with this volume. We are not satisfied, because it gives us a sharp appetite for more of the same kind. As a picture of past times, as an exhibition of an extraordinary character, as a contribution to the public history of the country, it has great attraction and value. We trust that the Editor will not fail to increase his claims upon the gratitude of the readers of this selection, by greatly extending it in a future edition.

ART. VI. — *Theory of Legislation; by* JEREMY BENTHAM. *Translated from the French of* ETIENNE DUMONT, by R. HILDRETH, Author of "Banks, Banking, and Paper Currencies," "Despotism in America," "Archy Moore," &c. Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 1840. In Two Volumes. 12mo.

MR. DUMONT's office in respect to Jeremy Bentham's fragments, was the same as that of the comparative anatomists in respect to extinct species of animals, who, digging

* We are tempted to record an anecdote, which, besides being related on good authority, has a verisimilitude which vouches for its truth.

It was natural, that those who were acquainted with Mrs. Adams's extraordinary intelligence, and the profound interest which she took in public affairs, should exaggerate the influence exerted by her over her husband's mind. At the time when Mr. Adams displeased his cabinet by sending the special mission to France, an anonymous writer in one of the Boston newspapers accounted for the error by saying that "the old lady was not with him." The piece was written by a distinguished friend of Hamilton and Pickering, and Mrs. Adams had intelligence respecting its authorship. It so chanced, that not long afterward she dined with the President at the table of this gentleman, who supposed his *incognito* to be preserved. The conversation turned upon some more recent measure of the President, which the host and his friends spoke of with strong commendation. At the first pause Mrs. Adams turned to him, and with a look of arch good nature which few eyes ever could express like hers, said, "The old lady was not with him then."

into the earth, the great magazine of animal *exuviæ* and *débris*, and finding a tooth or a claw, a shell or a bone, here and there, construct therefrom the entire skeleton, and clothe it with flesh and a skin, and give, in due systematic order, the genera and species that have been extinct some thousands of years. So M. Dumont has ransacked the inexhaustible magazine of Bentham's fragments, and brought together the scattered parts, as it seemed to him, of systems of ethics and legislation, in which, however, he has himself supplied many deficiencies. Mr. Bowring, as executor to Mr. Bentham, has succeeded M. Dumont in the business of giving symmetry to the specimens of his testator; but his task is more arduous, for, instead of having finished and half-finished parts to piece out and fit together, he has little more than mere outlines, rudiments, and hints, of which he is to make entire systems, such as Bentham might perhaps have constructed if he had lived long enough.

The mass of works thus produced by M. Dumont by translating Bentham's manuscripts, and filling up the gaps, and adding something by way of ornament and illustration, has had an immense circulation on the continent of Europe. The effect of such speculations as those of Bentham, working in the minds of the busy political philosophers, must doubtless have been very considerable. The force of his ethical writings is almost spent; the principle of utility as the sole foundation and criterion of morals is about passing into the limbo of vanities. The effect, while it was in vogue, was no doubt beneficial in fixing the attention of mankind more steadily on utility as a landmark and guide to moral sentiments and philanthropy; but, on the other hand, it was injurious in making men overlook and forget the intuitive moral perceptions, and the spontaneous instinctive promptings and aspirations of the human mind, as being the basis and revealed principle of systems of ethics. The utility theory teaches us, that we learn the distinction of right and wrong, and virtue and vice, as we do geometry, whereas it is born with us, like hunger and thirst; and as there is a vast deal of art and science involved in the gratification of the appetites, so there is in giving direction and scope to the sentiment of goodness; but we must start with the *postulatum* of the sentiment, the innate feeling of right, and of the obligation of right, as an ultimate fact, the existence and verity

of which cannot be proved, any more than that of taste and smell, being a mere matter of individual experience. Moral sentiment and obligation being conceded, it is then easy to perceive a difference between a good man and a useful machine. We must inquire what is most useful, and pursue it, say the utilitarians. Why? what is the obligation? This question they do not answer. They do not point out the distinction, in ethics, between the useful machine and the useful man who works it. The word *duty* seems to have no meaning in their philosophy.

Mr. Bentham's political speculations are also not without theoretical distortions; but he is not very Utopian, he does not write of perfect commonwealths, founded upon a state of manners, morals, and intelligence of rights and obligations, that have been out of vogue ever since the golden age. He takes mankind as he finds them, with their passions, views, depravity, and blind prejudices; and sometimes reminds his readers of Solon's modification of theories and principles, by the rule, that you are only to give a people as good a code as they will bear. Still he keeps the political *beau idéal* in view, as the central point which legislation is always to seek, but from which it is always driven off by the centrifugal perversity and inaptitude of men, or the untowardness of circumstances. He is a downright, sturdy, hardworking man, of great power and no grace, and utterly free from all offences of the imagination; but he is frequently commonplace and utterly sterile, with, at the same time, great parade of science and analysis, making formal divisions in due order of first, second, and so on, in so long a series that the reader often can hardly but forget where he began, long before he comes to the end. And then he has a way, in the beginning of his chapters and sections, of using a word in a singular and often in an uncouth sense, and then solemnly defining it, with the oracular air, all the while, of revealing momentous truths; whereas the whole of this analytical pageant is only an awkward shift to disguise the want of clear and precise thinking, and mastery of language. After faring on a tiresome length in some of these sandy tracts, the reader is ready to faint and give up the pursuit, but by and by, all by surprise, he finds himself on a firmer footing, in the midst of rich products. And from time to time he is recreated by a chivalrous emprise of the stout old knight, in battering down the moss grown fortress

of some venerable prejudice ; opening to the day the lurking-place of some monstrous error ; or piercing, by his sarcasm, some empty form of conventional mummery. He becomes, all of a sudden, original, strong, fervent, and poignant. The greatest merit of Bentham's writings lies in his occasional heats and intellectual paroxysms, where he does not indulge in his cynical skepticism. It is hard and tiresome to read through his works, or rather the tomes that come out in his name, so much of which consists of mere rude masses ; but then, again, one would not willingly forego his masterly passages. It would be a great service to the science of legislation and of ethics, and to his own memory, to collect his good things. A volume or two of excerpts might be made from his works, which posterity would gladly take along with them.

Bentham begins the present treatise on the "Theory of Legislation," by announcing with much solemnity, that he is the partisan and standard-bearer of utility. "The public good ought to be the object of the legislator ; GENERAL UTILITY ought to be the foundation of his reasonings." And what is utility ? It is "the fixed point to which the first link of a chain is attached" ; it is the beginning, the end, and the middle of his system, the alpha, the omega, and all the rest of his political alphabet. It is the talisman that charms away all ill, and attracts all good. There is no end of his eulogies of utility. Its sovereign virtues surpass those of all quack medicines, and he speaks of it as the advertisers and venders of these same do of their elixirs and balsams, as something of his own discovery, to which, by his manner of speaking, you would suppose him to be entitled to a patent right. He tells us, "Utility is an abstract term. It expresses the property or tendency of a thing to prevent some evil, or to procure some good." This is utility. We understand it quite well if we know what *evil* and *good* are, but, lest we should not, he defines these also. "*Evil*," he says, "is pain, or the cause of pain ; *good* is pleasure, or the cause of pleasure. *Moral good* is good only by its tendency to produce physical good. *Moral evil* is evil only by its tendency to produce physical evil ; but, when I say *physical*, I mean the pains and pleasures of the soul, as well as the pains and pleasures of sense." So we understand what utility is. We are at the same time instructed that to give to

this principle all its efficacy, three conditions are necessary ; 1. "To attach clear and precise ideas to the word utility ;" 2. "To establish the unity and sovereignty of this principle ;" 3. "To find the processes of a moral arithmetic by which uniform results may be arrived at." The first condition is complied with, the meaning of utility is understood ; the second may be conceded, viz. its unity (whatever this may mean) and sovereignty ; the third is not so easy ; these "processes of moral arithmetic, by which uniform results may be arrived at," are not readily discovered. Mr. Bentham beats about for them in vain, leading his readers into darkness and perplexity, beclouded with misty phraseology and definitions upon definitions, and divisions and distinctions infinite, but no light, no consequences, no "uniform results," only a vast vacuity of jargon and charlatanry. Perhaps there was more meaning and wisdom in this scientific parade and solemn marshalling of forces, thirty years ago, when this treatise was originally written ; but, at this day, it certainly appears to be mere mummery, the "uniform result" of which, to the reader, is, that Mr. Bentham cannot think and express himself with scientific simplicity, and clearness, and precision. He mistakes obscurity for profoundness. It is this scientific parade without definite meaning, or meaning worth expression, that renders him so insupportably tedious ; insomuch that his most docile and confiding disciple, most happily endued with patience and long-suffering fortitude, cannot choose but give over, and pass by the scientific flummery, and choose out the passages where he talks with plain straightforwardness upon a practical, interesting question, where he heaves out masses of sense, with frequent felicity of phrase, illustration, and historical and classical references, though often with too bitter antipathy to creeds and hierarchies.

Take any one of the topics treated of in these volumes upon legislation, as for instance, whether a man who has with his own labor raised a crop of wheat, and stored it, shall, on his being overtaken by a fatal disease in the autumn, have the right by law to leave it to his family, for their support after his decease, or shall leave it to be confiscated by the public, and his family to go to the alms-house. This is the topic of one of the chapters, which is treated very well ; and the conclusion is, that the law, which gives the bread to the chil-

dren, is the better one. Here is a question, readily understood by everybody ; and all that can be said upon it, expressed in common English words, used in their ordinary acceptation, is level to the comprehension of any reader of ordinary intelligence. What possible assistance can be derived to the discussion, from the "unity and supremacy" of utility, and the "moral arithmetic," and the definitions and axioms and vague generalities, with which the reader has been afflicted through one half or two thirds of the preceding parts of the treatise ? Mr. Bentham would say, that he conducted the whole discussion, and came to his conclusion, upon the consideration of the greater utility, that is, the greater aggregate of good or pleasure, as he has it, or the greater alleviation or prevention of evil or pain, arising from one or the other law ; just as if he were the first philosophico-political writer, who has treated the question in this manner. This is really a notable instance of self-conceit, for he seems honestly to suppose, that he has made utility better understood, by saying, that it involves the comparison of good and evil, and pleasure and pain ; and that mental pain is physical pain, which last is mere nonsense. It is plain, that after reading all this analysis and speculation, which occupy much space in all Mr. Bentham's philosophical writings, we have no more knowledge of pleasure and pain, and good and evil, and utility, than we began with ; and it is only the author's own overweening self-esteem, that can make him imagine that he has enlightened us.

From the time when the first man first breathed, down to this present, all mankind have been in active quest of this same utility, of good, pleasure, ease, content ; and the same motive has influenced them in legislation as well as in war, hunting, agriculture, commerce, and the arts. To enjoin this motive on men, is as superfluous as to exhort them not to expose themselves to fire and frost.

The introduction of the doctrine of materialism into the definition and estimate of good and evil, and defining mental enjoyments and sufferings to be merely physical, does not strengthen this motive, nor throw the slightest light upon its operation. The difficulty is, to discriminate good and ill, the useful and the harmful ; and a still greater difficulty, to reinforce and give predominance to the motives for pursuing the one, and eschewing the other.

Mr. Benthan has done something in the great and still beginning and never ending labor of demonstrating what is pernicious, and he sometimes points out the proper alternative, the useful. In this search, he is not, however, always successful; and still less is he in the work of reinforcing and multiplying the motives to the right in preference to the wrong. This, indeed, he rarely undertakes at all. And the effect of his exertions is all the less, by reason of his uncouth, empirical phraseology, affectation of profoundness, and other impediments already mentioned.

Mr. Hildreth remarks, in his Preface to this translation,

"Public attention in America is every day more and more attracted to the subject of Legal Reform; and the translator flatters himself that he will have performed a useful and acceptable service, in restoring to its native English tongue, the following treatise.

"It includes a vast field, never before surveyed upon any regular plan, and least of all according to such principles as Bentham has laid down. In the application of those principles, he has doubtless made some mistakes; for mistakes are of necessity incident to a first attempt. But he has himself furnished us with the means of detecting those mistakes and of correcting them. He asks us to receive nothing on his mere authority. He subjects every thing to the test of *General Utility.*" — p. viii.

From his speaking of *restoring* the treatise to its native English tongue, we infer that he was not aware that the same treatise, or something substantially the same, and bearing the same title, was published in English some ten years ago by Mr. John Neal.

It is very true, that the treatise "includes a vast field," but the assertion that it has never before been surveyed upon a regular plan, must be limited to the qualification of "regular plan," at least, if not to that of its not having been surveyed "upon the same principles"; for at the date of the composition, and long before, the continent of Europe teemed with similar speculations.

In 1830 the writings and character of Bentham came under the animadversion of the author of some ably written letters, under the signature of *Eunomus*, addressed to Sir Robert Peel, on the occasion of the discussions respecting the

revision and consolidation of the English statutes on various titles. He says of Mr. Bentham,

"Taking advantage of the peculiar condition of ignorance, in which the English alone among modern nations exist, of the real truths of judicial and jurisprudential science, one of the most singular, and, in some respects, the most talented writers of the day conceived the design, which he has at length, to a very considerable extent, achieved, of founding an individual fame upon the means which his prolific and scorching pen conferred upon him of abusing that ignorance. The circumstances of this case, Sir, in all points of view, place it among the most curious incidents of modern literature. A future generation, fully informed by intermediate discussion in the principles of jurisprudential economy, will review it with an interest, and perhaps with an indignation, which we can scarcely yet realize. They will say, — *This writer* was not one of those who could justly shelter himself under the general ignorance which then prevailed of the principles of jurisprudence, or of the practical results of the tests to which those principles had been submitting on the continent of Europe for a long series of years. He was a man to whom neither the languages nor the literature of the continent were unfamiliar ; he was a man who contrasted, by a long life of uninterrupted literary leisure, those engrossing pursuits of routine which excluded almost all other men from investigations which did not immediately belong to the business of established departments. He was a *citizen of the world*, in a degree which did not ordinarily belong to Englishmen. He was a citizen of France by a decree of the National Assembly, — he was a member of the French Institute, — he spent several years of his life upon the continent, — his personal connexions were principally continental, — and his name was of sufficient occurrence both in French, in German, in Russian, and in Polish literature, to compel a person of his very acute sensibility to fame and notoriety to keep a frequent eye to the journals and literature of the continent. All these circumstances, they will say, appertained to that individual ; and, despite of them all, he either shut his eyes to that which he might have learnt from those peculiar sources of information, or he trusted to their remaining enshrouded in that obscurity which had hitherto been interposed between them and the English nation. For a long course of years, he continued, unweariedly, to inoculate the public mind with a series of mendacious and ignorant assertions and theories, in regard to their existing jurisprudence, and the causes of its defects, one and all of which would have been dispelled, and scattered

to the winds, by only a moderate acquaintance with the experience and the wisdom of that continent with which he was, or might be, so familiar. The doctrine which he most strenuously accumulated his efforts to disciple the English nation to, was, that all the faults, all the abominations of their jurisprudence, arose from law having been made by judges instead of by legislators ; — that it was the business of judges only to *pronounce* the law which legislatures concocted ; — that a text-law might and should be framed, in which, 'saving the necessary allowance for human weakness,' 'no case that could present itself should find itself unnoticed or unprovided for.' He *did not tell them* that seventy years before, a man who, like himself, 'had just and profound views on all sorts of subjects,' * — FREDERIC THE GREAT, — had made the same discovery of the cause of the ill condition of the law ; that he not only *projected* but *executed* the same remedy ; — that with the same antipathy to judge-made law, and belief in the all-sufficiency of legislator-made law, the express directions of the King were that the Code might be simple, popular, and so complete, *that the judge might find in a precise text of law the decision of each individual case ;* and that he *prohibited all analogical interpretation of the rules it contained by the judges*, and ordained that, in every case for which the code did not provide, application should be made to the legislative authority. He *did not tell them* that the absurdity of the project, though backed with all the *éclat* of the *great monarch's* reign, terminated its existence in less than thirty years ; and that the first step that accompanied the publication of the *new* code was the restoration of the right of interpreting the laws to the judges. He *did not tell them* that the talented jurists who composed the *projet* of the Code Napoléon had, in their *Discours préliminaire*, exposed, in the most eloquent and profound manner, the vulgar absurdity of supposing 'that a body of laws could be framed which would provide for all possible cases, and at the same time be understood by the lowest citizen ; ' and had boldly declared that the *details* of law 'must necessarily be abandoned to the empire of usage, to the discussions of the learned, and to the decision of the judges.' He *did not tell them* that the most talented, experienced, and philosophical jurists of Germany, of Holland, of Belgium, of Italy, of Switzerland, of Russia, had been engaged almost unceasingly in some or other of those countries for half a century, in

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"* This was Frederic's own description of himself, in his *Plan pour réformer la Justice.* 'Ce prince, qui a des vues justes et profondes sur toute sorte de sujets,' &c."

the construction, discussion, and re-construction of CODES ; that one of the greatest difficulties they had had to encounter had been to draw the line between the respective functions of LEGISLATION on the one hand, and JUDICIAL JURISPRUDENCE on the other ; and that, in the result of all that discussion and experience, *those* codes had ultimately fallen into most disesteem which attempted most to supplant the functions of the judge, and to anticipate the details of *application.* Availing himself of a distinction which had originated in the laws of ancient Rome, centuries before the introduction of printing, and which had been absurdly enough continued by habit to the present time, — the now nominal distinction of *written* and *unwritten* law, — he represented to the community in the most mendacious terms, that the common law of the country was *unwritten,* and therefore *unknown* and *uncognoscible* law. He *did not tell them* that that *unwritten common law* was PRINTED four times as often in every year, — and in four times the number, — of the printed copies of the *written* or statute law. He argued upon *that unwritten* common law of which three thousand printed copies were distributed annually over the British Empire, as if it had been the same thing as the common law of Russia before the time of the Empress Catherine, which existed only in the Ukases of the judges ; Ukases which were accessible and known only to those few persons who in that country corresponded to counsel or advocates in Britain, and to which persons they *were* accessible and known, only by the circumstance of their having been judges' servants, or having had other such private opportunities of learning the forms of courts, and of being acquainted with precedents and Ukases.

"Taking advantage of the same ignorance, he put forth claims to be the first of created excellences, who had conceived and had carried into execution, the project, which he represented as hitherto unknown and unattempted, of promulgating *the reason* along with each rule of law ; — that reason which should be at once the sanction and the commentary. He *did not tell them* that the very distinction which constituted the superior excellence of the unwritten or common over the written or statute law, — the very ground on which its preference was awarded to it by professors, — was that the common or judge-made law existed, and existed alone, in the shape of a series of *rules deduced from reason ;* that the rule was, with certain anomalous exceptions, never to be found unaccompanied by the reason ; that it was often to be deduced *only* from the reasoning itself, the subject-matter of law being often too subtile and too complicated to admit of the very *form* of propo-

sition. He *did not tell them* that that body of written or promulgated law which had obtained so great a celebrity under the title of the CODE NAPOLÉON, though unaccompanied, in its official and portable shape, by the *motifs* of the compilers, was scarcely ever consulted by the jurisconsults of those countries where it was received without the accompaniment of those motives, either in the same or in a separate volume. He *did not tell them* that those '*motifs*' and the '*discussion*' constituted, practically, a part of the French legislation. He *did not tell them* that under the title of '*La législation civile, commerciale, et criminelle de la France*,' the text of the five codes, that text of which the brevity has so much been admired, was then in a course of publication in twenty-four thick octavo volumes, the product of the additions to that text of the *motifs*, the *discussion*, and the suppletory laws ; — that publication emanating from the chief Secretary of the *Conseil d'État*, compiled from the official documents, and being therefore, in every substantial sense, itself official.

"All these things he either himself refused to notice, although going on under his eye, and within the immediate range of those vibrations which converged into the literary hermitage of Queen Square Place ; and although he visited Paris personally so lately as 1825, was received with honors by the French advocates, and promised them to write a work upon the legislation and jurisprudence of France ; — or, if he did notice them, he trusted to chance, and to the well-known Confucian ignorance of his countrymen, for a season of undetection sufficiently extended for all the calculable purposes of his own fame."

But at the same time, another English writer on jurisprudence, Mr. E. Sinclair Cullen, gave a very exalted character of Mr. Bentham. He says ;

"When I read the criticisms of those who

> 'Bounded by nature, narrowed still by art,
> A trifling head, and a contracted heart,'

attack the opinions and deride the style of Mr. Bentham, I am the more struck with his stupendous superiority of mind, and his enviable superiority of feeling. Men of ordinary capacities fancy there cannot be any great wisdom beyond their own narrow ken, — that there can be no altitudes above their reach, — no depths which they cannot fathom, — no world which they cannot hold in their dirty little hands. Such men are yet more shrunken in their capacities by the worldly interests and feelings which continually absorb and degrade their

contemplations and faculties. The venerable Bentham has preserved the purity of his soul and the lucidness of his judgment by a hermit life, — having early withdrawn himself from the sullying and corrupting assaults and seductions of that self-interest which a worldly life presents to other men at every turn and at every moment; and, emancipated from their power and exempted from their taint, has calmly and almost superhumanly contemplated and judged the motives, and duties, and powers of men, — dwelling with peace, and wisdom, and virtue, in the shrine of his renowned and noble seclusion. But I let my pen drop with humility; — suddenly ashamed at my presumption in fancying that I can offer any worthy homage to a person so celebrated in all quarters of the world as a benefactor to mankind."

So opposite are the opinions entertained of Jeremy Bentham and his labors.

The circulation of this translation, or any work on the same subject in the United States, will have a good effect as far as it may have any influence to invoke attention to the science of legislation, a science which has come to be much more studied, and better understood, on the continent of Europe, than in either England or this country. It is now but a short time, since the introduction of a code of laws was with us considered to be nothing less than a revolution. The United States, and the several States, had their statute books, which they were constantly enlarging, and never a year passed without some material change in the laws. And yet a code, which is nothing more than a systematic arrangement of the laws, supplying chasms and changing such as appear to be defective, was considered to be some terrific innovation. Of late, however, this horror has subsided, and the construction of a code, most usually under the name of *revised statutes*, is quite a usual occurrence. It is true, that formerly some of the speculative philosophers were too fiercely bent upon upturning the whole mass of laws, and introducing many new ones, as foreign to the habits, and business, and wants of the times, as many of the old ones necessarily had become by changes in the social and economical condition. Men thought it better to "bear the ills they had, than fly to others that they knew not of." But the alarm has passed, and men are not now afraid to arrange under appropriate heads, the laws they have, and to supply obvious defects, and to change what is palpably wrong, by the revision of the laws from

time to time, whenever the statute book has grown to be of unwieldy bulk, and the law has become perplexed by detached and piecemeal legislation. The science of legislation is, therefore, an eminently practical one with us ; in other words, we do a vast deal of legislation, and shall continue to do a vast deal as long as the course of things continues to be onward instead of becoming backward ; and this activity in law-making cannot be repressed, notwithstanding that some of our grave and respected seniors may shake their heads ominously. The tides are moving, the winds are blowing, and the sails are spread, and the ship's company will not be induced by ever so loud warnings to come to anchor. If then an inactive, stationary security is wholly out of the question, as it undoubtedly is, we must seek safety in skill and science, in the pursuit of which a glorious career is opened to both ambition and philanthropy ; to ambition, for it is most honorable to point out the way of improving the laws ; to philanthropy, for in no pursuit can greater service be rendered to society.

ART. VII. — *Antiquités Mexicaines. Relation des Trois Expéditions du Capitaine Dupaix, ordonnées en* 1805, 1806, 1807, *pour la Recherche des Antiquités du Pays, notamment celles de Mitla et de Palenque ; accompagnée des Dessins* de CASTANEDA, Membre des Trois Expéditions, et Dessinateur du Musée de Mexico, *et d'une Carte du Pays exploré : suivie d'une Parallèle de ces Monuments avec ceux de l'Egypte, de l'Indostan, et du Reste de l'Ancien Monde*, par M. ALEXANDRE LENOIR, Créateur du Musée des Monuments Français, Membre de la Société Royale des Antiquaires de France, de celle de Londres, &c. ; *d'une Dissertation sur l'Origine de l'Ancienne Population des deux Amériques, et sur les diverses Antiquités de ce Continent*, par M. WARDEN, Ancien Consul-Général des Etats-Unis, Correspondant de l'Institut de France, Membre de la Société Royale des Antiquaires de France, et de plusieurs autres Sociétés Savantes : *avec un Discours Préliminaire*, par M. CHARLES FARCY, de la Société Royale des Antiquaires de France, et de la Société libre des Beaux-Arts de Paris ; *et des Notes*

Explicatives, et autres Documents, par M. Baradère de St. Priest et plusieurs autres Voyageurs, qui ont parcouru l'Amérique. A Paris. fol.

We certainly live in the luxurious age of printing, and this work has all the attractions which the best paper, beautiful type, and splendid engravings can give to it. The literary voluptuary may revel in this edition, and gratify his taste for letters and arts at the same time. But, if these expensive publications have their advantages in the style of execution in which they are got up, they have also their disadvantages, which are not less obvious. They cannot enter into the common mass of literature. They are too costly to be purchased, except by the few, who have a taste for the collection of rare editions, and the means of gratifying it. Here is a work, exceedingly interesting, as is evident from a mere perusal of the title page, to every American, and yet we think it possible there are more persons in the United States, who have visited some of the monuments described in it, than there are who possess the work describing them. Only one copy, as far as we are informed, has reached this country. To us, therefore, this is a sealed book. And even in Europe, we understand, it could not have made its appearance, without the patronage of the French and Mexican governments, and that, as a pecuniary speculation, it has proved a loss to its undertakers. It is much to be regretted that its contents cannot be given in a more condensed form, and be thus placed within reach of the reading community. It was some years passing through the press, and has been but recently completed. We do not propose, at the present time, to present an exhibition of its various contents, but simply to make it the occasion of presenting to our readers some remarks upon the structures, which remain as one token to us of the degree of civilization of the now vanished aboriginal races.

Since the discovery of America, the condition of its aboriginal inhabitants has attracted the attention of the civilized world. Buried, until then, in the recesses of an unknown continent, they suddenly emerged into view, with their peculiar characteristics; and, thanks to the interest with which they were invested by the novelty of their condition, and by some of their romantic traits, the early adventurers, who were

brought into contact with them, have given them credit for an elevation of sentiment, and a progress in improvement, which later and more cautious inquirers have in vain endeavoured to discover. The general features, however, of that great branch of the human family, established upon the American continent, could not be misunderstood then, any more than they can be misunderstood now ; and this race is so unchangeable in its habits, moral and physical, that we can readily recognise those great points of character and condition, which constituted as well its own identity as its circle of separation from the other descendants of our common progenitors. Indolent, improvident, revengeful, fierce ; capable of bearing, but incapable of forbearing ; nomades, with some of the harshest features of nomadic tribes ; placing their glory in the most barbarous and sanguinary wars ; meeting death with fortitude, and taking life without mercy and without remorse ; in the very lowest stage of human existence, both with respect to material advantages, and to moral, social, and religious advancement ; and, to add to all these evils, fascinated, as it were, within a ring, which they have not the wish to pass over,—they seem incapable of appreciating their own condition, and inflexible in resisting the efforts which have been made for their melioration.

But in this great moral desert, the Spanish adventurers, led to the coasts of the new world by that thirst for gold and glory, which was the distinguishing feature of the period immediately following the discovery, found, or seemed to have found, two *oases*, not less verdant in their moral aspect, nor less wonderful, when contrasted with the dark regions around them, than are the green islands, which, while they gladden the heart of the traveller, render, by their contrast, the sandy wastes of Africa still more frightful. The historians of the exploits of Cortez and Pizarro, in the subjugation of the Mexican and Peruvian empires, have described a state of society in these regions, far more advanced than was found in any other portion of the continent, and, we must needs add, far superior to the estimate we should form of it, from any works of art which have survived the destruction of the Montezumas and the Incas. It is an interesting subject of research, in the history of man, to ascertain with reasonable precision, the true condition of these countries, at that epoch ; to analyze and compare the contemporaneous accounts

which have come down to us, and to place these in juxtaposition with the remnants of aboriginal labor still within our reach, and with those great social features yet existing, which, though they have been modified by subsequent events, must necessarily preserve a portion of their original type ; and, by severe deductions, to place the original descriptions beyond the doubts of skepticism, or, by stripping them of the *prestige*, imposed either by heated imaginations, or by a spirit of exaggeration, to reduce them to their just value, as pictures of a new and interesting branch of the human family.

We trust, that future researches into the history of America will be made with an enlarged spirit, and will have for their object, to develope the general state of society of the inhabitants, and their peculiar points of resemblance and opposition, when compared with their invaders ; and to trace, briefly and succinctly, the progress of the one party, and the decline of the other. As to the exposures, and sufferings, and sieges, and battles, and all those circumstances, which are common to every war, and which are so multiplied in history, as to present a confused mass, rather than characteristic facts, to the reader, we can better bear to be content with our present knowledge. But beside these prominent traits, which stand out in such bold relief in all the pictures of human story, there are the far more important questions, to which we have alluded, to be considered and resolved. To the American scholar and archæologist, we know no subject more interesting than the study of the true condition of the Mexican people, when they fell under the Spanish yoke. And, indeed, it is an historical problem, which well merits the favorable attention of the most general reader. There are certainly many considerations which throw doubts upon the vivid representations, that the conquerors and their immediate successors have left us, respecting the government, state of society, religion, population, and progress of the arts, among the several nations, or perhaps more properly speaking, tribes, which inhabited the extensive regions, stretching from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific, north of the Isthmus of Darien ; while, on the other hand, it cannot be doubted that they were in advance of the more erratic hordes beyond them and reaching to the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, in some of the elements of human improvement.

An investigation into this subject, conducted in a philo-

sophical spirit, and supporting its conclusions upon just analogies and undeniable facts, if it present an honorable recompense for literary labor, presents also serious difficulties in its execution. Cortez and his followers were rough soldiers, pushed forward by a dominant impulse, pursuing the path of conquest, and looking neither to the right hand nor the left. They were apparently as incapable of appreciating the value of any inquiries into the peculiar characteristics of the people, among whom they had thus suddenly made their appearance, as unfitted by their object and habits, to collect the materials of such investigations. Besides, theirs was the age of action, rather than of speculation ; and their own enterprise, one of the most hardy in the whole history of human daring, by its hazards, its difficulties, its reverses, its successes, furnished ample materials for employment and excitement, without leaving time for those less ambitious inquiries, which were then so humble, and would be now so interesting. Robertson, in reference to the original documents, written by those who participated in the Conquest, and which now serve as the basis of its history, considers three only worthy of enumeration ; and these consist of the official reports, made by Cortez to the Emperor Charles the Fifth ; " The Chronicle of New Spain," by Gomara ; and " The True History of the Conquest of New Spain," by Bernal Diaz del Castillo. The two other principal works upon this subject, which may be considered as original, are the histories of Solis and of Herrera ; but they were written and published long after the occurrence of the events which they describe, though their authors may have had recourse to documents which have escaped later researches.

But all these works are meagre and unsatisfactory upon the great subject of the moral and social condition of the Mexicans ; and it is only occasionally and incidentally, that solitary facts are recorded, which enable the cautious inquirer to discover, through the glare of military operations, the civil institutions of the falling empire. And, unfortunately, a vein of exaggeration runs through the original narratives, which shakes our confidence in the judgment and impartiality, if not in the fidelity, of the authors, and which leaves a painful impression of doubt upon the reader respecting all the secondary details, although the general results of the enterprise are beyond the reach of cavil. Every one at all

conversant with the Spanish conquest of Mexico, must have read with surprise the accounts of the immense armies, which opposed the progress of the invaders, and of those also, who ult mately joined them, and facilitated their own subjugation, while they thought only of crushing a rival, an enemy, or an oppressor. Cortez, in his second letter to the Emperor, dated October 30th, 1520, estimates the number opposed to him in his first battle at 6,000, in his second at 100,000, and in his third at 150,000. His friend and chaplain, Gomara, adopts the same estimate, with this difference, however, that he reduces the enemy in the second battle from 100,000 to 80,000. But Bernal Diaz del Castillo, who appears to have been a frank and hardy soldier, describing, in his old age, what he had seen and done in his youth, and who participated in all the campaigns of Cortez in New Spain, makes a wonderful deduction from the statements of the General, in the force they encountered upon these occasions. He says, that the Indians were 3,000 in the first battle, 6,000 in the second, and 50,000 in the third. And he makes a remark upon this subject, which furnishes a thread to guide the explorer in his examination of this labyrinth, and which does honor to the judgment, at well as to the principles, of the veteran. He says, "When Gomara on some occasions relates, that there were so many thousand Indians, or auxiliaries, and, on others, that there were so many thousand houses in this or that town, no regard is to be paid to his enumeration, as he has no authority for it, the numbers not being in reality the fifth of what he relates." If further proof were wanting of this propensity to overrate and overstate, it may be found in the assertion of Solis, that there were two thousand temples in the capital of Mexico, when it fell into the possession of the Spaniards ; a number which would have startled an Egyptian in the palmy days of priesthood in that temple-loving country, and which could find no parallel in the long extent from On to Thebes. And to render, if possible, this gross exaggeration still less excusable, Gomara, who entered Mexico with the conqueror, says, that there were but eight places destined to the worship of idols in the city !

Were we in possession of any considerable monuments of the ancient Mexicans, we might estimate as well the state of science and the arts among them, as the accuracy of the contemporaneous authors, who saw and described these works.

But many years since,—in fact, little more than two centuries after the expedition of Cortez,—Dr. Robertson quoted the manuscript journal of a person who had long resided in Mexico, and who had visited almost every province of it, in proof that no vestige of any building or monument, older than the conquest, then existed, except some ruins of a causeway, leading to the capital. Another traveller, referred to by the same historian, and one who had equal means of information, states, that the only relic now remaining, "is a ruined work in the valley of Casas Grandes, which is a paltry building of turf or stone, covered over with earth or lime." These assertions, however, are somewhat too general, though, when confined within the limits, which probably the author assigned to them, that no ruins existed corresponding with the extravagant descriptions given by the early historians, they are strictly true.

Even Clavigero, the panegyrist, rather than the historian of Mexico, in his strictures upon the state of architecture among the original Mexicans, specifies only one pile of buildings as among existing ruins; and, while he speaks of it as worthy of admiration, he says, that neither this nor any other relic of Mexican work, can "be compared with the famous aqueduct of Chempoallan." But unluckily this latter structure was built after the conquest, and planned and directed by a Franciscan missionary; while the former happen to be no Mexican ruins at all, being those at Mitla, which belong to an entirely different race.

Humboldt, who is evidently inclined to estimate, at least at its just value, the state of civilization among the Mexicans, describes the ruins of three pyramids, or mounds, those of Teotihuacan, of Papantla, and of Cholula, and of a work of earth and stone, constructed at Xochicalco, supposed to have been a military position. These evidently belong to that early class of monuments, which were reared in almost every country at the dawn of civilization, and which it required little beside mere physical power to erect. M. de Humboldt describes also some sculptured portions of the human body, stone axes, calendars, idols, &c., and he relates the accounts which were given to him of the ruins of Mitla, that he did not visit, and that belong to another people, and to a different order of architecture. After an examination, somewhat

careful, of the voluminous writings of this author, we have not found any other remains of Mexican art, which come within the scope of this branch of our inquiries.

These tumuli, or mounds, or cairns, or pyramids, form a curious chapter in the history of the progress of society. They embrace, perhaps, the extreme points of human power, including, on the one hand, those immense structures, which yet excite the astonishment of the traveller upon the banks of the Nile, as they did in the days of Herodotus, and which yet survive unharmed by the many ages that have rolled over them, while, at their bases, Memphis and Heliopolis have arisen and disappeared; and, on the other, comprehending the rudest elevations, which, upon the plains of Tartary or America, cover the remains of a savage chief. And they probably covered his war-horse and his arms; for the custom of inhuming together a departed friend, and the objects most dear to him, animate or inanimate, ascends to a remote period, and has spread among the most distant people. The Gothic warrior slept by the side of his horse, as the Pawnee chief now does. This favorite animal is led to the place of sepulchre, in the prairies beyond the Mississippi, and there killed, and consigned to the same grave with his master; and warrior and war-horse are thus ready for their respective duties, when they arrive in the land of spirits. There is an innate feeling in human nature, which hallows the memory of departed friends, and which says to the survivors, Abandon not these precious objects, "like the beasts that perish." This sentiment is independent of reason, and precedes civilization.

The earliest memorials which history records as having been erected by affection or piety, to departed worth, and we may add, the most imperishable too, were heaps of stone or earth, covering the remains of the regretted object. Though between these rude monuments and the sculptured marbles of our own times the difference of art is immense, yet the principle of human nature, to which they equally owe their origin, is still the same.

Mr. Warden, who was an efficient *collaborateur* in the preparation of the work named at the head of our article, and who has been long known to the reading world for his great devotion to literary pursuits, took charge of the investigations con-

nected with the ancient remains in the United States, and has collected, with great industry and fidelity, all the materials which were accessible, tending to elucidate the original purposes of these relics of a remote age. Great credit is due to Mr. Warden for his execution of this task, and nothing seems to have escaped his vigilance. He has sought, in ancient and modern authors, all the information which bears upon the subject, and has elucidated it by many just remarks. He has failed where all would fail under similar circumstances ; where a personal knowledge became necessary to enable him to estimate, at their just value, the facts and descriptions recorded, and the speculations to which these have given birth.

The subject of our aboriginal monuments is an obscure one, and has been rendered still more so by the vagaries to which it has given rise. We do not feel competent to enter into a full investigation of it, though we have had the advantage of examining many of these remains.

Even in the comparison of the facts presented to us, with a view to any useful deductions, two difficulties are met at the threshold of the inquiry. One is the danger of being led away by apocryphal descriptions or speculations, and the other, a total ignorance of the manners of the people, who, at a distant period, occupied the interior regions of the United States, where these remains principally abound.

In support of the first caution, we will recall to the reader the various accounts which were confidently published not long since of an ancient Indian town found in a mine in Georgia, and of another, composed of stone houses, which had been discovered at Green Bay. These stories, and many like them, which have from time to time been palmed upon the public, and have lived their day and disappeared, show the wisdom of a great degree of incredulity upon such matters. To the same effect we will relate an incident, which, coming within our personal knowledge, laid the foundation of that kind of skepticism, with which we have long approached this exciting topic, and which many subsequent circumstances have tended to fortify. We have no doubt the anecdote will be recollected by some of our readers who were early residents northwest of the Ohio. General St. Clair, about forty years since, when governor of the Northwestern Territory, received a

present of a strange-looking copper coin, said to have been found in a spring near Cincinnati. General St. Clair was not merely a man of the world, but he was also a highly educated, accomplished gentleman, and as little liable as any other we have known, to be deceived under such circumstances. But so it was, the copper coin became at once a precious medal, the work of an extinct people, and its crooked looking characters a key to unlock the great secret of their origin and fate. We saw this sacred *treasure trove* in the possession of General St. Clair at Marietta, and we were allowed, like some others, as a special favor, to take an impression of it in pewter, never doubting, any more than our elders in knowledge and years, that, if it was a post-diluvian work, it was, at any rate, contemporaneous with the renewal or discovery of the arts immediately after the dispersion. But alas for the vanity of human expectation! The original, or a copy, fell into the hands of the late Colonel Duane, who had spent a portion of his life in India, and he detected at once, that it was an Hindostanee coin, worth one cent. The buffalo was transformed, without any magic wand, into a cow, and the Manitous, into Vishnou and Brahma.

In the Paris "Moniteur" of June 1st, 1840, we lately saw announced, in a letter from Copenhagen of May 17th, the following intelligence, connected with the very subject we have under discussion.

"In the session that the Royal Society of Northern Antiquities of our city held yesterday, one of the members read a letter, written from Rio Janeiro, by Dr. Lund; in which this enlightened Danish geologist announces to the Society an important discovery he has just made. In digging in the neighbourhood of Bahia, he found the fragment of a flagstone, covered with Runic characters, *gravés en creux* (sunken letters), but much injured. Having succeeded, with much difficulty, in decyphering some words, that he recognised to be in the Icelandic language, he extended the digging in different directions, and soon discovered the foundations of houses, of cut stone, which in their architecture bear a striking resemblance to the ruins that exist in the north of Norway, in Iceland, and upon the eastern coast of Greenland. After continuing his digging still farther, he discovered the statue of the god Thor, (the God of Thunder of the ancient Scandinavians,) with all his attributes, the hammer, the gauntlets, and the magic girdle.

"The Society has requested Dr. Raten, a professor, and author of the celebrated work, 'Antiquités Américaines,' and who was the first to prove, in an authentic manner, the existence of a communication between Iceland and the North of America before the discovery of the Western Continent by Columbus, to make a report upon the letter of Dr. Lund, and to publish it in order to call the attention of the literary world to this interesting discovery, which seems to prove that the ancient people of the North had not only pushed their maritime voyages to South America, but that they had even formed permanent establishments there."

We venture to suggest that the learned antiquaries of Copenhagen have been the victims of a mistake or an imposture, and to predict that they are doomed to bitter disappointment. We are no true prophets, if these new monuments of the arts and enterprise of Iceland, do not vanish like the vapors of its own Geysers, without "leaving a wreck behind."

To the facts we have already recapitulated, furnishing motives for cautious investigation, we are tempted to add another incident within our personal knowledge, which is not inappropriate, particularly as the learned professor, who was the medium of communication, took great interest in all the questions relating to the early condition of this country. He was well known some years since in New York, as a man of much worth, and at one time of high political standing. He devoted himself with great ardor to scientific pursuits, particularly to investigations into the animal kingdom, and was singularly curious in his inquiries into all circumstances presenting any unusual features. This trait of character rendered him sometimes liable to be deceived; but he filled his position worthily, and contributed to the progress of his favorite sciences. In one of our Western excursions into the forest, we found ourselves in the country of the *gophers*, small animals, which dwell principally in the earth, and which are known to naturalists, under the name of *Pseudostoma Bursarium*. Their natural habits lead them to burrow in the ground, and they are furnished with two pouches, formed by a prolongation and indentation of the skin of the cheek, by which the pouch, while it opens outwards, is contained within the jaws. The object of this strange apparatus is said to be, to enable the little animal to excavate his dwelling in the sandy ground, where he loves to resort, by filling his pouches with sand, and then carrying the burden to the entrance of his hole, and

there depositing it, by pressing his forepaws upon his cheeks. We do not vouch for this *architectural process*, but "tell the tale as it was told to us."

At this time the animal was not much known, and we succeeded in procuring one, and gave directions that the skin should be carefully prepared for preservation. It was in the month of July, and it became necessary to turn the skin of the pouches inside out, in order that it might be effectually dried. In this position, they presented the appearance of two strange-looking projections, pushed out from the cheeks, and whose object it would have been difficult to divine. We saved these *exuviæ* of our *gopher*, and afterwards sent them to the naturalist to whom we have already alluded, and who was then a point of concentration for many facts in natural history, which, without his zeal, would, for the time, have been lost to science. We did not replace the inverted pouches in their proper position, never dreaming of the unlucky renown they were about to acquire, and never supposing for a moment, that any mistake could exist respecting their natural arrangement. But so it was, the stuffed specimen was sent to Europe with the projecting appendages, and the animal formed the subject of a memoir, we think, of Cuvier himself, to the Academy of Natural Sciences, in which this zoological stranger was described, as belonging to a new species of quadrupeds, and some speculations were indulged upon his proper position and his habits of life. Soon after the journal of the scientific body, which contained this memoir, reached the United States, we met the same gentleman, who was the correspondent of Cuvier, and he informed us of the high rank which the new animal had attained, and favored us with an inspection of the memoir in which it was described. We immediately saw and pointed out the mistake, of which we had most unconsciously been the cause. The circumstances were subsequently explained, and the error corrected in the history of the proceedings of the learned naturalists of Paris. But the incident has remained impressed upon our memory, warning us, that the highest acquirements may be at fault, and that we must not always surrender our confidence to the highest names.

But to return to our subject. It is obvious, that, in the investigation of the purposes for which the *tumuli* and walls in the Western regions of the United States were constructed,

knowing nothing of the manners of the people to whom they owed their origin, we must deduce our conclusions from general facts, applicable to the conditions of human life with which we are familiar. Yet this process, however necessary, may lead to error. It is well known, that many of the ditches, which make part of these ancient works, are within the walls, and thus, according to our mode of warfare, ill adapted to the purposes of defence. And Bishop Madison, who first observed, or at any rate, who first made known this fact, has concluded from it, that all this class of works was intended for some other object. But, though this opinion has been generally received, the induction rests upon a very slight foundation, as is evident from a consideration of the general circumstances, and particularly from an observation of Eton in his "Survey of Turkey," an author of much authority, who furnishes the proof, that this system of fortification actually exists in the East. In examining the points of opposition, which mark the character and manners of the Mussulmans and of the Western Europeans, this writer asserts, that in many of the Turkish works of defence, the ditches are within the walls.

We have ourselves been led in early life to examine many of these relics of a former age, which yet exist west of the mountains, from the Great Lakes to the Ohio, and even farther south, and from the Alleghany to the regions beyond the Mississippi. We have found them in every situation; in the lowest valleys and on the highest hills, in positions almost inaccessible, as well as in those where defence would seem to be hopeless, according to any system of warfare known to us, supplied with water and wholly deprived of it, and of every form and extent, from a small, isolated enclosure, to works like those near Newark and upon the Little Miami, covering a large extent of space, and presenting great variety in their size and in the distribution of their component parts. Certainly when these structures were hidden in the recesses of a boundless forest, and covered with its largest trees, their first aspect was well fitted to excite the wonder and admiration of the spectator, and to awaken all his enthusiasm. We well recollect the powerful emotions we experienced, in riding upon the octagonal wall of the largest of these existing monuments, sheltered by gigantic trees, and looking down upon the ditches and ramparts, and other constructions of a race of

men, who have left behind them such evidences of industry, stimulated by fear or piety. And this was before the axe had laid low the forest, or the plough had passed over these remains. When the solitary traveller suddenly encountered one of these venerable works, and found the Indian encamped within its circuit, or the deer feeding upon its walls, he was not in a state of mind coolly to investigate the circumstances, which might serve to trace its history, or to ascertain its objects. We must, therefore, receive with great caution, much that has been said upon this subject.

Dr. Stiles inquired the opinion of Dr. Franklin respecting the purposes for which these works were constructed; and it is said he was seriously answered, that the larger class may have served as places of encampment for Ferdinand de Soto in his Floridian Argonautic expedition!

Our eminent lexicographer, Dr. Webster, once adopted this suggestion, which he extended and supported in a labored memoir; though he afterwards rejected it. And what is equally strange, the hypothesis has been as gravely, and we may add as learnedly, attacked, as it has been advanced and supported.*

There is only one course of inquiry by which we may hope to obtain light upon this curious topic. The didactic poet of England has said,

> "What can we reason, but from what we know?"

And though we may be led into error by the process, still it

* The celebrated *scratchings* upon the Dighton Rock are known to all, who have taken any interest in the study of our aboriginal remains, and they have attracted the attention of the archæologists of Europe. It would be invidious and tedious to enumerate the explanatory hypotheses, to which this inscription, as it has been called, has given birth. But the true Champollion is certainly M. Mathieu, who, more fortunate even than the Egyptian expositor, has deciphered the whole monument, and taught us, how In, son of Indias, King of Atlantis, who is called in the inscription the chief of the expedition, went to America in the year of the world 1902, soon after the Deluge, *to form a treaty of commerce!* What a beautiful thing is learning! We opine the poor Indians, when making these marks, and others like them, upon rocks in various parts of the country, for superstitious purposes, for amusement, or to convey information by a rude process to their friends, as their descendants yet do upon trees, were as innocent of poaching upon the alphabetical manor of the Phœnicians, as their learned interpreter was of calling to his aid the dictates of common sense, or of rational criticism. And yet this contemptible trifling, for it merits no better appellation, is gravely quoted by European *savans*, and recorded in European scientific journals as the probable explanation of marks, assumed to be hieroglyphical characters of the most remote antiquity.

is safer in all investigations to rely upon the results of our experience, than to indulge in rash conjectures, like those which have attended the progress of the questions involving the period and purposes of the construction of these interesting relics.

There are but three objects to which they could have been applied, judging from the social condition and institutions of any people, civilized or barbarous, who are known to us. These are defence, religious worship, and inhumation of the dead. And we have no doubt but they have all served for one or other of these purposes, according to the nature of their construction; and perhaps some of them, probably the most extensive, may have been at the same time, fortresses, temples, and cemeteries.

It does not come within the limits we have assigned to ourselves, to enter into a general examination of this subject; but a few remarks, suggested by the inquiries we have made, and fortified by our personal observation, may be neither inappropriate nor unacceptable.

The mode of life followed by our Indian tribes, where their contact with the white settlements has not changed their primitive manners, is now what it was at the period of the discovery of America, and what it probably had been during many previous ages. In the summer they collect into little villages, near a spot of fertile ground and a stream of water, and there they plant their corn. This is the season of amusement and relaxation, when they have their feasts, their dances, and other amusements. The labor is performed by the women, as it is dishonorable for a warrior to devote himself to any pursuit but that of war or of hunting. With the indolence and improvidence which seem to make part of their nature, they plant but little, and cultivate it in the most careless manner. In a few weeks the ears of corn are sufficiently ripe for roasting and boiling, and then commences the season of abundance. It is prodigally used, without a thought of the future, and when the true time of harvest arrives, but little remains; and, during the long interval of autumn, winter, and spring, they must look to the uncertain produce of the chase for the means of subsistence. For this purpose, they break up their summer encampment, and establish themselves by families, in various parts of the hunting grounds belonging to their respective tribes, where the time is spent in the pursuit

of the different animals whose flesh and fur furnish their food and clothing. There are districts, particularly where the more valuable peltries are found, in which each family has its allotted sphere of chase, and the possession of which is as safely guarded by the force of opinion, as our rights of property are by the laws which protect them. It will be perceived at once, that such a mode of life can exist only in a widely extended and thinly peopled country, and that a dense population in any particular region would soon extirpate the game, or drive it to seek refuge elsewhere. And upon this incontrovertible fact we may rest our incredulity, as to all the Ferdinand-de-Soto tales, and others of the same class, which assign a dense population to the primitive American race.

Another feature in this nomadic life is worthy of observation. The American aboriginal man is certainly a pugnacious animal. A calm observer would suppose he could find misery enough around him, without adding to the natural and moral evils of his condition the calamity of eternal hostilities. But the actual state of society in our forests presents, and has always presented, a far different scene. The very earliest narratives of the European adventurers in the New World represent the Indians as divided into numerous tribes, and these tribes as in a state of perpetual warfare. It is well known, that their social institutions encourage this state of perpetual struggle, and that to take, or to assist in taking, a scalp, is as necessary to the reputation of a young savage, as ever were feats of arms in the school of chivalry. Indeed it would seem that a nomadic life, whether led by shepherds or hunters, contains within itself a principle of action, for ever impelling its members to war. All history teaches us, that such a race has its hands against every man; and, from the earliest period, the great Asiatic hive has sent out its swarms, east, west, and south, to overthrow and devastate from Peking to Rome. In former days, an Indian war-party, provided with a little pounded corn or dried meat, left its village and penetrated into the enemy's country, with all the subtlety which makes part of Indian tactics, and there surprised its victims, tore off their scalps, and disappeared. It was against these enterprises, to which neither distance, nor dangers, nor seasons opposed a sufficient obstacle, that each tribe was compelled to guard its women and children. Places of refuge were therefore indispensably neces-

sary, in which safety might be sought till the necessary measures to avert or avenge the blow could be taken.

We see from this slight sketch of the state of manners of the Indian tribes, which all history and observation confirm, why these places of refuge were so extensively scattered through the country. Whether collected in villages or dispersed over their hunting grounds, if a place of security was not near, the Indians were always exposed to the attacks of their enemies. And the timid habits of the animals which were necessary to their subsistence, prevented them from living together in large communities. It is probable that each of the more extensive constructions, such as those at Marietta, at Circleville, and near Newark, may have belonged to a whole tribe, and may have been annually occupied a short time, when custom required the assemblage of all the various members, for the consideration of their common affairs, for the celebration of their religious rites, for the burial of their dead, and for the enjoyment of their public amusements. No doubt the council-fires were here, and were kept burning, and the principal chiefs, or, as the Spanish historians would say, the emperors, established their courts at these fortified capitals. They were the *Champs-de-Mars* of the New World, which like those of the ancient Gauls, described by Cæsar and Tacitus, received, at stated periods, the mass of the people. The smaller works served as places of refuge to the various families and bands, into which the tribes necessarily divided themselves in the pursuit of their occupation. And it may well have been, that during the pressure of a severe war, when, for common safety, these dispersed parties were stronger than usual, they may have occupied several of these positions in succession, as they found the game, from time to time, become exhausted.

It will be seen, that in this view of Indian life we are not driven to the conjecture, which many authors have hazarded, that the country was then thickly peopled; a conjecture wholly irreconcilable with the condition and habits of the Indians. It may be remarked, also, that but two modes of defence could be adopted by them. One was the elevation of ramparts of earth, and the other the construction of stockades, formed of the trunks of trees, placed in the ground. But the latter must have been a tedious process for a people who possessed no cutting instruments but stone axes, and no

domestic animals to draw these heavy materials. This kind of fortification had also the inconvenience of soon perishing, and, even while it was existing, it was liable to be burnt by the enemy. It is probable, that all the extensive elevations of earth may have been many years, perhaps ages, in the process of construction. Each year they may have been repaired, and augmented, till circumstances led to their abandonment. And we believe it is a fact, common as well to these monuments as to those on the plains of Northwestern Asia, that the earth of which they are composed was taken from the surface of the ground, so as not to disturb its appearance; brought probably by the women in their blankets, as the excavations were made in the canal of Egypt, where the Pasha compelled the miserable *fellahs* to dig the earth with their hands, and to remove it in the wretched rags which barely covered them, with a spirit of tyranny not less severe than that displayed by his predecessors, the Pharaohs, whose oppression of the chosen people was followed by such signal chastisement.

No useful induction, proving the existence of an early state of civilization, can be drawn from the Mexican *tumuli*, or from those found in the United States. This kind of primitive monument was constructed, as we have seen, in the earliest ages of the world, and by nations widely separated from each other, and they are, no doubt, the oldest relics of human labor, which have come down to us. They are described by authors as existing in France, Ireland, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Greece, Asia Minor, and several other countries. Their double office, of tombs and monuments, is indicated by the Latin name *tumulus*, given to these constructions, which signifies equally a tomb and an elevation. One of the earliest works of this description, which history mentions, is the *tumulus* erected by Semiramis, to the memory of her husband, on the banks of the Tigris. Every reader, familiar with Homer, will recollect the funeral ceremonies of Patroclus and of Hector, and the mounds which were raised to their memory, and which contained their ashes.

Ἐν κλισίῃσι δὲ θέντες, ἑανῷ λιτὶ κάλυψαν·
Τορνώσαντο δὲ σῆμα, θεμείλιά τε προβάλοντο
Ἀμφὶ πυρήν· εἶθαρ δὲ χυτὴν ἐπὶ γαιαν ἔχευαν·
Χεύαντες δὲ τὸ σῆμα, πάλιν κίον.

Sepulchral tumuli yet exist upon the plain of the Troad, and no doubt existed there when the Grecian bard composed his poem. And he has probably embodied in it the traditions of his countrymen, respecting the origin and objects of these indestructible monuments, and has admirably wrought them into the machinery of his story. Hector and Patroclus rest in their tombs, like the Indian chiefs of our own forests; and these primitive structures, looking out upon "the broad Hellespont's resounding sea," and telling to this age, and destined to tell to one yet far more distant, that "*two valiant warriors lie here, slain by mighty men of war*," recalled to us the mounds we had often ascended on the banks of the Ohio. But hallowed by time and tradition as are these remains of the heroic ages, which look out upon the "sounding main," still the transatlantic pilgrim finds himself more powerfully excited by the humble elevations, which mark, in Greece, the places of conflict and sepulchre, where freedom fought its desperate battles against its Persian invaders.

In an excursion in Greece, we had left behind us Eleusis, venerable as the scene of the great Pagan mysteries. Its massive monuments even now attest the sanctity of the place, and we had roamed among them, recalling the deeds and days of other times. Continuing our journey, we soon reached the mountainous ridge which separates Attica from Continental Greece, and forms a barrier broken by ravines, and admirably adapted to defensive warfare; and, on attaining its summit, a glorious prospect, enriched by recollections of the past, and impressive from its present features, offered itself to our eyes.

Before us was the great plain of Bœotia, and under our feet the ancient city of Platæa, with its gigantic walls here and there, erect or prostrate, looking as though a human footstep had not disturbed the site of this unfortunate city since its capture and destruction, so vividly described by Thucydides. Near by was a little muddy brook, the Asopus, winding its way through the plain, and reminding us of many a sluggish stream we had crossed, at the risk of our neck, in the Western prairies; and upon its bank was the famous field where Mardonius, the lieutenant of the great king, was defeated. In the distance was the Acropolis of Thebes, so renowned in history and fable, and between us and the city of Cadmus was the battle-ground of Leuctra, where

Epaminondas conquered and fell. After examining the environs of Platæa, and endeavouring to comprehend the plan of operations of the contending armies, and the true site of their struggle, we found at length one of the little *tumuli* described by Herodotus,* as erected by the Greeks, over the remains of their countrymen who fell in this battle, and which yet attest the veracity of the historian, and the true theatre of the conflict. We ascended its low summit, and thought of those who were beneath us, and looked round upon all this scene of precious recollections, with feelings it were difficult to describe. And we thought too of the affecting but fruitless appeal which the inhabitants of this devoted city made, three generations later, when they invoked the memory of these *parentalia*, to turn away the wrath of their countrymen. The story is told by Thucydides, in the third book of his History of the War of the Peloponnesus, and a mournful and instructive lesson it furnishes to every federative people ; a lesson, where we might read our own fate, had we not, by a beautiful political constitution, organized our system of government, so as to protect the States against one another, by subjecting each to all, in those questions where rival communities are not less subject than individuals to the infirmities of human passions. Unfortunately the States of Greece had no such barrier, and the whole territory of that little constellation of republics, which shines so brightly in the regions of the past, was filled with internal dissensions, which carried desolation successively into every part of the country, and which finally subjected the Grecian people to the Macedonian and the Roman yokes.

In one of those bitter domestic wars, the inhabitants of Platæa had fallen under the ban of the Spartan league, which prepared to besiege, and threatened to destroy, their city. The Platæans made an effort to avert the wrath of their countrymen, and, among other motives for conciliation, they reminded them of the honors they had always rendered to the *manes* of their common ancestors, who fell while defending

* Book IX. c. 84. The historian records a curious incident, where national vanity triumphed over truth as effectually as in a civilized bulletin, or an Indian tradition. After enumerating the various tribes of Greece, who took part in the defence of Platæa, he states, that each of them erected a monument to their dead, and adds, "Other nations, whose *tumuli* are shown at Platæa, ashamed, as I have been told, at not having been at the combat, erected their respective tombs of earth, in order to acquire honor in the eyes of posterity."

Grecian freedom, in the great battle fought under the walls of their city. "Cast your eyes," said the suppliants, "cast your eyes upon the tombs of your fathers, who died fighting against the Medes, and who found their last asylum in our land. Every year we honor them by public ceremonies, and by all it is proper to do. The first fruits the earth yields we carry to their tombs, showing ourselves the friends of these children of a friendly land; the allies of those who formerly combated with us."

But vain was the appeal. The days of Platæa were numbered. The city was taken, and razed to its foundation; and desolate as the wrath of the Greeks left it, so the traveller finds it at this day.

The sterile and secluded plain of Marathon yet contains a lowly mound, where the Athenians, who fell in the great day of Grecian deliverance, found a tomb and a monument. "Frequently those who died in a campaign," says Thucydides, "were carried to Athens, and buried in one of the most beautiful suburbs of the city. *But the field of battle of Marathon was the place of sepulture for those who there perished for their country.*" It was a proud exception, and has been a durable monument. It has survived the revolutions of their country, and, what is more, it has outlived Turkish domination. It will go down to the most remote ages, confirming the story of Grecian triumph, and marking the position of the contending armies, and the place of the Persian debarkation. When we visited this lonely shrine, every thing was desolate around us. No human habitation was in view. The little bay was unruffled, the plain quiet in its solitude, and the mountain, separating us from Athens, impressive in its rugged nakedness. There seemed to be nothing between us and Themistocles; and the beautiful remark of Pericles, in the funeral oration he pronounced the first year of the war of the Peloponnesus, presented itself to our mind, with all the freshness of association, and all the vigor of truth.

"The whole earth," said the renowned orator, "is the tomb of illustrious men, and this is not a tomb, known in one place only by vain inscriptions, but one which extends itself wherever their glory is spread." Yes, a world, unknown to the ancient Greeks, has arisen since their sun went down, and yet the glory of their philosophers, and warriors, and patriots,

has penetrated its recesses, and we, pilgrims from its distant shores, had come to offer our tribute to their memory.

The Roman poets and historians also describe these works, and attribute to them a similar origin.

Virgil, speaking of the funeral of Polydorus, says,

> "Ergo instauramus Polydoro funus, et ingens
> Aggeritur tumulo tellus."

Lucan, alluding to the Egyptians, in his "Pharsalia," says,

> "Et regum cineres extructo monte quiescant."

And we are told by Livy, that Claudius Nero caused the soldiers in the second Carthaginian war to be buried in this manner, and by Tacitus, that Germanicus himself laid the foundation of the mound, which was erected over the soldiers, killed in the unfortunate campaign of Varus.

But it is needless to multiply authorities upon this point. We will add, only that the *tumuli* in Russia, described by Pallas and by Dr. Clarke, are in all respects similar in their appearance to those in the interior of the United States. There is a passage in Spenser, which is worthy of observation, because it shows the existence of like customs in very different regions, and bears upon one of the difficulties which must have struck every one who has surveyed an Indian mound, surrounded by a ditch and rampart, and who has seen the disadvantages of such a place of defence. In the dialogue between Eudoxus and Irenæus, Spenser says, that the Danes, being less numerous than the Saxons in England, entrenched themselves within these circular elevations. The great temple of Mexcai, as it was called by the Spanish historians, was a truncated cone, covered in part by large stones, and it was defended with great obstinacy against the invaders. The Pyramid of Cholula, which yet exists, though in a dilapidated state, is a monument of a similar kind. And it is very probable, that these elevations of the larger class may have served as places of religious worship in other parts of America, as we see they did in Mexico, and as we know they did also among the ancient Scandinavians. To erect altars in high places was an established custom in the early ages of the world.

We have already adverted to the fact, that all the Mexican constructions, existing at the period of the conquest, have

long ago disappeared, with the exception of two or three ruins, which teach us nothing respecting the state of the arts at that period. Two centuries after the Spanish conquest, and perhaps a small part of this period, were found sufficient to sweep away all the works of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. If the temples, and houses, and fortifications, and walls of stone, described by the early historians, had corresponded at all to the magnificent accounts given by them, such a destruction would have been impossible. A much longer time would be necessary in any country to cause the disappearance of even wooden structures. We shall not stop to extend this view, for we consider it wholly unnecessary. We shall merely present a few statements from early authors, to show the exaggeration to which they were addicted.

The palace of Montezuma had twenty-four doors, three great courts, three fountains, many halls, one hundred chambers, and walls of marble and jasper.

Thascala contained one hundred and fifty thousand houses.

At Chempoallan the houses were of stone and lime, and the streets filled with people.

They saw a great palace, shut in by walls, burnished with lime, shining like mirrors, which the sun rendered very splendid, and like silver.

The houses of Xicolencatl were built of stone and mortar, with bricks, and carpenter's work, and terraces above.

But Cortez himself is the great panegyrist of Mexican architecture, for he says, in his first letter to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, that Montezuma "had, beside those in Mexico, other such admirable houses for his habitation, that I do not believe I shall ever be able to express their excellence and grandeur, *therefore I shall only say, there are no equals to them in Spain.*" Alas for the remains of Roman and Moorish art, which constitute the pride of the Lusitanian peninsula. "Woe is me, Alhama!"

The best commentary upon this text is, that Cortez himself, not finding a house fit for his habitation in all Mexico, was compelled to construct one. That the conqueror was a better warrior than philosopher or historian, we may safely conclude from his description of the tides in the lake of Mexico, which, he states to the Emperor, were like those of the ocean! But the magnificence of the ancient city loses noth-

ing in the work of Clavigero, who says the Spaniards never appeared satisfied with examining the many great buildings, lofty towers, and other objects which the capital contained, but that "nothing struck their minds with more amazement, than the large squares of the market," which far excelled any similar exhibition in Europe! And yet not one stone remains upon another, to testify the existence of one of these palaces, temples, or houses. Two short centuries have swept them away, as completely as the Indian cabins, which, during their existence, were reared and occupied upon the Ohio and Mississippi. In a fair and goodly plate, accompanying Clavigero's work, some magnificent-looking structures make their appearance in the back ground. But the artist has pushed his burine too far, even for the Mexican historian, who observes with great *naïveté*, that the *form of the edifice is a mere caprice of the designer.* Having much more faith in the ordinary operation of natural causes than in the judgment and accuracy of men, who were surrounded by circumstances of a nature to excite and delude them, it is much easier for us to believe that there is gross exaggeration in these descriptions, than that such constructions were reared by Mexican savages, and that they have all disappeared without leaving a vestige of their existence, and that they were built with stone axes, and by a people without domestic animals, and without any conventional representative of value, where the seller of maize must have exchanged his produce for a *natte*, and the workman, after his day's labor, picked up the articles as he could, we do not see how.

But there is no end to the exaggerations of Clavigero. In truth his relation is unworthy of credit, where it is in opposition to the moral circumstances of the Mexicans, as these can be deduced from the confused accounts which are in our possession. A proof of his credulity, or of something worse, is found in his Seventh Book, where he describes what he calls the Mexican "granaries." The reader would suppose, from the terms with which the description commences, that some important structure was about to be introduced, and it is only toward the conclusion, that he finds these magnificent depositories are nothing but plain corn-cribs, such as every Indian and every frontier settler makes for himself in a day to contain his corn. They are formed, says Clavigero, "by placing round and equal trunks of the *Ojametl* in a square, one upon the other, &c."

And what furnishes a singular contrast to the accounts given of the large stone buildings which have long since disappeared, is the statement of Clavigero, "that there are yet existing some of these granaries so very ancient, that they appear to have been built before the conquest."

After these general views of the structures of the races inhabiting the New World, when it became known to the civilized states of Europe, it remains to present to our readers authentic evidence of the existence of monuments, until now concealed amid the rich vegetation of tropical climates, but which, by their extent and magnificence, attest the former existence of a race of people, far more civilized than any known to us on the continent; as every thing around these ruined but majestic edifices attests their extinction. There is no fact in all history more extraordinary, than these solitary remains; carrying us back to a remote period in American chronology, and breaking upon the astonished traveller, like the ruins of Balbec or Palmyra, but with no historian to tell the tale of their origin, progress, and fall. They are truly alone in their glory. Avoiding as much as may be, the contagion of enthusiasm, we shall proceed to describe them from the accounts before us briefly, but with the severity of truth.

These monuments have been found only in that part of North America, which extends from the Gulf of Tihuentepee upon the Pacific, and from Campeachy Bay in the Gulf of Mexico, to the Isthmus of Panamá, forming a long, irregular peninsula, exceeding a thousand miles in extent. Its position in the torrid zone sufficiently indicates its climate and productions. But, in the interior, it rises into an elevated ridge, which separates the streams flowing east and west, into the vast reservoirs which bathe its shores; and the various plateaus of this ridge are renowned for their admirable temperature, as well as for their productive fertility. It is the region where elevation changes climate, and where the orange and the apple grow within sight of each other.

The ancient kingdom of Guatemala, now composing part of the federation, if federation it may be called, of Central America, the Peninsula of Yucatan, forming part of Mexico, the British settlements of Honduras, and the district occupied by the independent tribes, and known as the Muskito coast, divide among them this extensive region. There is

much confusion in its political geography ; and the province of Chiapa, the principal seat of the ancient ruins, which formerly made part of Guatemala, was some years since seized by Mexico, and afterwards divided between that country, and her sister republic of Central America. The prominent features of the natural geography of this part of the continent are all that are known to us. The details are yet to be filled up. The maps are defective, and the course of the mountains and rivers, as well as the positions of many of the important places, are either not traced, or very erroneously represented. The map of the interior of the peninsula is almost a *tabula rasa.*

The principal ruins, or those best known to us, have been found near Palenque, a small city in the State of Chiapa, situated upon the confines of Guatemala and Yucatan, and watered by a little river, one of the tributaries of the Tulya, which discharges itself into the bay of Campeachy. About fifteen miles from this modern town, at the foot of a mountainous ridge, but in an elevated position, is a small plain, having a fertile soil and delightful climate, and at its centre an artificial mound, upon which the principal structures are erected. Colonel Galindo, commandant of the district of Peten, which embraces this site, in his communications to the Geographical Society of Paris, describes in glowing terms the salubrity and beauty of this position, and its geographical advantages with relation to the central regions of America. He conjectures it was the great metropolis of the people, who have left no memorial of their existence but these ruins ; and, carried away by an enthusiasm pardonable in an inhabitant of that secluded country, he exclaims, that the founder of this lost city deserves a place in history, with Alexander, Constantine, and Peter the Great. The state of isolation in which even now these monuments remain, may be judged by a fact stated by Colonel Galindo, that there were but two hunters who knew any thing of them, and that from superstition, or some other cause, they were indisposed to conduct any one to visit them.

After the monuments of Palenque, come those of Mitla, in Guatemala, and then those of Yucatan. We shall content ourselves with the general geographical sketch we have given, adding, however, the names of the various other places where ruins exist, and to which travellers have penetrated,

These are Yacta, Copen, Cetallan, Uchmal, Tulha, and Peten. It is worthy, however, of remark, that these monuments are not confined to a small space, as the names might seem to indicate; but extend to a great distance around the central structures. It is estimated that the ruins of Palenque occupy a circuit of more than forty miles.

It is almost a century since the existence of imposing ruins, furnishing evidence of a high state of civilization at a remote period in the central regions of the new world, became known to the enlightened men of Spanish America. Their reports were at first vague and contradictory, derived from ignorant hunters, who were led by the pursuit of game into the vicinity of these remains. The whole country was very thinly peopled, and, to this day, its true topographical features, as we have stated, are little known.

We owe the first correct knowledge of this class of works to Antonio del Rio, a Spanish Captain, who, in consequence of orders from the Court of Spain, was sent in 1787, by the Viceroy of Mexico, to examine the ruins of Palenque. An English edition of his report was published in 1822.

In 1806-7, another Spanish officer, Dupaix, was despatched upon a similar mission. But the government of Spain had become sensible to the interest attached to these investigations, and the expedition of Dupaix was better provided and organized, than that of his predecessor. He was ordered to examine not only Palenque, which was supposed to be the site of an Egyptian colony, and Mitla, supposed to be a Grecian one, but also the whole region, and to endeavour to discover and describe any other actual remains it might contain. He made three excursions, and the result of his researches is described in a work entitled, "Narrative of Three Expeditions of Captain Dupaix; ordered in 1805, 1806, 1807, for the Examination of the Ruins of the Country, particularly those of Mitla and of Palenque."

M. de Humboldt did not explore the country where these monuments exist, but he found at Mexico an able artist, Don Luis Martin, who had visited Mitla, and who had taken drawings of its ruins. Copies of two of these drawings accompany the "Views of the Cordilleras," &c. of M. de Humboldt. The learned author speaks also of the architectural remains, at a place, called *Palenque*, where he had been told there were ruins, "which prove the taste of the people

of the Toltec and Aztec race for the ornaments of architecture." He adds nothing to the stock of our knowledge upon this subject, and considers these works as Mexican remains, *not going back further* than the thirteenth or *fourteenth century.** It is to be regretted, that this distinguished traveller did not extend his researches into this region ; the most interesting to the archæologist, which the whole continent presents. The field would have been a fruitful one for his erudition, and his powers of combination could not have failed to present striking and unexpected results.

In 1825, the Geographical Society of Paris published a programme, containing the various subjects of inquiry connected with American antiquities, which they deemed important ; and they offered the prize of a gold medal to the competitor who should present the most interesting descriptions of these ruins, before the 1st of January, 1836.

When this period arrived, it was found, that several travellers had recently explored these archæological *oases* of Central America, with opportunities more or less favorable to the solution of the difficult problem, which they offer to the learned world. Among these were M. Correy, Don Juan de Galindo, and Mr. Waldeck.

M. Correy, who is a French physician, naturalized at Tabasco, near Palenque, commenced his researches with the antiquities of this place, in 1819, and continued them at different intervals for many years. In 1826 he communicated, to a journal of Vera Cruz, a comprehensive notice of his labors ; and between 1827 and 1832, he addressed ten letters to a member of the Committee of the Geographical Society of Paris, in which he described the ruins of what he calls *the ancient Southern Palmyra.*

Don Juan de Galindo explored these monuments, and those in other parts of Central America, in 1831, and his

* This conjecture is certainly not in unison with the chronological annals of the Mexicans, referred to by M. de Humboldt, and to which he appears to attach credit. According to these *annals*, when the Aztecs, at the end of the twelfth century, arrived in the country since called New Spain, they found there large pyramidal monuments, that they attributed to the Toltecs, a nation said to have inhabited this country, five hundred years before ! He adds, that " the Aztecs did not certainly know if any tribes had inhabited this region before the Toltecs, and it is possible that these constructions might have been made before."

observations, with a map of the country, and designs of the architectural ruins, have been published.

Mr. Waldeck, an *élève* of the celebrated painter David, repaired to Central America in 1832, for the purpose of studying these ruins, and of describing and drawing them. He remained in the country four years, and seems to have prosecuted his enterprise with zeal, though assailed by several adverse circumstances. He returned to Europe, with a rich treasure of American antiquities, which we have examined with interest ; and published a volume, containing the result of his researches in the peninsula of Yucatan. It is the only part of his travels, which he has sent to the press. It is a folio volume with a map, and contains many plates exhibiting plans, views, costumes, and other details. His researches at Palenque will form another volume hereafter to be published.

Engraved drawings of many of these ruins have also been published by a German artist, Mr. Nehel, and by Mr. Franck, from plans and observations taken by them upon the spot.

The great work of Lord Kingsborough contains, among other interesting information, an account of the travels of Dupaix, together with the numerous and elaborate drawings prepared by the author.

The work entitled "Antiquités Mexicaines," of which the title is placed at the head of our article, contains also a relation of the three expeditions of Dupaix ; a translation into French, from the English edition, of the travels of Del Rio ; a brief notice of the monument of Xochicalco, written by Father Marquez, from the relation of Antonio Alzate, in 1791 ; the narrative of M. Galindo, and some remarks of M. de Humboldt, and of M. de Zavala, the Mexican minister at Paris. The last treats of ruins at Uchmal in Yucatan. This magnificent work is enriched with the drawings of Dupaix, as well as with many other engravings collected from various quarters, and executed in the best style of art.

At the period fixed by the Geographical Society for the adjudication of its prize, in January, 1836, a commission was appointed to examine the works of the various competitors, who reported that none of them had fulfilled the expectations of the Society, or so far carried out its programme as to entitle them to the reward. They therefore recommended, that the prize should continue open for competition till the 1st of January, 1839, which was accordingly determined ;

and this is the last action which the Geographical Society of Paris has had upon this subject.

In the mean time, our countryman, Mr. Stephens, so favorably known by his travels in the East, has repaired to Central America in a diplomatic capacity, and is understood to have visited and examined the most remarkable of these ruins, accompanied by an artist to take the necessary drawings. We await with impatience the publication of his narrative. We regret that the time limited for the presentation of competitors in the lists opened by the Geographical Society of Paris has expired, and that the American traveller is precluded from contending for the prize.

It would be vain to attempt, within the compass of a review, to give an adequate amount of these works, or even to describe all their peculiar characteristics, as far as these have been ascertained. We must content ourselves with compiling from the French collection a succinct notice of the monuments of Palenque, which will serve as a type of these remarkable structures, scattered over an extensive region of country, heretofore covered and concealed by primitive forests, and now bursting, as it were, the tomb of ages, and continually revealing themselves to the traveller, as he penetrates further and further into the regions of their former glory and of their present decay.

Upon an eminence, towards the middle of the site of the city, rises a mass of buildings, of a pyramidal form, with a base presenting a parallelogram, consisting of three different structures, receding in succession, and rising upon each other. This base has a circuit of one thousand and eighty feet, and an elevation of sixty feet (French). It is built of stone, laid in a mortar of lime and sand. In the middle of the front, which faces the east, there is a large stone staircase, which conducts to the principal entry of the temple. This edifice is two hundred and forty feet long by one hundred and forty-five wide, and thirty-six feet high, which, added to the height of the base, gives a total elevation of ninety-six feet. The walls are four feet thick, and constructed of stones of large dimensions. The doorways are unequal in their size. Nothing indicates that they were ever closed, and the same observation applies to all the other buildings. The windows are of various forms, and generally very small. The arches are twenty feet high, and form a truncated angle at the top, ter-

minated by large stones placed transversely. The roofs are of flag-stones, well joined and very thick, and, Dupaix says, bomb proof. The whole edifice is covered, externally and internally, with a stucco containing oxyde of iron; it is crowned by a large frieze, set in two double cornices, of a square form. Between the doors, and upon all the pillars, forming a corridor around the edifice, are encrusted eighty *bas-reliefs* in stucco, representing personages seven feet high; and hieroglyphics, whose careful execution announces that the plastic art had made great progress among the builders of these works. Their exterior view offers a magnificence to which the interior corresponds. Immense halls, ornamented with bas-reliefs in granite, in which the figures are twelve feet high, sculptured hieroglyphics, courts, subterraneous passages, ornamented also with sculptures, a round tower, with four stages, whose staircase is supported by a vault, — such is a sketch of the principal characteristics, which this temple offers; a temple heretofore served by numerous priests and crowded with worshippers, but now covered with briers, where the aloe, with its long stalk, is intermixed with creeping vines, and where nothing but birds of prey, its only inhabitants, breaks the silence of ages which rests upon it.

Other structures in the same state of ruin, and partaking of the same character of former solidity and splendor, are found upon the same *plateau*. The whole number of ruins, hitherto discovered, is eighteen.

Mr. Waldeck has favored us with a memorandum of his researches in this part of America, and of the general results of his observations. We are also indebted to him for information respecting the aboriginal tribes yet remaining in the vicinity of these structures. To the southeast of Palenque, are the Itsacs, to whom he ascribes a different origin from that of the Mexicans. He traces them to the Mayons, whose language is yet the prevalent tongue, spoken in the peninsula of Yucatan. It is also widely spread in Chiapa and Tabasco. What he calls the Mayon architecture, is the style of building which marks the monuments of Yucatan, and which exhibits much affinity with that of Palenque. It is, however, superior in the execution. The work is altogether in wrought stone, and is finished with great elegance and precision. He considers many of the parts as

well executed as the Roman sculptures of the lower empire, and particularly in what he calls the *Lantern of the Temple of Death.*

Mr. Waldeck states, that his attention had been directed to this interesting region by an incident, which, in 1820, placed in his possession a manuscript series of drawings, illustrating the travels of Del Rio; which he published, in 1822, at London. He supposes this volume first conveyed to the world adequate conceptions of these monuments. In 1824, he was appointed mechanical engineer to the mines of Italpuxahuo, in Mexico. Being then led to that country by official engagements, and these having been eventually dissolved by the failure of the speculation, he turned his inquiries towards the ancient monuments, whose existence and description had before interested him. After making himself acquainted with the Mexican antiquities, and with the original languages, he felt confidence in his power to survey the sites of these interesting ruins, to take designs of their plans and elevations, and to describe their general architectural style and features. Being destitute, however, of the means necessary to carry his adventurous plan into effect, he succeeded in the establishment of a company, who agreed to provide the funds; and, trusting to their engagements, he commenced his expedition with a feeble outfit. Political difficulties in Mexico, and other causes, prevented the ulterior arrangements from being carried into effect, and he was eventually circumscribed in his means of operation, and reduced almost to want. As long as his funds supplied him with the power, he employed parties of Indians to clear out the ruins, and to execute diggings in and around them. By a fortunate circumstance he was enabled to continue his operations after the failure of the company, in consequence of a private loan procured at Tabasco.

He reached the theatre of his labors the 12th of May, 1832, and remained two years, exposed to great hardships and privations, in the execution of his self-imposed task. He expresses himself with the enthusiasm of an artist, and says, it would be in vain, were he to attempt to describe the astonishment, with which the first aspect of these solitary and imposing monuments overpowered him. The flat roofs of the palace were overgrown with enormous trees. These he cut down in the course of his operations. He found one on

the top of the eastern gallery, which measured nine feet three inches in diameter. By counting the concentric layers, which botanists suppose mark the annual growth of trees, he found they were one thousand six hundred and nine, and he deduces from this fact the length of the period, which must have elapsed since the edifice was abandoned to the domain of the forest. This estimate was fortified, in his opinion, by a series of observations, which, during eighteen months, he made upon the stalactites and stalagmites, whose number and size are increased by new depositions ; and by a comparison of these with the larger incrustations of this description, which had been previously formed. For ourselves, we have not much faith in results thus obtained. The botanic test may be sufficiently accurate for a few years, and while the tree is comparatively young. But in an advanced age, when the concentric circles run together, we believe the process altogether fallacious. And we have still less confidence in the chronological evidence, furnished by the successive deposits of the matter of infiltration, which calcareous solutions leave behind them. All such inductions are but speculations more or less rash, to which their novelty may give a kind of temporary vogue, but which are soon dismissed to that forgetfulness which is their just receptacle.

Without losing ourselves in vain conjecture, seeking precision where precision is unattainable, we must at present rest content with the conviction which the very aspect of these ruins forces upon the inquirer, that the construction of these monuments ascends to a high antiquity. Their appearance speaks this truth in characters not to be doubted. The few extrinsic circumstances, which come in aid of this supposition, confirm the general fact ; and among these one of the most remarkable is the seclusion in which they so long rested, forgotten apparently by the Mexicans, and unknown to the Spaniards. Mr. Waldeck supposes he has traced hieroglyphical characters upon the ornaments of this edifice, similar in their principle to the Egyptian system ; but accompanied with sculptures indicating a higher state of the art. He flatters himself also, that he has succeeded in deciphering the meaning of some of these inscriptions and representations, and in ascertaining a succession of eleven Queens, belonging to the sacerdotal caste ; and in developing some of the religious mysteries which connect their

mythology with the eastern Asiatic nations. But these are transcendental speculations, and, in the absence of all proof, not within the province of cautious criticism. We know how much there is in these investigations to excite the imagination, and to lead captive the judgment; and we can appreciate the effect which such architectural wonders must produce upon cultivated minds in the tropical regions of America, covered and surrounded by rich and primitive forests, while every other record of the existence of the people who erected them has long since passed away. But, independently of these moral considerations, which dictate a measure of wholesome skepticism, we have examined with attention some of the bas-reliefs in plaster, brought from the temple at Palenque, and which are now in the Royal Museum at Paris. The impression they produced was far more feeble than we had anticipated from the drawings and inscriptions. Certainly they are remarkable works when contrasted with the circumstances of their position. But they appear to us far inferior to the specimens of Egyptian architecture, with which Mr. Waldeck has compared them, and still further below the products of European art. The great error of the professional artists, in such cases, is to sacrifice fidelity to effect, and it is rare indeed that their efforts present the object in the nakedness of truth. Almost every view derives a part of its beauty from the style of execution, as every one may satisfy himself who compares the pictorial copy with the original subject. We have sought in vain for any decided indications of written characters upon these medallions. But M. Jomard, the director of the Royal Library, who was kind enough to accompany us, thought he discovered the outline of artificial characters corresponding with the deductions of Mr. Waldeck. The opinion of M. Jomard will have much more weight with our readers than our own. His literary reputation is established throughout Europe, and his learned labors, as one of the corps of *savans*, who accompanied the French army to Egypt, have turned his attention particularly to the difficult subject of hieroglyphical representations.

It has been impressively asked, what people could have reared such architectural wonders, at a period so remote, that, at the time of the conquest, the Mexicans, of whose antiquity we have heard so much, had lost all tradition of this city of Palenque, formerly so flourishing, and whose existence was

not even suspected by Europeans or Americans during a period of almost three centuries.

In the speculations to which these discoveries have led, architectural analogies have been proclaimed between these monuments and those of ancient Egypt, assigning equal duration to both. And as the American structures are in a more advanced stage of decay than the Egyptian, a higher antiquity has been claimed for them. But these are rash conjectures, wanting all the facts necessary to a rational determination of a question surrounded with great difficulties, and probably destined never to be solved with any precision.

No connexion has been discovered between the Egyptian hieroglyphics and those sculptured upon these edifices. Nor has any relation been traced between these and the Mexican figures. It is also worthy of remark, that, while the temples of Mexico, if indeed that term is applicable to their places of worship, were mere truncated cones of earth, sometimes covered with stone, the religious edifices erected at Palenque were enclosed structures, planned and executed upon just principles of architecture.

Mitla is a kind of semicircular valley, surrounded by arid hills, and producing maize and *marguy*. It is thinly peopled.

Among a crowd of other objects here, are found four principal buildings, called palaces, which have a prominent part in the descriptions travellers have given of this place. They are said to have been executed "with a luxury of magnificence truly worthy of the Romans," "and by their striking aspect, their mosaic decorations, their beautiful preservation, and above all, by their finished design, to produce in the soul of the observer an impression of enchantment, and of indescribable emotion." This extravagance of praise, while it justifies the belief that these are extraordinary structures in *such* places, is not favorable to the exercise of calm judgment by the author, nor is it calculated to gain the sober confidence of the reader.

The most remarkable of these buildings is erected upon a foundation of solid masonry, which serves as the floor of the apartments. It has three staircases, one in the centre of the *façade*, and the two others at the sides. The principal staircase leads to three entrances, which are without doors, and without the appearance of having had any. They are separated by pilasters, with niches, which probably contained statues,

which have disappeared. The architrave, uniting these pilasters, is a block of granite, square, and of an enormous size, perfectly well cut. There are compartments, divided by oblong pannels, surrounded with salient mouldings, beautifully designed, and finished with mathematical exactitude.

The doors open into a long hall, divided longitudinally from east to west by a row of six granite columns, each of a single piece, having a diameter of three feet, and a height of seventeen. The walls are covered with stucco, very smooth, and of a vermilion color. Appearances indicate that the whole edifice, internally and externally, was once encrusted with the same material. The pavement is made of lime and sand, overlaid with a melted composition, firm and well polished, and of a bluish color.

One of these buildings is now occupied as a parochial church, and serves also as the house of the curate. In its general style it agrees sufficiently well with the one we have already described.

The author, from whose narrative we compress this description, remarks, that

"The stone, from which the internal and external ornaments were made, is white, and not very hard. The artists have succeeded in uniting Egyptian solidity and Grecian grace in the mosaic *rilievos*. The eye cannot discern the junction of these small stones, which, however, are united without any kind of cement. They are slightly rounded by the action of the water. The smallest resemble a cone, or a pyramid with a quadrangular base; they are like bricks, varying in their form and size, and were attached to the wall by a plaster cement, prepared for that purpose. Some were placed flat, others diagonally or vertically; some of these stones are sculptured with regular figures."

In seeking the object of these edifices, M. Dupaix supposes they were designed as places of sepulchre; but the indications are so doubtful, that we shall not follow him in his speculations upon the subject.

These revelations of ancient art, in the thick forests of America, where all else was so new and so rude, have provoked a crowd of conjectures, and revived all the dark questions concerning the early communications between the eastern and the western continents, which have been so often discussed. Dupaix indulges in many of the old reveries, but his

speculations are not sufficiently interesting to merit the notice of our readers.

It is obvious that these investigations are premature, and can lead to no useful result. Before we find indications, we must seek facts. And all the knowledge we yet possess of these monuments is insufficient to guide us in exploring the mystery in which they have been shrouded by the darkness of centuries. At the meeting of the Geographical Society of Paris, in January, 1836, M. Farcy, one of the editors of the "Antiquités Mexicaines," thus announced the conclusions to which he had been led. We present faithfully his views, as we find them recorded. We do not profess to understand them fully, and still less to concur in much that we do understand. The author evidently belongs to the school of the *exaltés*, a class of historians whose imaginations supply many of the facts, and almost all the conclusions.

"I compress what I have said into the following observations.

"1. That the primitive population of America must remain as much unknown to us as the primitive population of the other parts of the globe.

"2. That the most ancient remains of this primitive people, which exist in America, are the monuments of Palenque, of Guatemala, and of Yucatan.

"3. That this population must have been more civilized than any other, and further advanced in the arts; and that it must cause us the same admiration, whether its civilization was its own proper work, originating in the country, or whether it was received by direct communication from Asia or Egypt.

"4. That this central country must have been, three thousand years ago, in the midst of America, what were the Assyrian and Persian empires in Asia, Egypt in Africa, and Greece in Europe; that is to say, the luminous foci of civilization, surrounded by the barbarism of a savage people.

"5. That later, but before the fifteenth century, a succession of different people came into America, as colonists or as invaders; by sea, from the east or west, into the central or southern parts of the continent, or more directly into the northern regions

"6. That it was by the north, particularly, that the migrations before the fifteenth century took place into America, and it was from that quarter that the Tartars and Moguls pushed back upon Mexico the more northern population.

"7. That America, discovered by the Europeans towards

the end of the fifteenth century, had already been discovered many times before, according to what we know now, or even according to what we do not know [!] (*ou même selon ce que nous ne savons pas*); like an immense vessel lying upon the bosom of the sea, carried by boarding on all sides, and at all epochs."

It is remarked in the reports submitted to the Geographical Society in 1834, and prepared by M. Jomard, that all these edifices, heretofore concealed in Central America, have a common character in their style and execution, marking them as the productions of the same people, and that they differ from any other monuments found upon this continent. He describes the temple of Copan as of great extent, being six hundred and fifty-three feet by five hundred and twenty-four. In the sepulchral chambers are vases of red earth, varnished, containing human bones mixed with lime. Here are found figures of gigantic crocodiles, and a bust, indicating a statue of fifteen or twenty feet high. The figures in bas-relief have sandals with straps, and clothing of network. There are everywhere tables and stone altars, framed pictures, symbols, and signs, symmetrically arranged, and sculptured and painted. The quarry which supplied the materials for the temple of Copan is more than a mile from this edifice, and the process by which the large stones were conveyed to their destination is not among the least singular of the many difficulties which the subject presents.

Among the documents published in the "Antiquités Mexicaines," is a letter from General Santa Anna, in which he remarks, that "the temple and the monuments of Palenque are worthy of a parallel with the pyramids of Egypt; and whether they were erected in honor of glorious events, or elevated by the munificence of princes, they would not have less celebrity than the Egyptian monuments, if history had transmitted to posterity their origin and the names of their authors."

ART. VIII. — *The Countess Ida. A Tale of Berlin.* By the Author of "Norman Leslie," "Dreams and Reveries of a Quiet Man," &c. In Two Volumes. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1840. 12mo.

THE previous writings of Mr. Fay had not prepared us for the superior merit of the work before us. He has been favorably known as a contributor to the pages of the New York "Mirror," that magazine of agreeable but very light literature. His writings were always pleasing, sometimes pointed and sprightly, but never powerful. They were very good for whiling away a half hour's leisure, in the intervals of some laborious occupation; they refreshed the wearied spirit like the afternoon *siesta* of the South. With regard to style, they never rose above a commonplace purity and precision, which neither roused a lively interest, nor shocked a fastidious taste. The reader never thought of resorting to Mr. Fay for animated description, profound sentiment, or vigorous delineation of character. We were never thrilled by a brilliant expression that betrayed, like a flash of lightning, the depths of a fervid genius, or by a new and sparkling combination of thought, through which shone the radiance of a poetic soul, "of imagination all compact." But we never threw aside his writings, disgusted by those fantastic barbarisms of speech which deform so many popular works of the day, or by those moral paradoxes, which are as offensive to the judgment and principles of sober-minded men, as they are fascinating to the perverted feelings and crude conceptions of the small-brained and long-haired young gentlemen, who set up, with the most entertaining self-complacency, and the most oracular unmeaningness of language, for the arbiters of taste, philosophy, and poetry. His powers seemed to fit him peculiarly for gliding smoothly over the surface of literature and society, but not for diving into the depths of life, and bringing up the priceless pearls of thought; and his style was well adapted for the graceful utterance of superficial observation, and for the slight and rather water-colored descriptions with which his works abounded. His command over the resources of the English language appeared to be extremely limited. The ornaments of a copious vocabulary never seemed to be within his reach. His sentences were short, unimaginative, and dry. We were never roused by

an eloquent paragraph, whose majestic sweep of words, and brilliant array of imagery, carried us away like a fine strain of organ music. Our feelings were never raised beyond a state of comfortable repose, nor ever sunk much below it.

Thus the general character of Mr. Fay's writings seemed to place him among those who contribute to the amusement of the moment, without leaving a permanent trace of their minds upon the literature of their country and age ; who pass, as it were, over "the smooth surface of a summer sea," to be seen for a day, and forgotten for ever ; graceful figures in the panorama of contemporary literature, but too insignificant to be included in the great historical picture which transmits to posterity the mighty intellectual representation of an age.

But Mr. Fay's literary powers have produced fruits much richer than their early promise. Longer experience of life, greater practice in composition, and increased familiarity with the best models of European literature, have given him a vigorous impulse, and unfolded his talents in a surprising manner. His observations have gone deeper, his reflections are more weighty, and his power of conceiving and representing the successive scenes of a narrative has grown stronger than we had any reason to anticipate. In forming the idea of a character also, and in setting it forth by appropriate action, he has shown a remarkable progress. Formerly his characters were faintly-drawn, unsubstantial figures, flitting before his reader's mind, and vanishing away like the unreal mockery of a dream. Now they are well conceived and sharply delineated ; they breathe the sentiments, and tremble with the passions, of natural men and women ; they show the real qualities which living beings display to the observer, and act from the real motives which form the springs of conduct in social life. His narrative is animated and interesting ; the incidents are well selected, and judiciously arranged ; and the plot is put together with a more instructed eye to the proper combination of parts, and to the general effect. We are the more gratified to notice this progress, because Mr. Fay has always manifested a high moral sense ; and we have entire confidence that his powers, to whatever point they may be unfolded, will never be desecrated by ministering to the cause of vice ; that he will never render the artistic talent he possesses the means of embellishing voluptuous sentiment, or imbecility of heart ; and that whatever comes from his pen will breathe the spirit of manly virtue.

"The Countess Ida" is a work, we think, which will give Mr. Fay a much higher reputation than all his previous writings. The perusal of this interesting tale has suggested the observations which we have just made; and we think our readers, who shall examine the book, will sustain our opinion of the great increase of power which he has manifested in its composition. The intention of the writer, as stated in his short Preface, was "to illustrate a principle, and to record his protest against a useless and barbarous custom, which, to the shame of his own country, exists there in a less modified form, than the good sense and good taste of European communities, to say nothing of their moral and religious feeling, would sanction elsewhere." The custom alluded to is that of duelling; and the plot of the novel is constructed for the purpose of showing the wickedness and horrors of the system, and the possibility of resisting a practice founded upon a false sense of honor, and of meeting calmly, bearing patiently, and conquering triumphantly the reproaches, the taunts, the contempt, and the infamy which a conscientious obedience to the voice of duty, in defiance of the rooted prejudices of society, never fails to bring down upon the head of the brave man who dares to be called a coward. The story is managed with considerable art; the incidents are generally well devised; and the catastrophe does ample poetic justice all round. Some scenes in the course of the narrative show a masterly skill in the grouping of terrific circumstances, which make one's hair stand on end; some of the perils to which the hero is exposed, and some of his marvellous escapes, border too closely, perhaps, on the impossible.

We may as well remark, before we proceed to a closer examination of the structure of the novel, that, in common with all works of fiction designed to illustrate a principle, it betrays here and there the forcing process by which things are artificially compelled to bear upon the moral or dogmatic aim of the author. This is a defect, which it would seem almost, if not quite, impossible for an author to escape, who sets out with a deliberate purpose of guiding all the trains of incident in his plot straight forward to a didactic conclusion; and it really injures the moral effect of the work as much as it detracts from its beauty as a work of art. All the bad characters of such a work are very apt to be insufferably bad;

all the good characters to be insufferably good. All the bad characters turn out so badly as to be an "awful beacon" to the rising generation, and all the good characters turn out so well as to offer a handsome premium upon virtue to all the nice little boys who are favored by its perusal. Miss Edgeworth's "Patronage" is a good illustration of the truth of this remark. The good family are all too good; and the bad are really too bad; and the result to both bears an exact mathematical proportion to their respective virtues and vices. It is arrived at by solving the problem of the story upon the principles of a sort of moral Rule of Three. In the one family, the young lawyer is sure to gain his cause; the young doctor is sure to cure the disease, or to operate successfully upon the broken leg intrusted to his care; and the young ladies we know from the first will inevitably be splendidly and happily married. The other family is the exact reverse of all this. We can take our oath at the outset that the son will turn out a dishonest blockhead, the daughter will wed miserably, and the whole family will go to perdition.

Mr. Fay's novel is chargeable with this same defect. One class of characters are encircled with a halo of preternatural light; and another wrapped in the fold of preternatural moral darkness. The virtuous personages, after a period of dreadful suffering, are rewarded with a degree of happiness and of worldly prosperity, by which we feel that their past woes are more than counterbalanced; the villains are plunged into an abyss of retributive misery, which almost obliterates the sense of their damning misdeeds. But this does not mark the book so distinctly, as the corresponding trait characterizes the work of Miss Edgeworth to which we have alluded. Many parts of Mr. Fay's novel are conceived and executed with a freedom and spirit, which show that truth to nature was the author's only guide; many scenes and descriptions are thrown off with a vigor of coloring that expresses only the rapid movement, and the unbiassed, unconscious impulse, of the inspiration of genius. And these are certainly the best parts of the novel; best, because we feel them to be the truest representations of human life and human nature. For the actual events that pass around us, though they never fail to inculcate moral truth, yet never do this broadly and directly. The instructions furnished by them are drawn from hints, and intimations, more or less distinct, but

never set forth with the formality of a systematic code. We find nowhere in human life a series of events arranged with an apparent moral plan, forming a scheme of logical completeness, and winding up with a moral truth, so pointedly uttered, that there is no gainsaying it. Now, though literature can never be an exact representative of nature and life, since its means are limited, and human powers work within a comparatively narrow range, while nature and life sweep through all ages, yet the poet and writer of fiction ought to conform, as much as circumstances admit, to their prototype ; they must not let the element of art, which they add to nature, predominate over the great basis of all works of poetry and fiction, nature itself. This is just the danger, to which the creations of fiction constructed to illustrate a principle are most exposed, and from which no author, who has written after this method, has wholly escaped.

The time of the opening of this story is the year 1790. Several of the most important characters are brought together in the *diligence*, which ran between Hamburg and Berlin. A handsome young man, a respectable middle-aged lady, and a family of vulgar English travellers, find themselves fellow-passengers on the journey to the Prussian capital. Nothing very special happens to them on the way ; the journey was accomplished very much as it had been many times before, and has been many times since. A conversation of some interest, however, springs up between the handsome young man and the respectable middle-aged lady, from which it appears, that she is closely connected, whether by relationship or by some other tie does not yet appear, with a noble family in Berlin, to the head of which our young gentleman had letters of introduction. It turns out, however, that the lady has been for many years a governess in the family of the noble Count Carolan, and that she is an English woman, bearing, at the period of the commencement of the story, the name of Madame Wharton. Our hero's name, it should be mentioned, is Mr. Wyndham. In the course of conversation, the interesting and important fact is brought to light, that Count Carolan has a beautiful daughter, at the enchanting age of eighteen ; and that she is already engaged to a young English nobleman, Lord Elkington, "about two-and-twenty ; a fashionable, elegant young man, of distinguished manners, and very fond of Ida," the young lady in question. Soon after, the shades of night descend

upon the *Schnellwagen*, and the passengers very unceremoniously go to sleep, "nodding and bobbing to each other in the dark, not greatly disturbed by the frequent change of horses, the sounding horn, and the various other noises which one might suppose sufficient to drive 'tired nature's sweet restorer' from any eyelids."

Our hero arrives at Berlin, and becomes at once a distinguished ornament of the highest society in that aristocratic capital. Among the visiters there, are Lord Elkington, and his mother, the Countess of Beverly, the former being, as before stated, the suitor of the beautiful Ida. The plot begins immediately to thicken. Lady Beverly is seized by an unaccountable and uncontrollable emotion upon seeing Mr. Wyndham. Mr. Wyndham, notwithstanding sundry grave admonitions from Madame Wharton, who has been led on by a mysterious feeling to take the deepest interest in his fate, falls desperately in love with Ida; and Ida herself experiences very strange feelings, such as she never had experienced before; in fact, notwithstanding her relations to Lord Elkington, she falls in love with our hero too, without knowing what is the matter. Things are now in as fine a train as heart can desire. The entanglement increases, and the real qualities of the personages in the tale are gradually, and not unskilfully brought to light, as the successive events come forth. Lord Elkington turns out a cheat at cards, a ruffian, a debauchee; in short, every thing that is bad. Wyndham, a man of high honor, undaunted courage, and deep piety. But a mystery hangs over his birth, which he has never been able to fathom. He has been educated by the kindness of a friend, and is now supported by some person unknown, who lodges at a banker's an annual allowance of five hundred pounds. By degrees, through the malice of his enemies, suspicions are thrown upon his character; his fair fame is slandered, and he refuses to call the offender to account in the mode adopted by gentlemen. This of course involves him in still deeper troubles, and he is branded both as a coward and an impostor, he is shunned by the fashionable friends who were so obsequious to him before, and is doomed to meet even "altered friendship's half-averted eye." He bears up heroically under these accumulated sufferings, and finally receives a blow from his inexorable enemy, Lord Elkington, who has observed the feelings of mutual, though unconscious, attachment between Ida and him, and who is determined to drive him into a duel. For a moment, his

resolution is staggered. The stunning sense of personal dishonor almost unmans him, and the passage wherein this is described is one of decided power.

"A blow. This was the blasting thought which filled Claude's mind as he bent his steps he scarce knew whither. He was in a state of agitation which he had never experienced before. He had no longer any power over his reason. His thoughts were tossed to and fro by a whirlwind. He felt, for the moment, that he would commit any crime, could he but tear the heart out of Elkington's bosom! He did not recognise himself. He appeared in his own eyes a *demon*, so dreadfully does unrestrained passion metamorphose even the most rational. All his calm grandeur, — his sense of right, — his reasoning powers, — his resolutions of duty, — his dependence on God, — they were all gone. There was the same difference between his mind then, and as it usually was in its peaceful moments, as between the tall and gently advancing ship, with sails set, each rope in its place, obedient to the helm, and rising and falling on the summer waves; and the same vessel in a fearful tempest, its sails rent to pieces, its masts down, its rudder broken, and its deck swept by huge waves which threaten instant destruction. He could only think one thought, — he could only breathe one word, — *A blow!*

"He thought to seek Elkington and sacrifice him on the spot.

"He resolved to destroy himself instantly.

"He found himself at length at home. He went to his room, he flung himself on his bed, but it heaved beneath him, and fire flashed from his eyes and temples, and faces of a laughing crowd jeered and grinned around, and the finger of the scornful Elkington pointed at him, and people shouted in his ear in all sorts of tones, 'A blow! a blow!' The voice of hate muttered it; it was shrieked as if by despair; friendship seemed to utter it with an inflection of inquiry and incredulity; it came to him with the laugh of childhood and from the scornful lips of women, — '*A blow! a blow!*'

"'It is a dream!' he murmured, and he arose from his bed. The heat in his body was intolerable. The very air he breathed seemed hot and burning. He threw off his coat, his vest; he unloosed his cravat and shirt-collar, and sat down by the open window. But he could not sit still, — he could not lie, — he could not walk. The narrow room oppressed him by its limits; and he strided to and fro, turning against the walls as a wearied and enraged lion paces the small floor of his iron cage, with a tread and a heart that should be upon the burning desert, or the unexplored, unbounded wood. At length he threw himself upon the naked floor, conscious that movement only fanned the fire within him.

"'A blow, — a blow! Let me think of it!'

"And, for a moment, the whirl and tumult of his mind subsided a little, and gave place to something like continuous reflection.

"'No,' he thought, 'it is a dream, — that blasting stroke upon my brow, — a dream?' He raised his hand to his face. He became conscious of a dim sense of pain now for the first time, and, on passing his fingers over it, he found the eye much swollen. He closed the other, and looked out of the window with that one injured. It was nearly deprived of sight. A vague appearance of light was all he could distinguish. The beautiful transparent air, — the bending sky, — the moon riding calmly over all the shocks of earth, — they were lost and fused together, without beauty or separate distinctness. The idea struck him that perhaps the wound was irreparable; perhaps the eye was blind. No! no! it was no dream! It was a bitter, deliberate, public, burning insult. It was the most blighting act of scorn and shame, — the fullest of humiliation, — the most palpable and memorable, — that which could be the least overlooked, or pardoned, or forgotten by mankind, — of all the wrongs that one human being could inflict upon another. It was irreparable. He who bestowed it could not undo it. Time, — distance, — virtue, — could not wash it out. It was a stain eternal. All great Neptune's ocean could not clean its blackened traces, — there was but one thing —

"He started to his feet.

"It was *blood.* It was that great, mysterious, sacred specific, the touch of which blasts ordinary hands, — the very half-forgotten stain of which betrays ancientest crime, — drags the murderer to light, — raises the very dead out of their fleshless graves, till vengeance has had her banquet. The spot upon his forehead could only be effaced, — the flame in his heart could only be quenched, — by *blood!*

"And he sat down and rested his elbows on a table, and leaned his throbbing temples on his fists.

"'Oh God!' he suddenly exclaimed, dropping on his knee; 'teach me, — guide me, — save me, — my heart is wild, — my hand is lifted, — give me some sign!'

"He strove to pray, — as was his custom on occasions where his own sense of right wavered. But his heaving imagination could form no address to the Supreme Being. That serene power that sits above the clouds seemed itself to have deserted him in his deep degradation. He could not utter a prayer, or conceive one. Strange things flitted before his eyes, and flapped their wings in his face; and laughter, and shrieks, and hisses rose once more around him, till the dark room seemed crowded with evil spirits, in the full ecstasy of their orgies

over a lost one. He leaned again his forehead upon the table, when suddenly a voice, as if of one of these fiends, seemed to say,

"'Yes, you *are* a coward! It is craven *fear* that holds your hand. You are a canting, trembling hypocrite. You deceive yourself with names of virtue and illusions of religion, — abject, — disgraced, — wretched creature! No one else is deceived. Elkington is a gallant fellow. You injured him like a scoundrel, and then fled from him like a coward. You are afraid to fight a duel. An unmanly sensibility and womanish effeminacy is the secret of your convenient principles, — your puny virtue. Who made you a judge, — a reformer, — a prophet? Who gave *you* light to see, what none of the wise, — the brave, — the great can see? Who teaches *you* to distinguish between what is right and what is not, — between what God commands and what he forbids? Why *not* fight a duel? It is the custom! It is a good custom. It is brave and manly. It unmasks cowards and sneaking hypocrites. Fool! look into your own heart, and see what its honest dictates tell you of a *blow*. Every fibre of your trembling frame quivered with it. Every faculty of your shrinking soul fainted at it. Nature rose against it. A blow! Since time began it is the badge of insult, — the mark of shame. It is a curse full of the accumulated infamy of ages. The very beast turns at it. Its bodily pain is but a type and faint shadow of its moral ruin. Bear this one, and you will receive another, — and another, — and another. Who hereafter will honor you? who will love you? Outcast! the blood in your veins is water, — your heart is faint, — you are not a *man*, — you have borne a *blow!*'

"'But I have *not* borne it,' said Claude.

"He rose and reached from his bookcase a pair of travelling pistols, and, placing them in his bosom, rushed from his house into the street. At first he knew not whether it was dark or light, whether the weather was fair or cloudy, nor had he any precise idea of what he intended to do, or where he meant to go. He had not walked far when he saw a man. He was a sentinel. For the first time in his life he felt unable to bear the eyes of a fellow-being. The swollen wound upon his face seemed a mountain, and he forgot every thing but the desire to withdraw himself into solitude, — darkness, — and silence, — away from the gaze of all, — even were it in the grave. Then there came to him again, as he walked, startling thoughts of self-destruction. Only death could relieve him from the agony of his heart. He cast his eyes about him upon the surrounding objects, — the long, quiet streets, — the deserted squares, — the silent houses, — the soft, waving

trees. He wondered to behold such tranquillity, — such peace, — after all his anguish. He walked beneath the soft branches with shame, — he shrank from the moonlight reflected against the houses, — the very pavement he seemed to tread on as an intruder, — as a felon ; and he looked around him like guilt, stolen in the night from its lurking-place, — ashamed, — and fearful of being seen.

" ' Ah,' thought Claude, as a moment of calm reflection came to him with the soft air and balmy night-breeze, ' little dreams he who, rude in nature, bad in heart, and feeble in understanding, — without principle, feeling, or religion, — with no restraints in this world, and no communings with the other, — ah, little thinks the common, vulgar mind, of the dread act he perpetrates when he launches *a blow* against a fellow-being.'

" He bent his steps towards his favorite Park. His thoughts now rolled through his mind less confusedly. He was no longer mad, but they had a deep and solemn motion. He passed through the tall Brandenburg gate. The guard at his post looked at him ; he shrank from his eye, and the man seemed inclined to stop him, but did not.

" ' He sees,' said Claude, ' humiliation in my very walk.'

" There is something in a night ramble which restores the agitated soul to itself. He felt the rapid motion, — the cool, sweet air abate, soothe, and calm the heat which till now had oppressed him. He penetrated into the beautiful recesses of the luxuriant wood. It was again a bright moonlight, and the scene touched him through all his agitation and awoke other feelings.

" ' Receive me ! ' he said, ' pure shades ; receive the outcast, now doubly outcast. Receive the stained, the shamed, the fallen ! Shrink not from me, ye flowers, nor turn away your protecting arms, ye calm old trees, who stand for ages through sun and storm, and never know what he who steals beneath your path knows to-night. When I last walked here I was as pure and scatheless as yourselves ; now I am apart from other men, unless I dip my hands in blood ! Oh, that it were for ever night ! Oh, could I remain for ever here, alone with you, — where no blood flows at my feet, and no hisses sound in my ears. A blow ! a blow ! Poor, poor Rossi ! *He* went mad ; and it was this same hand that struck him too. God ! when he told me of it, I little knew what *a blow* was. Why did not the lightning arrest that rash hand ere it cast on me this fatal misery I should have *killed* him, but I was held, — for good or for evil. Killed ! what if I *had* killed him ? What is killing ? what is life ? what is death ? Will not God pardon it ? Can I be punished for not bearing a burden beyond my strength ? and, after all, who says killing is *not* right ?

The Holy Scriptures call out "blood for blood"; and is not a blow blood? Is it not worse? We have killed each other since Abel's time, — daily and hourly. It is our nature. It enters into the plan of Providence. All things kill. The soft dove snatches the golden insect, — the hawk pierces the dove, — the lion tears his prey, — the boar has his tusk, — the serpent his sting. This sweet forest, so fair to view, is but a scene of continual massacre. The microscope, that discovers animalcules invisible to the naked eye, finds them killing each other. I have surely been led away by idle theories of human excellence. I have set myself apart as better than my fellow-beings. I am not. I do not wish to be. God made us mortal. *I will kill this man.* I will meet him, — and one of us shall die. Perhaps, now, he will not, — then still I will kill him. To-morrow, — a week hence, — a year, — twenty years, — standing amid his friends, — asleep, — awake, — in bed, — in the fields, — in the dance, — at the very altar, on his knees in repentant prayer, — I will kill him, — I will have his heart's blood!'

"He paused. The last words had been spoken aloud. They sounded like the imprecations of a demon escaped from hell, amid these soft glades and perfumed bowers.

"'Alas! what am I become? What bloody and dark demon has entered my body? Is this indeed honor? Is this duty? Our Redeemer suffered a blow! * * * * But that sublime tradition which paints the wandering Jew, — there is meaning in it. * * * * * * * Oh God!' he continued, after pacing on yet further, 'I am lost. I acknowledge myself weak. I know not what I say or do. I am rushing blindly upon murder, — upon death. The very fiends in the shape of human reason seem goading and urging me on. Alas! human reason is vain. I have listened to it too long. As yet my hands are pure from blood, — as yet I do not stand before the throne of Heaven, uncalled but by my own passion. There *is* a higher power, — I appeal to *Him*. I will not decide in my rashness. What do I care for man's opinion?'

"He lifted his hands and eyes to heaven. It was near morning, and the sky was singularly transparent. He gazed breathless upon its quiet, eternal fields, — the serene order of its glittering worlds, — the hushed groups of stars, — the moon pure, high, bright, and calm as the virtue which he had forgotten, — as the innocence he had nearly thrown away. A dark cloud, of which the summit was piled up, mass above mass, like the silver Pyrenean cliffs above the blue Mediterranean, and whose base, black and definitely marked against the radiant air, lay stretched like a huge rock in a summer deep, gave to that upper world of light a new and awful aspect. As

he gazed, a sudden breeze came softly rushing over the tree-tops, — kissing the murmuring leaves, — reaching the face of the half-maddened being below, — cooling his brow, and cheek, and heart, — lifting the hair from his hot forehead, — and wafting to his senses and to his soul, in a cloud of perfume, a consciousness of love, — of hope, — of life, — of peace, — of Heaven. At the same moment large tears rose to his burning eyelids and rolled down his cheeks; and, throwing himself upon the ground, — alone, in that silent wood, — unseen but by watchful stars, — the proudest spirit that ever walked the globe bent to earthly anguish, and he wept, convulsively, like a child.

"Oh, Elkington! Could a wretch like thee bend that brow to the grassy ground, and shake, with almost fatal pangs, a heart which was to thee as the floating eagle to the howling cur? Thou hast triumphed, — but beware! The triumph of guilt is a wrong against Heaven. The good man is the child of God, and God is omnipresent, and he is around us, — in the very air, — when we know it not.

"There is a blessing in tears. They are waters from Heaven, and they cleanse the soul to its pristine peace and purity.

"'It is not right,' muttered Claude, 'to take human life for human passion. Shall I not leave the task of punishing to the sublime Being who rules the universe? Is he absent? is he powerless?'

"A peal of thunder burst over the starting earth ere the last word had left his lip; at the same moment the lightning darted with a blinding intensity. The tremendous volume of sound paused after the first shock, — rolled on, — paused, — went on and on again, — crushingly, — as if annihilation itself had come upon mankind; and repeating several times its appalling reverberations, — broad as the air, and apparently stirring the earth from its very orbit, — lost itself threateningly, but calmly, as if amid the vastness of other spheres. Claude had not yet moved when a torrent came rushing down, and he was drenched to the skin; when he raised his head, the sky was wrapped in utter darkness. The wind swept over the wood, bending the tallest trees, and twisting their gnarled limbs till they groaned as if with fear and pain. The peal was followed by another, and so close and heavy that the instinct of self-preservation occupied his mind, to the exclusion of the subject which had so deeply agitated him. He hastened out of the Park into the broad road, where he was less in danger than among the trees. There is something in a good drenching which deadens human passions, and shows how weak and idle are even some of those words which make us commit deeds

irreparable. The floods which drenched him were delicious, and cooled his fever. He breathed more freely, he trod more firmly ; and, if the truth must be added, at a considerably swifter pace than he generally adopted. His course was bent also towards the gate, and he reëntered the town.

" The rain, almost as suddenly as it had commenced, ceased, and a fissure appeared across the masses of black clouds which obscured the heavens. The dispersion of the vapors was so extremely rapid, that, even thrilled as he was by the incident which had just occurred, it fastened his attention. Forming themselves into separate piles, the clouds broke apart in all quarters, leaving the blue void stainless, and the stars glittering with unwonted brightness. Then the whole air, earth, and heaven were suddenly illuminated by a soft radiance. A massive breadth of vapor had passed from before the moon, and she broke out full orbed and almost light as day, while each torn fragment of silver cloud disappeared entirely, and the air became as still as the heaven.

" ' Oh God,' said he, ' I worship thee in thy temple, I call upon thee for aid. May this be to me an emblem of my own soul. Its passions, however tremendous, belong to earth ; its calm hopes, to Heaven. I commit myself to thee.'

" And his soul now poured itself in prayer, which seemed to rise unimpeded to the Throne of Mercy. He had implored a sign, and Heaven had granted it. The serenity of nature taught him by its example to sit serene after the wildest storm, which the same hand that conjured up could waft away, and that no tempest could reach the fair arrangement of right and truth. Slowly he wandered to his home. No weakness disturbed his spirit or his intellect. He had made up his determination to pass the indignity he had received in silence. The mortal body was subdued and over-mastered by the superior mind. At the word of reflection and of religion the hot blood flowed cool and placid through his frame. His obedient pulse played temperately, and all his soul was peace." — Vol II. pp. 25 – 35.

For the purpose of contrasting the two principles of action, — that of a sense of religious duty, and that of a sense of worldly honor, — the author introduces a friend of Wyndham, a Mr. Denham, who arrives at Berlin with a young and lovely wife, and who knows the infamous character of Lord Elkington. This gentleman is present when Wyndham receives the dishonoring blow, takes part in the quarrel, and, obedient to the duellist's code, makes an arrangement to

meet Elkington. He is shot through the heart at the second fire, and a succession of tragical scenes follow, which the author has drawn with great effect. Through them all, Wyndham is true to his principles. But harder trials yet await him. Lady Beverly discloses to her son the astonishing fact, that Wyndham is the son of the Earl of Beverly by a former marriage; that the Earl had been wrought upon by her own arts to believe he had been dishonored by his wife, and had cast her inexorably from him; that she had left his home, and finally had sailed with her infant son to the West Indies; that the vessel was wrecked, and she was reported among the lost; but that the son had been accidentally preserved, and was in fact none other than Mr. Wyndham, who was thus the true heir to the Beverly title and estates. The person, therefore, who had secretly supplied the money for Wyndham's support, was no other than the old Earl, whose approaching death, Elkington, pressed to the earth with debts, is anxiously and impatiently awaiting. When the Earl's last illness is announced, Elkington writes to his bankers to stop all further payments to Wyndham. This immediately reduces our hero to utter want, and exposes him to the power of Count Carolan, who, from being his friend, has become, by the arts of Elkington, and by his own vanity, his most unrelenting enemy. The Count calls for the payment of a debt, which Wyndham had accidentally contracted, and, upon his inability to meet the demand, forthwith sends him to prison, where our hero remains some time, apparently deserted by the world, and ruined for ever. He is at length set at liberty upon the security of his friend, Lavalle, and without a murmur applies himself to earn a subsistence by teaching the English language. He is thus enabled to pay off his debts, which he does to the last farthing. But in the mean time the French Revolution has arrived at its height, and the aristocratic Carolan, whose daughter, by the way, has been rescued from the pistol of an assassin by Wyndham, at the most imminent risk of his own life, deems it his duty to offer his services to the royal family of France, whither he departs, accompanied by the Countess Ida. A revolution of still greater importance to our hero's fortunes has silently been going on. Our old friend, Madame Wharton, has received a clew which she determines to follow out, and departs for England. There she succeeds in her

pursuit ; she proves the identity of Claude Wyndham, as the son of the Earl of Beverly, and makes to him immediately the astounding discovery that she is his own mother, being in fact the first wife of the Earl, who had been so long supposed to be lost. She convinces her husband, during an interval of restoration to his senses, of his injustice towards herself and the heir of his immense estates. All legal measures are immediately taken to place the claims of our hero beyond the reach of doubt or cavil, and the joyful intelligence is despatched at once to Berlin. Of course all this puts an entirely different face upon our hero's affairs, and makes him at once as much the object of attention and admiration as he had lately been of neglect and contempt.

But what has become of the Carolans ? The progress of the French Revolution has been so rapid and terrible, that all hopes of the Count's escape from the perilous condition into which he had so self-confidently thrust himself, are lost. But Wyndham determines to attempt his rescue. He enters France, assumes the disguise of a Jacobin, and after innumerable hair-breadth scapes, and having performed prodigies of valor, finally saves the Count and his lovely daughter, and returns with them to England. The character of Count Carolan has been completely changed by his misfortunes and sufferings ; and, without knowing the present position of our hero's affairs, he offers him his daughter. Wyndham keeps the secret, and all the parties are of course most agreeably surprised upon arriving in England, and being taken to the magnificent residence of the Earl of Beverly.

Such is a brief outline of this interesting story. There are episodes connected with the plot, of great moment, which we have entirely omitted. It is obvious, that the scheme of our author embraces events and materials enough for twenty common novels ; but we think our readers will be satisfied, upon perusing the book, that he has used them with no little ingenuity ; that his characters are in general well sustained ; and that his sketches of society are drawn from observation, and present us with a series of very lively pictures of the fashionable and diplomatic circles of a great continental capital. Interspersed with the stirring scenes of brilliant society, are many beautiful descriptive passages, breathing a poet's love of nature, and showing an artist's eye for her mani-

fold enchantments. The following, for example, seems to us very fine.

"It was a pleasant night. The air was still and clear without being cold, and very refreshing and agreeable. The moon was in the wane, and had just risen, casting a singular radiance over the earth and heaven. Having supped heartily, and, with several new and interesting topics of reflection, being too fully awake to think of sleep, he determined to prolong his stroll around the town. The streets were silent and lonely. Here and there the night-watch went slowly by, with his long, shrill whistle, as if ingeniously contrived to disturb the sick, to awaken the sleeping, and to do service to none except thieves and robbers, who, thus warned, get to their hiding-places till he is out of the way. Before the palaces of princes and military officers of high standing, and the public edifices, the guards paced slowly to and fro, in their simple gray cloaks and leathern caps, their muskets glittering in the moonbeams; and once during his ramble he was crossed by a company of fifteen or twenty soldiers, on their rounds to relieve guard, their measured tramp echoing on the pavement, and reminding him that he was in the metropolis of one of the greatest military governments of Europe.

"Claude went on, now indulging in his own reveries, now watching the broad, level streets, so beautiful in the moonlight, and the sculptured palaces, with their shadowy courts and half-unearthly company of statues; now listening to the whistle of the watch, as it retreated and died away in the distance. At length he found himself before the Brandenburg gate, and paused to admire the tall columns, the stately outline, and the bronze group upon the top. The guard at the gate made no question as he passed out to extend a ramble so delightful into the wood. It was the hour for calm thought, and he had many subjects of reflection. The principal one was the young girl with whom he had become acquainted in so curious a manner, and who seemed the imbodying of his fairest visions of woman. He had been struck with her character as described by Madame Wharton, — an authority the best that could exist on such a subject. That of a mother would have been partial; that of a friend might have been drawn from imperfect sources. His own experience he could have placed but little confidence in, for he knew how different a thing woman often is in her real mind from what she appears when invested with the charm of beauty and seen in the walks of pleasure. It is probable that, without the previous eulogies of Madame Wharton, the grace and loveliness of Ida would

not have succeeded in impressing him so seriously. Every one will not sympathize with a young man who cannot fall in love till assured by better authority than his own observations of the merit of the object. But this was Claude's character ; imbued with thought, his feelings, or at least his actions, were subservient to his reason. His lonely life had rendered contemplation almost too habitual to him. He had dwelt too long and too much on the valuelessness of the earthly objects so ardently sought by his fellow-creatures. For, after all the everlasting homilies on the evanescence of existence, while they rarely arrest the thoughtless in their pursuit of pleasure or the wicked in their career of guilt, often render the contemplative unnecessarily sad, and deprive the unhappy of sources of distraction from solemn realities which a benevolent Providence did not intend should appal or overshadow us. To Claude most of the objects of life were phantoms, — most of its joys illusions. He wanted the developement of his affections to balance and perfect his character, and to counteract the results of a too exclusive developement of his intellectual faculties. He had lived in a world of thought. He wanted to descend into the warmer one of feeling. His mind had occupied itself with subjects vast, high, and eternal. He had not studied society and common life with sufficient attention. Such a mind may be great if occasion presents, but cannot be contented in the world where we are destined to live. Some author observes with a true philosophy, 'Bad as men may be, Providence intends that we shall love them.' The uncompromising energy of Claude's character, and the independence of an original thinker, made the path of youth one of danger, and caused him in many things to stand aloof from other men.

"As he wandered on, Elkington, his singular insolence, — Lady Beverly, her unaccountable curiosity, which seemed to watch his actions and search into his soul, — recurred to his memory. The former he resolved to avoid if possible, and he determined never to deviate from the cold courtesy which should avert a quarrel. The anger with which he had received his rudeness passed away under the fields of heaven. He reflected that it was not in the power of such a man to insult him.

"He paused at these thoughts and gazed upward. The air was strangely clear ; for nature, as if seeking higher praise than man's, seems to put on more wonderful beauty when his eye no longer gazes on it. An indescribable peace and lustre reigned everywhere ; upon the piles of motionless and silver clouds, the steady-beaming planets, and the far off, ever-burning groups of stars. He gazed long and intently with a fervid

wonder. There flowed the Milky Way, rolling its snowy and noiseless waves through the track of blue. He gazed almost breathless into its eternal depths. There was Orion, mounting heavenward with his glittering belt ; and there, — at rest amid this revolving multitude, — the point on which seemed to hang all this infinite sphere of worlds, — half seen, and undistinguished by the common eye, — the wanderer's guide — the lover's hope, — the type, in its constancy, of how few hearts ! — lay the polar star." — Vol. I. pp. 87 – 90.

The character of Countess Ida is a very lovely conception ; and the silent attachment between her and Wyndham is described and illustrated with much beauty of sentiment, and delicacy of feeling. The following passage will show this, besides presenting another example of our author's descriptive powers.

"It was a warm spring day. The sun was bright on the pleasant *Linden*, and the gay population were abroad enjoying the fine weather. Nothing is so delightful as the approach of spring in these cold climates. Claude was peculiarly alive to such impressions ; and, as he passed out of the Brandenburg gate into the universal and favorite promenade of the Park, he perceived tokens of the spring visible everywhere around him. This season had stolen upon him unawares. He had been so occupied in the world of fashion with operas, balls, *soirées*, and breakfasts ; with glittering crowds, the same ever-recurring faces, and all the pomp, glare, and circumstance of magnificent entertainments, that the soft and exquisite forms of half-forgotten nature struck his eye and touched his soul with a sense of happiness. As the various incidents of the now vanished winter rose to his memory, — the constant succession of brilliant *fêtes*, — the numerous nights which had found him wandering amid the half-fairy splendor of royal saloons, till the breaking day at length sent him to his bed, — the new acquaintances he had made, — the dark face, full of meaning, of Lady Beverly, — the rudeness of Elkington, — the bland courtesy of Carolan, — the dignified friendship of Madame Wharton, — and last, not least, the enchantment which he had found n the society of Ida, and which had daily grown more delicious and more dangerous, — all seemed a fantastic dream amid the surrounding silence and solitude. This beautiful forest was now deserted ; the city population had not yet begun to appear in its sylvan glades. Only the squirrel paused and listened in the path ; while the birds, whose clear notes echoed through the wood, scarcely flew at his approach. The grass

had burst out everywhere, and the buttons of the trees were fully opened, disclosing the tender leaves and blossoms. Flowers, some the spontaneous tribute of nature, and some set by the hand of the gardener, were peeping from the wayside or bending over the streams. The earth, long dead, had a warm and living look. Verdure was upon the ground, and perfume in the air. Two or three swans, stately as their mistress Juno, came floating down the stream, beneath the arch of a beautiful bridge which hung reflected in the flood; and the air, entirely free from the chill which generally accompanies even the fairest promises of a spring day, as painful recollections of the past sometimes disturb the pleasure of the present, was altogether bland and balmy.

"He walked on with a thoughtful pace. The conduct of Ida had been a kind of mystery to him. Since their cold parting at the *déjeuner* of Prince R., her manner had been generally so formal as to relieve him from the necessity of being on his guard; yet, at times, this reserve gave place to a gayety so familiar and a kindness so gentle as to startle him with the idea that, while he fancied himself only subjecting his own heart to danger, he was, in reality, also gaining the confidence of this artless and inexperienced girl. He had parted from her the day before, after an interview deeply interesting to him. The passion which had now taken entire possession of his soul had half betrayed itself in her presence, and the sweet instincts of a heart which had lost the power of directing itself, found in her manner so much tenderness even in its reserve, that he could not doubt that his love was returned. It was at this point that he walked forth to reflect upon his position, with feelings which, although filled with happiness, were not of an enviable kind. What had he done? He had gained the affections of one affianced to another. He had weakly lingered by the side of one he could never marry, till perhaps their separation would be as much a source of unhappiness to her as to him. This was little more than the act of a scoundrel; and, in reflecting upon it, he experienced the humiliating consciousness of having deviated from the path of honor. Alas! so invisible are the lines which separate innocence from guilt, that the most honest sometimes find themselves over the limit before they are aware of it. No mortal step can assure itself against this danger; but, while the weak and the depraved go on in their career of temptation, the noble-minded start from the flowery road the instant they see where it leads.

"'Can I doubt it?' thought Claude, as he wandered into the thickest and most solitary part of the wood. 'She shares my infatuation. Let me, for the first time, breathe to the air

the secret which as yet hovers only in our dreams. She loves me. What power has aided my daring wishes ? Some demon, perhaps, to effect my ruin ! '

" In the ardor of his reveries, he had so far forgotten himself as to utter this rhapsody aloud. It was not without a guilty start that he heard a step at his side, and, lifting his eyes, beheld Madame Wharton." — Vol. 1. pp. 140 – 143.

As a set-off to the graver and more solemn scenes, the amusing absurdities of the Digby family are very well introduced. The following is part of the occurrences at a *Deyjooney dangsang*.

" At this moment the general clash of voices ceased suddenly, and was succeeded by a deep silence. An officer of the court entering with his *baton*, made a passage for the royal family. There was, however, little occasion for his exertions, for the crowd fell back on either side, leaving a wide space for his majesty Frederic William II., with the various members and guests of his family. The monarch advanced in the midst of the rooms, and Claude was presented by Lavalle to Prince ——, the distinguished nobleman whose duty it was to name to royalty those who aspired to the honor of an interview. This ceremony was soon over, as well as those which etiquette rendered proper to the other illustrious personages. Having happily gone through these preliminaries, he was struck with the appearance of the Digbys. The good dame was magnificently arrayed in a brimstone-colored, richly-embroidered satin dress, hat and feathers ; a *toilet* somewhat conspicuous on any occasion, but unfortunately so on the present, since, the court being in mourning, it was the height of indecorum to appear in any other color than black or white.

" ' Oh Dieu, madame,' said Madame de Godeau, in an under tone, with consternation depicted in her countenance ; ' you are not dressed in mourning, — when I tell you, — mon Dieu, — c'est épouvantable.'

" ' You told me, — mem ? ' said Madame Digby. ' You never told me.'

" ' Yes, I told you the whole court were in mourning.'

" ' Ah, certainly, mem ; I recollect that, perfectly, but I hadn't an idea you wanted *me* to go in mourning too. Why, I don't even know who 's dead. I 'm sure I have never seen the poor man in all my life ! '

" It was, however, now too late for any remedy, and she determined to carry it through. She therefore followed the *grande maîtresse*, who had obligingly waited till the end of her colloquy with Madame de Godeau, and, with her elbows well

protruded from her ample body, made her way through the opposing multitude with little ceremony. Here and there Claude heard a nearly suppressed '*Ah diable, quel drôle de figure!*' or, '*Dieu! qui est cette madame là!*' Mary was dressed in blue, but she looked so extremely pretty, that even they who laughed at were compelled to admire her.

"Madame Digby, at length in good society, — in the very centre of her much-talked-of *ho-tong*, — stood in the presence of the princess with the air of one who intended to show the world that she was not to be intimidated. The distinguished lady to whom she was about to be presented seemed scarcely able to repress a smile, and the circle around were still less successful, at the awkward air and ridiculous affectation of the honest dame as she made her opening salutation. But royal affability on these occasions has no limit, and all in their presence are greeted with the courtesy which forms one of the ornaments of a throne. Half afraid of being encountered by one of Lady Beverly's haughty stares, Mrs. Digby was delighted to find the princess all smiles and blandness, and, recovering all her ambition with her ease, she cast a look around to assure herself that the whole assembly were witnesses of the honor she was enjoying.

"'Have you been long in Berlin?' said her royal highness, in French.

"An address in an unknown language would have abashed any one not blessed with considerable nerve; but bounteous nature had left no such deficiency in the composition of Madame Digby. She only, therefore, approached a step or two nearer, — much too close for the distance which more experienced courtiers have a care to leave between royalty and those in its presence, — and, leaning her ear towards the face of the princess, she merely pronounced, in her own peculiar way, the word

"'Mem?'

"The princess repeated the question.

"'I really beg your pardon, mem; but, if you could speak English with the same trouble, I should be more able to communicate with your ladyship, mem, — that is, — with your royal highness. Madame de Godeau informed me that you spoke English like a native, mem, — your royal highness.'

"'I hope you find Berlin agreeable!' said her august companion, in English, and with a good-natured smile.

"'Well, mem, I can't say but what I do.'

"The princess began here another question, but Mrs. Digby interrupted her to add, 'Your royal highness.'

" , Are you pleasantly lodged ? ' inquired the princess.

" ' Why, mem, pretty fair, compared with where we were at Hamburg ; but the stoves give Mr. Digby the headache, your royal highness ! '

" ' We know you English never find on the Continent the comforts which you enjoy in your own country,' said the princess politely.

" ' No, indeed, mem, — your royal highness, — that 's what we don't ; and as for—'

" ' Are you attached to any embassy ? ' inquired the princess.

" ' No, mem, not yet, but I believe we shall advertise for something of that sort ; my relative, Lord Clew, was—'

" She was cut short by a very affable courtesy on the part of the princess, and an exceedingly significant look from the *grande maîtresse* on one side, and Madame de Godeau on the other, intimating that her interview was over. She accordingly made a salutation, such as, in her mind, fitted the rank of the person she addressed, and her own character as a perfectly fine lady, who had at length arrived at the very summit of the *ho-tong ;* and, ignorant of the conspicuous violation of etiquette of which she was guilty, she stepped away, turning her shoulder and back directly in the princess's face.

" That lady not noticing, or not seeming to notice, the last manœuvre, turned towards Mary, who stood the next in the circle. The *grande maîtresse* led the trembling girl forward. Her timidity was so obvious, and she turned so pale, that the benevolent heart of the princess was interested in her behalf ; and she addressed her so kindly, and led and sustained the conversation with so much consideration for her youthful and not ungraceful distress, that Mary found herself fully exempted from the necessity of making other remarks than her usual ' yes ' and ' no.'

" The next object which attracted Claude's attention was Digby, the perspiration standing on his forehead, his face always rather rubicund from the vivifying effect of good English beef and beer, now heated beyond itself by the anxieties and horrors which, poor fellow, he had undergone in his attempts to be presented. Unacquainted with the faces of the royal personages, even when by their side, he sometimes ran against a prince, and sometimes made an inquiry of a princess. Some one whom he had never seen before was every moment wheeling him violently round with, ' *Prenez garde ! — sa majesté !* ' or, ' *Monsieur, la princesse !* ' At length, tired, terrified, and internally swearing that no one, — not Mrs. Digby herself,

— should ever catch him again in a scene for which his habits of life had so little fitted him, his knees aching, and his feet in a state of torment from the effect of a pair of high-heeled and very small new boots, which his wife had persuaded him to purchase for the occasion, he reached a broad crimson sofa, glittering with gold, and occupied on the other end by a lady and gentleman. Throwing himself down in an exhausted state, he muttered half aloud,

"'Well, thank God! I 'm here at last. Here sit I till dinner.'

"Taking out a yellow silk pocket-handkerchief, he deliberately wiped the moisture from his forehead and blew his nose; and he had just finished taking a comfortable pinch of snuff, and was proceeding to offer the box to his neighbour, when he was struck with the intensity of astonishment with which a little military officer, with an enormous pair of mustaches, an exceedingly rich uniform, a multitude of orders, a high chapeau under his arm, and a long sword, fixed his eyes sternly upon him. In some surprise, not to say consternation, he hastily put up his handkerchief and snuff-box, and looked around to see what he had done, when he perceived that several others, — indeed, all the surrounding spectators, — were regarding him attentively, and with visible tokens of amazement. Among others, a person half behind him, and partly withdrawn within the embrasure of a window, began to make him significant signs and violent gesticulations, and, at length leaning over, addressed him. The remark was lost, however, in a language which he did not understand. At length he came to the conclusion that he had torn his clothes, and, horrified at the idea, he proceeded to examine his elegant court suit, when his perplexity was terminated by Claude, who, perceiving his dilemma and the cause of it, approached him from behind and whispered,

"'Get up. You are sitting with the prince and princess.'

"If a bombshell had fallen at the poor fellow's feet, he could not have been more alarmed. He started up, and was darting off to hide his humiliation in some distant corner, but Claude with a strong hand very quietly withheld him.

"'Good God! what now?' said Digby, afraid to move.

"'You are running directly against the prince royal!'

"'For Heaven's sake, then, let me go this way!' And, with a spring, he would have run full tilt against another member of the royal family, had not Claude again checked his course. He remained, therefore, motionless, and resumed the task of wiping his forehead.

"'Well, I say, — Wyndham!' he muttered, 'if *this* is Mrs. Digby's *ho-tong* — *!*'

"The circle dispersed and Claude released his prisoner. It was not long before he observed him planted in a corner, with his back held resolutely against the wall, standing as straight as a grenadier under review, occasionally making a wry face at the pressure of his new boots, and now and then applying his handkerchief to his temples." — Vol. I. pp. 107 – 112.

The work shows a deep sympathy with human nature, as well as a familiar acquaintance with the higher forms of European social life. The author has not been dazzled by the trappings of royalty and aristocracy, though he can describe them all so well. The virtues and the vices of high society are set forth by him with impartiality and force; and we rise from his pages with a cordial respect for his abilities, a sympathy with his views of life, and an admiration of the moral purity which is shed over the scenes he has so vividly placed before us.

ART. IX. — *The Rural Life of England;* by WILLIAM HOWITT, Author of the "Book of the Seasons," &c. In Two Volumes. London. 1838. 12mo.

THESE two volumes are among the most attractive and entertaining that have appeared lately from the British press. To Americans the subject can never be destitute of interest. We have too many common feelings with the English, too much pride in our common ancestry and our common literature, too much veneration for the land of our forefathers, ever to be indifferent to the welfare of those who speak the same language, and who uphold the same principles of liberty with ourselves. We may have a family quarrel now and then, in which sundry hearty cuffs will be exchanged; foolish tourists may and will provoke an angry feeling from time to time, by some profound disquisition on silver forks, and the different modes of eating eggs; serious questions may, from time to time, be presented, requiring mutual for-

bearance and confidence to adjust; but the exercise of those sentiments may now be looked for; the great national heart is sound, and beats to the voice of national friendship. The accomplished minds of both countries are constantly interchanging visits, and ripening the indefinite attachment springing from similarity of lineage, into the warmer sentiment of personal regard. We are no longer left to judge of the English character by the Fauxes, the Fearons, the Trollopes, or the Halls; but the gentlemen of England are not unfrequently seen among us, and the writings of such men as Murray are taken as an authentic report of the condition and character of the United States. American travellers in England have ceased to be chiefly the representatives of the money-making classes, — persons unfit by education or the habits of their daily life to appear to advantage in the polished circles of European society; but distinguished professional men, illustrious statesmen, writers whose fame has transcended the limits of provincial popularity, have made themselves felt among the foremost minds in the British Empire, and have been received with open arms and splendid hospitality. Surely a better period of international intercourse is already commenced; a more thorough mutual appreciation, and a higher mutual respect, have begun to mark the tone of manners between the two nations; and the chances of future hostile collision between the two great branches of the kindred race are rapidly diminishing every day. Humanity, letters, and religion will feel the blessed effects of this new and beneficial order of things.

In a period of this general good will, a book like Mr. Howitt's is particularly well timed, and has been accordingly very well received among those of us who have had an opportunity of reading its agreeable pages. Mr. Howitt writes in a style of much beauty, but free from all elaborate stateliness. It is polished, and correct, and copious, but at the same time sounds like the conversation of an accomplished man, describing the peculiarities of manners, the sports and pastimes, the labors and enjoyments, of his own countrymen. The work shows a minute personal acquaintance with every subject on which it touches; Mr. Howitt delineates, with the lively distinctness which none but the eyewitness can exhibit. A tone of genial fellow feeling with the pleasures and amusements of the English people runs through the book, and

strikes pleasantly upon the imagination of the reader; and we feel, while lingering over his pages, that we are in the presence of a cordial and sympathizing friend. An air of truth reigns throughout the book, which commands our confidence and respect; and a vein of enlightened humanity is perceived there, which wins at once our affection.

This work is not, however, to be regarded simply as a book of entertainment. It has other and higher uses. It is an excellent interpreter of many portions of English literature, — that noble inheritance to which, thank God, we Americans are born. In an ancient country like England, the habits of the people assume a permanent form; century after century rolls away, and opinions, superstitions, observances, national feelings, are scarcely touched by the hand of time. All these are the choicest materials of the poet and the writer of fiction; by incorporating them into his works, by embellishing them with the ornament of his genius, he reaches the national heart, and lives in the affectionate remembrance of generation after generation of his countrymen. To men of a different nation all these hues of nationality, which constitute some of the highest beauties of national literature, become faint and dim, and can only be brought out by careful and laborious study; as we come to perceive the exquisite character of the great poetical works of antiquity only by a minute investigation of the national manners, arts, social usages, and mythologies, under whose influences they were produced. But, though we do not stand to English literature in the relation of foreigners, there can be no doubt that we require not a little of this sort of commentary, if we would fully appreciate the power of the English muse. We speak, it is true, the English language, and we have in general the same Anglo-Saxon cast of thought, and intellectual peculiarities, with our English brethren; still we have been so long politically independent, we are, comparatively speaking, so young a people, and we have had so little time to settle down into a fixed national character, in the midst of the pressing cares of life, with which the youth of a nation, like the youth of a man, is so closely besieged, that many of the habits, usages, and ceremonies, whether religious or social, to which our ancestors were accustomed under the roof of the old homestead, have faded from memory, and vanished from the theatre of popular life. The most national of the English poets, there-

fore, appeal to feelings, which among us are nothing but feeble traditions ; and draw illustrations of thrilling power over those to whom they are more immediately addressed, from sources to which we have long ceased to resort, if we have not utterly forgotten them. How delightful, then, to find a record drawn up in so pleasing a form, of those ancient customs, which have formed the character of the English nation during so many centuries ! of those sports and festivals, to which our mother country is indebted for the renowned name of "Merry England"! What an agreeable light is shed by such a work over many of the rarest beauties of British poetry ; and how useful the guidance, thus indirectly afforded to the American reader, who roams delighted over a field so familiar and yet so strange, so suggestive of the deepest home feelings, and yet occasionally so obscure, as the elder literature of England !

In England itself, such a work cannot fail to be useful, for even England is undergoing rapid changes amidst the irresistible influence of the new era. The time is swiftly coming when she will no longer be the England she was ; when absorbing realities, the overwhelming interests of the present, the gigantic progress of science and art, and the growing political power of the masses, will substitute, for the old amusements, the earnest inquiries, the vast hopes, the energetic activity of a nation with awakened aspirations, struggling after that something measureless and infinite, which it is supposed the future will reveal. Then the picturesque customs, which still linger in many parts of England, will vanish into the hazy distance of the past ; they will exist in poetry, but only to arouse a faint and feeble echo, except in the breast of him whose peculiar taste leads him to grope in the dark passages of antiquity, rather than walk out upon the dusty highway, and under the glaring noonday light of the present. Then Mr. Howitt's book will have the value of a contemporary sketch of scenes and institutions, drawn from the life. What would we not give for such a book, written by an Englishman of the age of Shakspeare ! How precious would be every piece of information, which might shed a ray of light upon a misunderstood allusion, an obscure expression, a disputed adage, of the great poet of the world ! How many corruptions of the text, wrought by the rash hands of the commentators, would have been prevented ; how much labor of

explanation would have been spared; how many uncertainties, now never to be cleared up, would have been prevented! The invaluable edition of Shakspeare, by Mr. Knight, now publishing, shows the importance of this kind of illustration, both by the success with which it has been applied so far as possible, and by the number of instances where such illustrations would obviously be applicable, were they to be had. But it is time to give a more particular account of the work before us.

The work consists, as we have already remarked, of two beautiful volumes, exquisitely embellished with prints, drawn and engraved by Williams. The author has aimed "to present to the reader a view of the Rural Life of England at the present period, as seen in all classes and in all parts of the country." He says, "For this purpose I have not merely depended upon my acquaintance with rural life, which has been that of a great portion of my own life from boyhood, but I have literally travelled, and a great deal of it on foot, from the Land's End to the Tweed, penetrating into the retirements, and witnessing the domestic life of the country in primitive seclusion and under rustic roofs. If the mountains and valleys, the fair plains and sea-coasts, the halls and farm-houses, the granges, and cottages of shepherds, miners, peasants, or fishermen, be visited in these volumes with a tenth part of the enjoyment with which I have visited them in the reality, they must be delightful books indeed; for no moments of my existence have been more deliciously spent, than those in which I have wandered from spot to spot of this happy and beautiful island, surveying its ancient monuments, and its present living men and manners."

The first chapter is so eloquent and beautiful, that we hardly know where to limit our extracts. The following paragraphs make a part of it.

"Let every man who has a sufficiency for the enjoyment of life, thank Heaven most fervently that he lives in this country and age. They may tell us of the beauty of southern skies, and the softness of southern climates; but where is the land which a man would rather choose to call himself a native of, — because it combines more of the requisites for a happy and useful existence; more of the moral, social, and intellectual advantages, without which fair skies or soft cli-

mates would become dolorous, or at best, indifferent ? I say, let every man gratefully rejoice, who has the means of commanding the full blessings of English life, — for alas ! there are thousands and millions of our countrymen who possess but a scanty portion of these ; whose lives are too long and continuous a course of toil and anxiety to permit them even to look round them and see how vast are the powers of enjoyment in this country, and how few of those sources of ease, comfort, and refined pleasure are within their reach. I trust a better day is coming to this portion of our population ; that many circumstances are working together to confer on the toiling children of these kingdoms the social rewards which their unwearied industry so richly merits ; but for those who already hold in their hands the golden key, where is the country like England ? If we are naturally proud of making portion of a mighty and a glorious kingdom, where is the kingdom like England ? It is a land of which the most ambitious or magnanimous spirit may well say with a high emotion, — 'That is my country ! ' Over what an extent of the earth it stretches its territories ; over what swarming and diversified millions it extends its sceptre ! On every side of the globe, lie its outspread regions ; under every aspect of heaven, walk its free or tributary people. In the West Indies ; in the vaster dominions of the East ; in America and Australia ; through each wide continent, and many a fair island ! But its political and moral power extends even far beyond these. What nation is there, however great, that does not look with breathless anxiety to the movements of England ; what country is not bound up with it in the strongest interests and hopes ; what country is there which does not feel the influence of its moral energy ? Through all the cities and forests of Republican America, the spirit of England, as well as its language, lives and glows. France, Germany, and even Russia to the depths of its frozen heart, feel the emanations of its free and popular institutions. Every pulse of love which beats here, — every principle of justice that is more clearly recognised, — every sentiment of Christianity that is elevated on the broad basis of the human heart, hence spreads through the earth as from a centre of moral life, and produces in the remotest regions its portion of civilization.

> " ' Hence do I love my country ! — and partake
> Of kindred agitations for her sake ;
> She visits oftentimes my midnight dream ;
> Her glory meets me with the earliest beam
> Of light, which tells that morning is awake.'

"It is something to make a part, however small, of such a nation. It is something to feel that you have such a scope of power and beneficence in the earth. But, when you add to this the food laid up for the heart and the intellect in this island, — the wealth of literature and science ; the spirit of freedom in which they are nourished, and by which they are prosecuted ; the sound religious feeling which has always distinguished it as a nation ; the philanthropic institutions that exist in it, — every true heart must felicitate itself that its lot is cast in this kingdom.

"Such are the moral, political, and intellectual advantages of English life, which must make any noble-minded and reflecting man feel, as he considers his position in the scale of humanity, that he is 'a citizen of no mean city' ; but our social advantages are not a whit behind these. Can any state of society be well conceived on which the arts and sciences, literature, and general knowledge, can shed more social conveniences and refined enjoyments ? In our houses, in our furniture, in all the materials for our dresses, in the apparatus for our tables and the endless variety of good things by which they are supplied, for which every region has been traversed, and every art in bringing them home, or raising them at home, has been exerted ; in books and paintings ; in the wonderful provision and accumulation of every article in our shops, that the real wants or the most fanciful desires of men or women may seek for ; in our gardens, roads, the beautiful and affluent cultivation of the country, — what nation is there, or has there been, which can for a moment bear a comparison with England ?

"'Ye miserable ancients, had ye these ?'

"And this we may ask, not merely as it respects gas, steam, the marvellous developements of chemistry and electro-magnetism, by which the mode and embellishment of our existence have been so much changed already, and which promise yet changes too vast to be readily familiarized to the imagination, — but of a thousand other privileges and conveniences in which England is preëminent. It is, however, to our rural life that we are about to devote our attention ; and it is in rural life that the superiority of England is, perhaps, more striking, than in any other respect. Over the whole face of our country the charm of a refined existence is diffused. There is nothing which strikes foreigners so much as the beauty of our country abodes, and the peculiarity of our country life. The elegancies, the arts

and refinements of the city are carried out and blended, from end to end of the island, so beautifully with the peaceful simplicity of the country, that nothing excites more the admiration of strangers than those rural paradises, the halls, castles, abbeys, lodges, and cottages, in which our nobility and gentry spend more or less of every year. Let Prince Pückler Muskaw, Washington Irving, Willis, Count Pecchio, Rice, and others, tell you how beautiful, in their eyes, appeared the parks, lawns, fields, and the whole country of England, cultivated like a garden. It is true, that our climate is not to be boasted of for its perpetual serenity. It has had no lack of abuse, both from our own countrymen and others. We are none of us without a pretty lively memory of its freaks and changes, its mists and tempests ; its winters wild as the last, and its springs that are often so late in their arrival, that they find summer standing in the gate to tell them they are no longer wanted. All this we know ; yet which of us is not ready to forgive all this, and to say with a full heart,

" ' England, with all thy faults, I love thee still ! '

" Which of us is not grateful and discerning enough to remember, that even our fickle and imperfect climate has qualities to which England owes much of its glory, and we, many a proud feeling and victorious energy ? Which of us can forget, that this abused climate is that which has not enervated by its heats, has not seduced by its amenities, has not depopulated by its *malaria*, so that under its baneful influence we have become feeble, listless, reckless of honor or virtue ; the mean, the slothful, the crouching slaves of barbarians, or even effeminate despots : it is that which has done none of these things ; produced no such effects as these ; but it is that which has raised millions of frames strong and muscular and combatant, and enduring as the oaks of its rocky hills ; that has nerved those frames to the contempt alike of danger and effeminacy ; and has quickened them with hearts full of godlike aspirations after a virtuous glory. What a long line, — what ages after ages, of invincible heroes, of dauntless martyrs for freedom and religion, of solemn sages and lawgivers, of philosophers and poets, men sober, and prescient, and splendid in all their endowments as any country ever produced ; — what a line of these has flourished amid the glooms and severities of this abused climate ; and, while Italy has sunk into subjection, and Greece has lain waste beneath the feet of the Turk, —

has piled up by a succession of matchless endeavours the fame and power of England, to the height of its present greatness.

> " 'In our halls is hung
> Armoury of the invincible knights of old:
> We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
> That Shakspeare spake; the faith and morals hold
> Which Milton held. In every thing we are sprung
> Of earth's best blood, have titles manifold.'

" And will any man tell me that the spirit of our climate has had nothing to do with begetting and nourishing the energy which has borne on to immortality these great men; which has quickened us with 'earth's best blood'; which has given us 'titles manifold'? The gloom and desolate majesty of autumn, — the wild magnificence of thunder-storms, with their vivid lightnings, their awful uproar, the lurid darkness of their clouds, and the outshining of rainbows, — have these had no effect on the meditations of divines and the songs of poets? Has the soul-concentrating power of winter driven our writers into their closets in vain? Have the fireside festivities of our darkest season; has the blazing yule-clog, and the merriment of the old English hall, — things which have grown out of the very asperity of the climate, left no traces in our literature? Did Milton, Bacon, Spenser, Shakspeare, and such spirits, walk through our solemn halls, whether of learning, or religion, or baronial pomp, all of which have been raised by the very genius of a pensive climate; or did they climb our mountains, and roam our forests, amid winds that roared in the boughs and whirled their leaves at their feet, and gather thence no imagery, no similies, no vigor of thought and language, such as still skies and flowery meadows could not originate? Let us turn to the lays and romances of Scott and Byron, and see whether brown heaths and splintered mountains; the savage ruins of craggy coasts, moaning billows, mists, and rains; the thunder of cataracts, and the sleep of glens, all seen and felt under the alternations of seasons and of weather, such only as an unsettled climate could show, have not tinged their spirits, and therefore their works, with hues of an immortal beauty, the splendid product of a boisterous climate. Why they are these influences, which have had no small share in the creation of such men as Burns, Bloomfield, Hogg, and Clare, — the shepherd-poets of a free land, and an out-of-door life. Yes, we are indebted to our climate for a mass of good, a host of advantages of which we little dream, till we begin to count them up.

"And are all our experiences of the English climate those of gloom? Are there no glorious sunsets, no summer evenings, balmy as our dreams of heaven, no long sunny days of summer, no dewy mornings, whose freshness brings with it ideas of earth in its youth, and the glades of Paradise trod by the fair feet of Eve? Have we no sweet memories of youth and friendship, in which such hours, such days, in which fields of harvest, hay-harvest and corn-harvest, with all their rejoicing rustic companies, lie in the sunshine? Are there none of excursions through the mountains, along seashores, of sailing on fair lakes, or lying by running waters in green and flowery dales, while over head shone out skies so blue and serene that they seemed as though they could never change? In every English bosom there lie many such sweet memories; and if we look through the whole of one of the worst seasons that we have, what intervals of pleasant weather we find in it. One of the great charms of this country too, dependent on its climate, is that rich and almost perpetual greenness, of which strangers always speak with admiration." — Vol. I. pp. 1 – 8.

The subsequent chapters of Part First of Volume First treat, in detail, the English country gentleman; the life of the gentry in the country; the annual visit of the aristocracy to the town; country sports; farming; planting; gardening; country excitements. Part Second discusses and describes, at great length, the condition and character of the agricultural population. Part Third takes up the picturesque and moral features of the country. Here we have a most interesting chapter on the Gipsies; another describing the retired nooks of England; another on English houses; and these are followed by fine descriptions of several country seats, particularly of Annesley Hall and Newstead Abbey. Annesley Hall, it will be remembered, was the residence of the beautiful and ill-fated Mary Chaworth, the object of Byron's earliest and most passionate attachment. The interest of the following passage to all the lovers of poetry must excuse its length. We have read it again and again with the profoundest feeling.

"We now resolved to ascertain at the house itself, if it had any living inhabitants; and, on approaching the hall-door, we heard a sound in a stable; we went in, and descried, in a dismal room adjoining it, a man sitting by a fire in a corner, and a dog lying on the hearth. The man and the place were alike forlorn. They were dirty, squalid, deso-

late. We had said, Who could have supposed so abandoned a spot so near Nottingham ? but who could have imagined so wild and banditti-like a being, as that man within so short a distance of a large town ? His dress and person had every character of reckless neglect ; his black hair hung about his pale face ; he had no handkerchief about his neck ; he sate and devoured his dinner, which he appeared to have cooked with his own hands, looking up at us with a ruffian stupidity, as he answered our questions with a surly bluntness, without ceasing to help himself, with a large pocket-knife, and no fork, to his meal. He told us we could not see the house, — master never let it be seen. When asked, Why ? he could not tell, — but it was so ; but we might ask the old woman in the house. Away we went, and a jewel of an old woman we found.

" She was the very *beau idéal* of an old servant ; all simplicity, fidelity, full of the history of the family ; wrapped up in its fortunes and its honors, — a part and parcel of the race and place, for she had been in the family above sixty years, — being taken, as she said, when she was ten years old, by Mary Chaworth's grandfather, and put to school, and taught to read and write, to mark and to flower ; for she would, he said, be a nice sharp girl to wait on him. 'Oh ! he was a pretty man, — a very pretty, well-behaved gentleman,' said she with a sigh. Old Nanny Marsland, for such was her name, seemed a pure and unsophisticated creature ; the regular influx of visiters had not spoiled her ; the curious and the pert, and the idle, the insolent and the foolish, had not troubled the clear sincere current of her thoughts ; had not made her heart and spirit turn inward, in self-defence, and converted her into the subtle and parrot show-woman.

" She never dreamt of any thing being blamable that had been done by any of *the family.* She delighted to talk of the Hall and its people ; and feeling her solitude, — for she was the sole regular occupant, — some one to talk to was a luxury. Could we have hoped for a creature more to our hearts' desire ? Under her guidance we progressed through this most interesting old place ; thoughts and feelings, never to be forgotten, springing up at every step.

" The house is not large ; and desertion had stamped within the same characters as on all without. Damp had disfigured the walls ; a fire of cheerful pine-logs blazed in the hall and in the kitchen ; but everywhere else was the chill and gloom of the old neglected mansion. All the more modern furniture, and most of the paintings, had been removed,

and thereby the keeping of the abode was but the better preserved. We know not how to describe the feelings with which we traversed these rooms. It was as if the hall of one of our old English families had been hidden beneath a magic cloud for ages, and suddenly revealed to our eyes, now, at a time when every thing belonging to this country is so much changed ; — houses, men, manners, and opinions. When we entered the old-fashioned family hall, standing as it stood ages ago, furnished as it was ages ago, with its antique stove, its antique sofas, if so they can be called, made of wood carved, and curiously painted, and cushioned with scarlet, standing on each side of the fire ; the antique French timepiece on its bracket ; its various old cabinets and tables standing by walls ; and its floor of large and small squares of alternating black marble and white stone, — the domestic sanctuary of a race whom we regard as our progenitors, but widely different from ourselves, seemed suddenly revealed to us, and we could almost have expected to see the rough, boisterous squire, or the stately baron, issue from one of the side-doors ; or to hear the rustling of the silken robe of some long-waisted dame, who could occasionally leap a five-barred gate as readily as she could dance at the Christmas festival ; or one of high and solemn beauty, in whom devotion deep, uninquiring and undoubting, was the great principle and passion of life ; to whom the domestic chapel was a holy place ; the chaplain her daily counsellor ; and the distribution of alms her daily occupation. We saw before us the hearthstone of a race that lived in the full enjoyment of aristocratic ascendency, when rank was old and undisputed ; when neither mercantile wealth had pressed on their nobility on the one hand, nor popular knowledge and rights on the other ; when the gentry lived only to be reverenced and obeyed, every one in the midst of his own forests and domains as a king, and led forth his tenants and serfs to the wars of his country, or to the chase of his own wide wilds ; when field sports, and jovial feastings, and love-making, were the life-employment of men and women, who took rank and power as an unquestioned heritage, and never troubled their brain with gathering knowledge ; and all below them were supposed to be happy, because they were ignorant and submissive.

"This hall which occupies the centre of the building, is nearly sixty feet long by thirty wide, supported by two elliptic arches and Ionic pillars. The middle of the room is now occupied by a billiard table, which formerly stood in an upper

room, called the terrace-room, of which we shall speak presently. At the lower end of this hall an easy flight of steps leads to the upper apartments. Near the fire, at the upper end, a few steps lead into a beautiful little breakfast-room, which looks out into the garden, and forms one of the projections of the building, the staircase at the lower end forming the other: the three large, old-fashioned windows which light the hall, lying on this side, and looking out into a little parterre, fenced off with a trellis-fence, even with the two projections we have spoken of, — such a parterre as one often meets with, belonging to old houses, — a little favored sanctuary of garden-ground, where choice flowers were trained, and which was the especial care of page and gardener, before ladies took to gardening themselves. This, which is now a perfect wilderness, almost overrun with shrubs and the tall tree-like laurels which encumber wall and window, and almost exclude daylight from the hall, to the great annoyance of our good old woman, was once, as was fitting, the favorite flower-garden of Mary Chaworth.

"The little breakfast room we mentioned, looks out not only by a side window into the parterre, but also by two large, low windows into the garden; a fine old garden, with a fine stately old terrace, one of the noblest it was ever our good fortune to see, and such a one as Danby or Turner would be proud to enrich their fine pictures with. In this room were a few family portraits. One, a small, full-length figure, which the old woman very significantly told us was Byron's Chaworth; that is, the Chaworth killed by the poet's grandfather in a duel. Another portrait she informed us was the last Lord Chaworth; for this estate, which had been in the family of the Annesleys from the time of the Conquest, came into that of Lord Viscount Chaworth of Armagh, in Ireland, by the marriage of one of his ancestors with the sole heiress, Alice de Annesley, in the reign of Henry VI. 'And this,' she said, pointing to a female portrait, 'was his lawful wife.' 'What then,' we said, 'there was an unlawful wife, was there?' 'Yes,' she added, 'she is here.' We glanced at the picture placed in the shady corner by the window, next, however, to Lord Chaworth, and exclaimed, 'And a good judge was his Lordship too!' A creature of most perfect and wondrous beauty it was that we beheld. What a fine, rich, oval countenance, and noble forehead slightly shaded by auburn locks! what large dark eyes of inexpressible expression! what a soft, delicate, yet beautiful and sunny complexion! what a beautiful rounding

of the cheek, chin, and throat! what exquisite features! what a perfect mixture of nobility of mind, with elegance and simplicity of taste. Never did we behold a more enchanting vision of youth and beauty; and all this hidden for generations in a dark nook of this old hall, unmentioned, and unknown. It were worth a journey from London but to gaze upon. Beautiful as this portrait is, it represents a mole upon either cheek; but this, instead of detracting from the loveliness of the face, as might be imagined, only appears to give it character and individuality, and vouches for the fidelity of the likeness. The painting, too, is extremely well done; far superior to any thing else in the house, except it be the satin petticoat of a Miss Burdett in the terrace-room. 'And who,' we inquired, 'was this charming creature?' 'She was a girl of the village, sir,' was the reply. 'What! could the village produce a creature like her?' 'Yes: his Lordship took her into the house as a servant; but she did not like him, and went away; however, he got her afterwards, and built a house for her on the estate, and she had one child. But she died, poor thing! all was not right somehow; and all her money she put in a cupboard for her son, — they would show you the cupboard in the house to this day; and on the very night she died, her own relations came and took away the money; — things weren't as they should have been, poor thing! and she came again.' 'What, was this the lady that we have heard an old man say, came up out of a well, and sat in a tree by moonlight, combing her hair?' 'No, Lord bless you! that was another; but the parson *laid her*, and the well is covered in; but for all that she walks yet!' We smiled at the good woman's very orthodox belief in ghosts; but we know not whether we should not be apt to catch the contagion of superstitious feeling, if we were to dwell all alone in this old house as she does, and hear the winds howling and sighing about it at night; the long ivy rustling about the windows, and dashing against the panes; and the owls hooting about in many a wild, piercing, and melancholy tone; and feel one's self in the unparticipated solitude of those ancient rooms, with all their strange and sad memories.

"Besides this portrait of the beautiful and unhappy Mrs. Milner, we bestowed a look of great interest on one of much attraction, the daughter of Viscount Chaworth, — not beautiful, but full of the fascination of cultivated mind, and of a heart so living and loving, that it caused the eyelids to droop over their beamy orbs, with an expression that made you

tremble for the peace of its possessor. One other picture attracted our attention from its singularity. It represents a landscape, apparently, 'the hill of green and mild declivity,' the line of trees, and the trees in circular array, from among which rises the temple we spoke of before, and which our cicerone assured us had been considered 'the finest in all England, but had been blown down in Oliver Cromwell's days.' In the foreground stands, as if painted in enamel, a gentleman in a strange sort of dress-jerkin, of white satin, with a short petticoat of purple velvet bordered with gold lace. On his right hand his Amazonian lady, half the head taller than himself, clad in a riding-dress of green, bordered likewise with gold-lace ; and on either side of them a son, in the full-dress of William and Mary's reign ; with powdered wigs, long-lapped scarlet coats, waistcoats, and breeches, with white silk stockings on their neat little legs, and lace ruffles at their hands, each with his little head turned on one side ; — the one caressing a fawn, the other a greyhound ; and the family group completed by the groom standing a little behind, holding the lady's palfrey ready saddled for her use. These, and a portrait of the son of Lord Chaworth, are all the family pictures which the house contains.

"Leaving then this room, we re-crossed the hall, and ascending the staircase at the lower end, entered the drawing-room, which is over the hall, — a handsome room, and the best furnished in the house. The most interesting piece of furniture it contains, or perhaps, which the house itself contains, is a screen covered over with a great number of cuttings in black paper, done by a Mrs. Goodchild, and representing a great variety of family incidents and character, — those little passing incidents in life, which, though rarely chronicled, are most influential on its fortunes, — on which often its very destiny hangs. The receipt of a letter, — the first meeting, — the last parting, — how much do these things involve ! Here we were introduced to Mary Chaworth, the lovely and graceful maiden, full of hope, and life, and gayety ; with her friends and dependents about her ; at the very time when Lord Byron became attached to her. Of the accuracy of this likeness we have no doubt, from the wonderful fidelity of some of the others, with whose persons we are acquainted.

"In one place she is represented as sitting in a room, her attitude one of terror. A man is before her presenting a pistol, and a little terrified page is concealing himself under a table. In another she sits with her mother and a gentle-

man at tea ; a footman behind waiting upon them. Again, she is in the gardens or grounds, walking with her cousin, Miss Radford ; her rustic hat thrown back upon her shoulders ; her beautiful head turned aside ; and her hand put forth to receive a letter from a page, kneeling on one knee, — a letter from her lover and subsequent husband.

"Again, she is playing with a little child ; and in all, her figure is full of exquisite grace and vivacity, and the profile of the face remarkably fine. It is impossible to say with what intense interest we examined these memorials of private life ; these passages so full of vitality and character, incidental, but important, — the very essence of an autobiography.

"From the drawing-room we passed to the one called the terrace-room, from its opening by a glass door upon the terrace, which runs along the top of the garden at right angles with the house, and level with this second story, descending to the garden by a double flight of broad stone steps, in the middle of its length, which is about eighty yards. This room formerly contained the billiard table, and in it Mary Chaworth and her noble lover passed much time. He was fond of the terrace, and used to pace backwards and forwards upon it, and amuse himself with shooting with a pistol at a door. It was here that she last saw him, with the exception of a dinner-visit, after his return from his travels. It was here that he took his last leave of Mary Chaworth, when

> 'He went his way,
> And ne'er repassed that hoary threshold more.'

"It was here, then, those ill-fated ones stood, and lingered, and conversed, for at least two hours. Mary Chaworth was here all life and spirit, full of youth, and beauty, and hope. What a change fell upon her after life ! She now stood here, the last scion of a time-honored race, with large possessions, with the fond belief of sharing them in joy with the chosen of her life. Never did human life present a sadder contrast ! There are many reasons why we should draw a veil over this mournful history, much of which will never be known ; suffice it to say, that it was not without most real, deep, and agonizing causes, that years after,

> 'In her home, her native home,
> She dwelt begirt with growing infancy,
> Daughters and sons of beauty, — but behold !
> Upon her face there was the tint of grief,
> The settled shadow of an inward strife,
> And an unquiet drooping of the eye,
> As if its lid was charged with unshed tears.'

"It was not without a fearful outraging of trusting affections, the desolation of a spirit trodden and crushed by that which should have shielded it, that

'She was changed
As by the sickness of the soul: her mind
Had wandered from its dwelling, and her eyes
They had not their own lustre, but the look
Which is not of the earth; she was become
The queen of a fantastic realm; her thoughts
Were combinations of disjointed things;
And forms impalpable and unperceived
Of others' sight, familiar were to hers.'

"There must have come a day, a soul-prostrating day, when she must have felt the grand mistake she had made, in casting away a heart that never ceased to love her and sorrow for her, and a mind that wrapt her, even severed as it was from her, in an imperishable halo of glory.

"There is nothing in all the histories of broken affections and mortal sorrows, more striking and melancholy than the idea of this lady, so bright and joyous-hearted in her youth, sitting in her latter years, for days and weeks, alone and secluded, uninterrupted by any one, in this old house, weeping over the poems which commented in burning words on the individual fortunes of herself and Lord Byron, —

'The one
To end in madness, — both in misery.'

"With this idea vividly impressed on our spirits, a darker shade seemed to settle down on those antiquated rooms; — we passed out into the garden, at the door at which Byron passed; we trod that stately terrace, and gazed at the old vase placed in the centre of its massy balustrade, bearing the original escutcheon of the Lord Chaworth, and stands a brave object as seen from the garden, into which we descended, and wandered among its high-grown evergreens. But every thing was tinged with the spirit and fate of that unhappy lady. The walks were overgrown with grass; and tufts of snowdrop leaves, now grown wild and shaggy, as they do after the flower is over, grew in them; and tufts of a beautiful and peculiar kind of fumitory, with its pink bloom, and the daffodils and primroses of early spring, looked out from amongst the large forest trees that surround the garden. Every thing, even the smallest, seemed in unison with that great spirit of silence and desolation which hovered over the place; and the gusty winds that swept the long wood-walk by which we came away, gave us a most fitting adieu." — Vol. I. pp. 364–375.

The second volume opens with a charming chapter upon the love of the beautiful in nature, as manifested in the literature of the ancients and of the moderns. We think the author rather underrates the perception of, and passion for, natural beauty among the ancients ; but he is certainly right in his opinion, that modern literature opens a new world of feeling and sentiment, and that the originating cause of this fact is to be found in the influence of Christianity. The chapter on the love of nature expressed by English literature as compared with that of the continental nations, is full of just and ingenious criticism ; and the remarks upon the influence of the diffusion of cheap and accurate wood engravings are true and striking.

The reader will find more novelty, probably, in the long and delightful accounts of the forests of England, one of the most remarkable features, certainly, in the aspect of that country, and closely connected with all the legendary traditions and poetry of our ancestors. While turning over the pages of these most agreeable chapters, we seem to be transported into the midst of those venerable scenes ; the tales of other years, the heroes of the fictions and ballad poetry, seem to gather around us ; and we surrender ourselves with delight to the illusion. The last division of the work is wholly occupied with the ancient festivities and still lingering customs of every part of England. Into all these, the author enters with a fulness of detail, and a familiarity of knowledge, that leave nothing to be desired. We have room only for a few paragraphs from the chapter on Christmas.

"Such are the rites, fancies, and ceremonies with which other, and especially Catholic countries, have invested this ancient festival. What now remain in our Protestant nation of these customs ? Much is gone ; many are the changes that have taken place in our manners and opinions ; and yet is it certain that we regard this season of festivity with a strong and sacred affection. It is true that there is commonly but one day of thorough holiday to the people ; one day on which all shops are shut ; on which labor in a great measure ceases, and the poor join with the rich in repose and worship. The poor, indeed, do not partake the benefit of this season, as the poor of old time did ; the houses of the great are not, as they were then, open to all tenants and dependents. There is now, indeed, upon the great man's table,

'No mark to part the squire and lord ;'

but there is a mark more immobile than the salt, set in the grain of our minds. The distinctions of society have grown with our commercial wealth, and have multiplied grades and relations. A sense of independence too has sprung up in the lower classes, with commerce and the growth of intelligence. The great man might, indeed, condescend to call his tenants and dependents to his hall to a Christmas revel; but, if they went at all, they would go reluctantly, and feel ill at ease. They would feel it as a condescension, and not as springing out of the heartiness of old customs. They would feel that they were out of their element; for all classes know instinctively the broad differences of habits, manners, and modes of thinking, that separate them from each other more effectually than any feudal institutions did their ancestors. The pride of the yeoman would be more in danger of suffering than the pride of the lord; the pride of the cottager than that of the farmer, if invited to his table. When the brick floor and the wooden bench gave way in the farm-house to the carpet and the mahogany chair, the feet of the laborer ceased to tread familiarly round the farmer's table. Harvest meals and harvest-home suppers bring them together in rustic districts; they are the remaining links of the old chain of society; but the Christmas custom is broken, and is therefore no longer observable with full content. This great difference between the past and present exists, and therefore the rejoicing of the poor at this time is short and small; would to Heaven that the kindly feeling of the community would make it greater!

"But, independent of this, to the rest of the community Christmas brings much of its ancient pleasure. Each class, within itself, enjoys it, perhaps more deeply, if less noisily than of old. It is, as I have before said, the festival of the fireside. Friends and families are brought together by many circumstances. Summer tourists and out-of-door pleasure-seekers have all turned home at the frown of winter. As it was their delight in the early year to plan excursions, to make parties, and then to fly forth in all directions, to enjoy new scenes, new faces, summer skies, and sea-breezes; it is now their delight to assemble again round their familiar firesides, with the old familiar faces, to talk over all that they have seen, and said, and done. Parliament has adjourned, and weary senators and their families have fled from London, and are, once more, at their country-seats. Children are come home from school; business seems to pause, or to move less urgently in the dead season of the year, and releases

numbers from its tread-mill round to an interval of relaxation. All the branches of families meet with spirits eager for enjoyment; and storms, frosts, and darkness without, send them for that enjoyment to the fire-bright hearth.

"Christmas-eve approaches, and with it signs of observance, and feasting, and amusement. Holly, ivy, and mistletoe appear in vast quantities in the markets, and almost every housekeeper, except those of the Society of Friends, furnishes herself with a quantity to decorate her windows, if not always to sport a kissing-bush. Churches, halls, city houses and country cottages, are all seen with their windows stuck over with sprigs of green and scarlet-berried holly. Mistletoe is said never to be introduced into churches except by ignorance of the sextons, being held in abhorrence by the early Christians on account of its prominence in the Druidical ceremonies. And this is likely enough; but in the house it maintains its station, and well merits it, by the beauty of its divaricated branches of pale-green, and its pearly-white berries. But Christmas-eve brings not only evergreens into request, but abundance of more substantial things. The coaches to town are fairly loaded to the utmost with geese, turkeys, and game, as those downwards are with barrels of oysters. The grocers are busy selling currants, raisins, spices, and other good things, for the composition of mince-pies and Christmas sweetmeats. Pigs are killed, and pork-pies, sausages, and spareribs abound from the greatest hall to the lowest hut. Heaven be thanked that the blessing goes so far in this instance. It is a delight to think of all the little children in the poor man's house, that the year through have lived coarsely if not sparely, now watching the fat pig from their own sty cut up, and pies and spareribs, boiling pieces, black-puddings, and sausages, springing up as from a magical storehouse unlocked by the key of Old Christmas. O! it is a delicious time, when the father and the mother can sit down amongst their throng of eager little ones, that "feel their life in every limb," and feast them to their hearts' content; and live with them for a short time amid substantial things and savory smells, and, after all, hang in the chimney corner two noble flitches for the coming year.

"These good things come with Christmas-eve, and with them come the Waites. Except in some few very primitive districts, these do not go about for a week or more as they used to do, but merely on this night. And it is a fact singularly unfortunate for Mr. Bulwer's theory of the effect of Methodism noticed before, that wherever Methodists exist

they are sure to be amongst these waites, and are, in many places, the only ones. The strange, dreamy, yet delightful effect of the music and singing of these waites, as you hear them in a state rather of sleep than waking, who has not experienced? They are, as Fixlein expresses it, to our conscious senses, but half dormant understandings, 'sounds out of heaven, singing voices of angels in the air.' I shall never forget the delicious impressions of this midnight music on my childish spirit, and would fain hear such strains on every returning Christmas-eve till I cease to hear any mortal sounds.

"But Christmas morning comes; and ere daylight dawns, you are awoke by the rejoicing music of all the village or the city bells, as it may be; and cannot help feeling, spite of all that puritans and grave denouncers of times and seasons have said, that there is something holy in the remembrance of the time which does your spirit good. Who can read these verses of Wordsworth's, addressed to his brother, without feeling the truth of this?

"'TO THE REV. DR. WORDSWORTH.

"'The minstrels played their Christmas tune
To-night beneath my cottage eaves;
While, smitten by the lofty moon,
The encircling laurels, thick with leaves,
Gave back a rich and dazzling sheen,
That overpowered their natural green.

"'Through hill and valley every breeze
Had sunk to rest with folded wings;
Keen was the air, but could not freeze
Nor check the music of their strings;
So stout and hardy were the band
That scraped the chords with strenuous hand.

"'And who but listened? — till was paid
Respect to every inmate's claim;
The greeting given, the music played,
In honor of each household name,
Duly pronounced with lusty call,
And "merry Christmas" wished to all!

"'O Brother! I revere the choice
That took thee from thy native hills;
And it is given thee to rejoice;
Though public care full often tills
(Heaven only witness of the toil)
A barren and ungrateful soil.

"'Yet would that thou, with me and mine,
Hadst heard this never-failing rite;
And seen on other faces shine
A true revival of the light, —

Which Nature and these rustic Powers,
In simple childhood, spread on ours!

"'For pleasure hath not ceased to wait
On these expected, annual rounds,
Whether the rich man's sumptuous gate
Call forth the unelaborate sounds,
Or they are offered at the door
That guards the dwelling of the poor.

"'How touching, when at midnight sweep
Snow-muffled winds, and all is dark,
To hear, — and sink again to sleep!
Or, at an earlier call, to mark,
By blazing fire, the still suspense
Of self-complacent innocence.

"'The mutual nod, — the grave disguise
Of hearts with gladness brimming o'er;
And some unbidden tears that rise
For names once heard, and heard no more:
Tears, brightened by the serenade,
For infant in the cradle laid!

"'Ah! not for emerald fields alone,
With ambient streams more pure and bright
Than fabled Cytherea's zone
Glittering before the Thunderer's sight,
Is to my heart of hearts endeared
The ground where we were born and reared!

"'Hail! ancient Manners! sure defence,
Where they survive, of wholesome laws;
Remnants of love whose modest sense
Thus into narrow room withdraws;
Hail, Usages of pristine mould,
And ye, that guard them, Mountains old!'

"Christmas-day then is come! and with it begins a heart-felt season of social delight, and interchanges of kindred enjoyments. In large houses are large parties, music, and feasting, dancing and cards. Beautiful faces and noble forms, the most fair and accomplished of England's sons and daughters, beautify the ample fire-sides of aristocratic halls. Senators and judges, lawyers and clergymen, poets and philosophers, there meet in cheerful and even sportive ease, amid the elegancies of polished life. In more old fashioned, but substantial country abodes, old fashioned hilarity prevails. In the farm-house hearty spirits are met. Here are dancing and feasting too; and often blindman's buff, turn-trencher, and some of the simple games of the last age remain. In all families, except the families of the poor, who seem too much forgotten at this, as at other times in this refined age, there are visits paid and received; parties going out, or coming in; and everywhere abound, as indispensable to the

season, mince-pies, and wishes for 'a merry Christmas and a happy New-year.'" — Vol. II. pp. 205–211.

We have only to repeat, that these volumes are among the most entertaining that have lately been published. They present a picture of England, such as cannot readily elsewhere be found; a picture drawn by one who adds to a hearty love of his country, the eye of the poet, and the hand of the artist; one who has a heart open to all good impressions and humane sympathies; one whose mind is richly adorned with the elegant letters of the present, and an antiquarian knowledge of the past. If the author, while visiting and describing his favorite spots, enjoyed, as he seems to intimate, ten times as much as his reader can from his recital, we can only say, that he must have been for the time the most enviable of mortals.

ART. X. — *Airs of Palestine, and other Poems.* By JOHN PIERPONT. Boston. James Munroe & Co. 16mo. pp. 334.

THE "Airs of Palestine" have been favorably known to the literary community for many years. On a subject, — the effects of music, — often enough handled by the poets, from Pindar down to Gray, Mr. Pierpont, nothing daunted by the mighty names who have preceded him, has certainly given us one of the most pleasing poems, which yet adorn our literature. The beauty of the language, the finish of the versification, the harmony of the numbers, secure it an undisputed place among the few American classical works. Many fine descriptive passages show the poetical eye, as well as the musical ear. We welcome, therefore, this republication, which comes to us in a form well worthy of a poet's taste; and we read its polished couplets with the more pleasure, because their equable flow contrasts pleasantly with the forced and spasmodic inspiration of the greater portion of recent English poetry, and reminds us of a more vigorous and healthy style, unhappily somewhat out of date. We are confident that the public will share our feeling, and will hail with plaudits the re-appearance of an ancient favorite in such a becoming garb.

Having noticed this poem at length in an early number of our journal,* we forbear from entering, at present, into any details of its merits and beauties. We are gratified to perceive, from various alterations in the present edition, that Mr. Pierpont's more mature taste has justified some of our remarks, while in other instances it appears that his judgment and ours continue to be at variance.

Besides the "Airs of Palestine," the present volume contains a number of miscellaneous poems. The first of them, called "Moslem Worship," has many fine lines; but the general effect is marred by the intermingling, here and there, of a light, familiar passage, which jars upon the reader's sense of fitness. The piece on the "Ruins at Pæstum" is still less to our taste, being in a style of mingled ludicrous and serious ideas and images, which we do not relish at the best, and in which the writer of the "Airs of Palestine" certainly does not excel. Halleck is the only one of our poets, who can manage such *bizarrerie*. Of the longer poems, no one takes stronger hold of the reader, than that entitled, "To my Grave"; but the references to personal circumstances, which run through it, prevent it from being an altogether pleasing composition, when thus laid before the public eye.

The ode for the Anniversary of the Pilgrim Society, is very spirited and well finished, with one sad exception. Favorite as it has become, and most justly, why will its author permit it to remain disfigured with those painfully unmeaning lines at the end of the second stanza?

> "The snow-white sail, that he gave to the gale,
> When the heavens looked dark, is gone;
> *As an angel's wing, through an opening cloud,*
> *Is seen, and then withdrawn.*" — p. 241.

There would be small danger of making the case worse by the substitution of any other simile, that could be wrought into the needful measure and rhyme.

Mr. Pierpont says, in his Preface, "Poetry is not my vocation." It is not. The best part of his life has been honorably spent in the duties of a laborious profession. He has coveted and won a different reputation, such as may well console him for the loss of the poetic fame, which, had he devoted himself to acquire it, might have been his. But, when he says

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* *North American Review*, Vol. IV. pp. 408. *et seq.*

that poetry is not his vocation, he consents to have that said of him, which is true, that poetry is not now his *forte*. His taste and talent in it are not what they were, when, before his consecration to more solemn tasks, he composed his "Airs of Palestine." A great part of the present volume, it must be owned, is made up of pieces, which would be extremely creditable as *impromptus*, would be quite to the purpose of the public occasions for which they were prepared, or would be kind and agreeable contributions to the enjoyment of the author's friends; but which have hardly a claim to assume any more permanent form. The lines, for instance, "written in the Lazaretto at Malta," are amusing, and must have been exceedingly well received at the time and place, yet they scarcely seem entitled to preservation in a volume; and, among a quantity of fugitive matter, we do not know whether there is a single piece, which we should sooner select as deserving of that distinction than the following graceful lines, in one of Moore's stanzas.

"FOR THE ALBUM OF MISS CAROLINE C——.

"'Grace is deceitful, and beauty vain.' — *Solomon.*

"O, say not, wisest of all the kings
That have risen on Israel's throne to reign,
Say not, as one of your wisest things,
That grace is false, and beauty vain.

"Your harem beauties resign! resign
Their lascivious dance, their voluptuous song!
To your garden come forth, among things divine,
And own you do grace and beauty wrong.

"Is beauty vain because it will fade?
Then are earth's green robe and heaven's light vain;
For this shall be lost in evening's shade,
And that in winter's sleety rain.

"But earth's green mantle, pranked with flowers,
Is the couch where life with joy reposes;
And heaven gives down, with its light and showers,
To regale them, fruits, — to deck them, roses.

"And, while opening flowers in such beauty spread,
And ripening fruits so gracefully swing,
Say not, O King, as you just now said,
That beauty or grace is a worthless thing.

" This willow's limbs, as they bend in the breeze,
The dimpled face of the pool to kiss, —
Who, that has eyes and a heart, but sees
That there is beauty and grace in this !

" And do not these boughs all whisper of Him,
Whose smile is the light that in green arrays them ;
Who sitteth, in peace, on the wave they skim,
And whose breath is the gentle wind that sways them ?

" And are not the beauty and grace of youth,
Like those of this willow, the work of love ?
Do they not come, like the voice of truth,
That is heard all around us here, from above.

" Then say not, wisest of all the kings
That have risen on Israel's throne to reign,
Say not, as one of your wisest things,
That grace is false, and beauty vain."

— pp. 324, 325.

Mr. Pierpont is strongly interested in some of the movements of the day, and, following his earnest impulses, has lent his Muse to their service, sometimes in her serious, sometimes in her comic mood, and sometimes in a mood between the two, if to such a class we may refer the poems of which that beginning with the following stanza is a specimen.

" Lift up, lift up the standard,
And plant it near the well !
And, gathered underneath its folds,
A choral anthem swell !
The anthem that is set in praise
Of brooks and cisterns sing !
Give one strain to the rain,
Give another to the spring ; —
Yea, give a chorus loud and long
To aqueduct and spring." — p. 195.

On the same subject, there is another song composed to the tune of " Yankee Doodle," and in imitation of the Yankee dialect, which we can understand that a wag should write, and that, for sufficient reasons, he and his friends should sing. But that a writer of Mr. Pierpont's taste should be willing to see it circulating under his name in print, passes our comprehension, when we have made all allowance for the unquestionable benevolence of the motive.

Again ; what but an indescribable sense of duty could have beguiled such a poet as Mr. Pierpont into strains like the following ?

" In Eden's green retreats,
A water-brook, — that played
Between soft, mossy seats,
Beneath a plane-tree's shade,
Whose rustling leaves
Danced o'er its brink, —
Was Adam's drink,
And also Eve's.

" Beside the parent spring
Of that young brook, the pair
Their morning chant would sing ;
And Eve, to dress her hair,
Kneel on the grass
That fringed its side,
And make its tide
Her looking-glass.

" And, when the man of God
From Egypt led his flock,
They thirsted, and his rod
Smote the Arabian rock,
And forth a rill
Of water gushed,
And on they rushed,
And drank their fill.

" Would Eden thus have smiled,
Had wine to Eden come ?
Would Horeb's parching wild
Have been refreshed with rum ?
And had Eve's hair
Been dressed in gin,
Would she have been
Reflected fair ? "

— pp. 187, 188.

We are scarcely less perplexed by the form of one of the " Ordination Hymns," which begins as follows.

" MINISTER, — *solo.*

" To thine altar, Holy One,
Who dost now this temple fill,

As a servant of thy Son,
'Lo, I come to do thy will.'

"PEOPLE, —*full choir.*

"Father! let thy servant's prayer
From thine altar rise to thee!
Make his body's health thy care;
Keep his spirit pure and free!"

— pp. 129, 130.

And so the piece continues, the alternate stanzas appearing to have been prepared to be sung by minister and congregation in the way of response. *Amant alterna Camœnæ*, we know. But is it possible there was ever such an operatic exhibition in an ordination service? We never heard so, and we cannot think it; but, if not, what does this form of the poem mean? For it professes to have been intended for use on a designated occasion.

In pieces less occasional, Mr. Pierpont is by no means chary enough of his Muse's dignity. He makes her a maid of all work. She has to put off her regal gorgeousness, tuck her sleeves above her elbows, and plump down upon her knees, to "do the meanest chars." There is a pathetic story called "The Drunkard's Funeral." One sees that the writer's warm and honest heart was in the enforcement of the moral; and his energetic seriousness, and the tragic interest of the simple tale, take hold upon the reader. But such verses!

"There was, some eighteen years or more ago,
A young man, a parishioner of mine,
Whose name was Willard. There are Willards many,
As there are many Lords and many Smiths.
This Willard was a butcher; — and my meats
I often bought of him, in Boylston Market.

"He was a man of about five feet ten;
Upright, of ample chest and well-knit frame.
His eyes were black; and, on his healthy cheeks,
The rose and lily met and kissed each other.
Had he, instead of Boston, dwelt in Rome,
The sculptors there, Thorwaldsen and Canova,
Might have pulled caps to see whose *studio*
Willard should grace by standing as a model."

— p. 205.

We know of no parallel to this structure of blank verse, except in the burlesque of Coleridge in the "Rejected Addresses." The movement there is the same.

> "Oh! 't was a goodly sound to hear the people,
> Who watched the work, express their various thoughts.
> While some believed it never would be finished,
> Some, on the contrary, believed it would.
> Oh! Mr. Whitbread! fie upon you, Sir," &c.

There certainly is a difference, or there ought to be, between the poetical and the prosaic style. Mr. Pierpont often neglects it. He will say, that it is because he has higher objects. But we wonder, that, professing to accomplish those objects by means of poetry, he should imagine that he can succeed through violations of the laws of the art. Few men know so well as he what good poetry is. His serious pieces, — those written early in life, and under a genuine *afflatus*, — are marked by a fine fancy, great richness of language, and a flowing and easy versification. Many of his later compositions are bald, harsh, hard, utterly unmusical and unaffecting. Nor in many of them do we discern any more fitness to promote their respective public objects, than to advance their author's poetical reputation.

Mr. Pierpont's publication puts us upon reciting our "*Eheu! fugaces.*" His "Airs of Palestine" was, with one exception, the first volume of American poetry, which we had occasion to notice. Twenty-five years have just been completed since our critical labors began, and with the present we enter upon our second half *century* of volumes.

Undoubtedly the period which measures our literary life, has been one of much greater activity in America than any that had preceded it. It was divided by only one generation from the time when the American States were, as to productions of the intellect, in the helpless and sluggish condition almost inseparable from a condition of colonial dependence; and they had established their political existence at a cost, which it required the undivided attention of at least one generation to repair. The first business of the citizen, in his private walk, was to contrive to get rid of his debts, and make some provision for his family; while his less selfish thoughts were employed in watching and helping the experiment of a new government. First came great prosperity, — a uniform currency, — commercial confidence, — profitable

applications of inventive talent,— vast demand for the products of an inexhaustible soil, — the carrying trade of the world. Then followed terrible reverses, — embargo, — non-intercourse, — war. The wheel of fortune was stopped with a crash, when its *momentum* was greatest. And it was not till after the peace of 1815, that things settled down into such a state, that a portion of the community could be spared for the laborious leisure of study, or even that individuals in active life, though of liberal tastes, could be expected to feel much inclination in themselves, or impulse from others, to the tasks of authorship.

Under such circumstances, the question of our learned Edinburgh brethren, *Who reads an American book?* was really no more reasonable than it was courteous. It was not a thing to be fairly expected, that America should have become a book-mart for the world. And especially was it not to be expected so soon, when, if effected at all, it would necessarily be effected in the face of other, serious, and permanent disadvantages. A nation which produces genius and excitements for it, will sooner or later, no doubt, produce a literature also. But those early and lower efforts, which lead to the higher, must suffer great discouragements, when, in consequence of community of language, they are brought at once into comparison with the best productions of another highly cultivated society ; and when, from the same cause, there is an ample foreign supply, the excitements to literary labor,— we speak not of those of a sordid kind, but of every kind whatever, — must be materially diminished.

So it has been, however, in these twenty-five years, that, even had we been disposed to exclude foreign works from consideration in these pages, we should have had little cause to complain of any deficiency of grist for our critical mill. In our first volumes, to be sure, we could scarcely find American books to notice. Now the difficulty is to keep up with the press. Good, bad, and indifferent, there has been a great deal of writing done ; *scribimus indocti doctique;* and we not only write, but print ; and we not only print, but send abroad ; and he who should now put the unkind question of our transatlantic contemporaries, might chance to be stunned by the answer. England, within the time of which we speak, has become a great market for our books.

Strange as it may seem, this is particularly true in respect to that class of books, which it might be supposed that every

community would be most careful to provide for itself, and which an old community might be supposed most competent to provide. To an extent, of which, we presume, few Americans are aware, England, — old England, with its centuries of civilization, — is at this moment allowing us, a people of yesterday, to furnish its apparatus for education. We could make out a list of American school-books in the lower and practical departments, which, on English ground, have all but driven the corresponding English books out of sight and memory. Nor is this true only in the inferior departments. Classical England, with its splendid universities and schools, its army of gownsmen, and its prodigious and well-authorized boasts of Latin *purism*, has notoriously no dictionary of that language which can sustain a moment's comparison with that prepared by our countryman, Mr. Leverett. Mr. Leverett's Lexicon is accordingly working its way into extensive use; and the same is true, — though, we believe, in a less degree, — of the Greek Manual Lexicon of the President of the American Academy, Mr. Pickering, a work which, though somewhat less copious, has in other respects decidedly superior merit to the last essay of British scholarship in that department, by Mr. Donnegan.

We do not know but that, in the department of moral education of the young, this singular *reflux* of influence has gone even further. The moral discipline of its children might be thought to be the last thing which one nation would be willing to trust to another; yet so it is, that in this, the English are availing themselves, to a vast and constantly increasing extent, of our aid, while from them we get in return scarcely any thing now-a-days of value. Mrs. Barbauld and Miss Edgeworth still keep their place with us, and will; but their works are not recent. Miss More's stories never had many readers, and now have none. We tried hard to get into circulation the volumes of the "Christian Tract Society in England," but it would not do; and Mrs. Sherwood, Mrs. Hofland, and the rest, are quite below our mark. On the other hand, children's books, if an honest copyright law could be had, would be one of the profitable staples of our English trade. It may sound extravagant to those who have not attended to the facts, but we feel little hesitation in saying, that the mind of no Englishman, living or dead, is exercising an influence in the nurseries of England, equal to that

of the Messrs. Abbott, of Roxbury in Massachusetts, the authors of the *Rollo* books, and of "The Child at Home."

Next to books of education, devotional and theological works of American origin have, perhaps, as a class, obtained the widest circulation in the parent country. Sermons, biographies, and essays of different kinds, produced by or relating to persons of note in some of the denominations, are sought for with avidity by their fellow sectaries on the other side of the water. And though this appetite is particularly strong for such works, and for publications relating to the movements of religious and philanthropic associations of the day, yet the remark holds good in respect to elaborate treatises relating to the science of theology. None of the English theologians, in any denomination, are doing much for the advancement of their science. In the church, classical attainments, rather than theological, are the object of a student's ambition; and there is no communion of Dissenters in which the standard of clerical scholarship is high. Among the English Unitarians, who are a studious and cultivated class, the names of Channing, Norton, Dewey, Ware, and other Americans, are the names the oftenest heard, when the championship of their sect is in question; and in the other dissenting denominations, something more or less like this is true. Nor is the remark to be limited to the circles of dissent. Since Horne's "Introduction to the Old Testament," — a treatise so feeble, unscientific, inaccurate, and in all respects unprofitable, as we do not think any American clergyman of standing, in any denomination, could have produced, — there has not been, to our knowledge, any other work of a clergyman of the establishment equal in size and pretension to Bloomfield's "Notes, Critical, Philological, and Exegetical," upon the New Testament. Dr. Bloomfield has freely acknowledged his obligations to Professor Stuart of Andover, of whose labors he has made large use. He has been greatly indebted to that diligent scholar for much of what is best in his book; and it is little to say, that, when the work of which Professor Stuart has published specimens is completed, the doom of that of his admirer to disuse and forgetfulness will have been written. In the same department, of books illustrating the Scriptures, Professor Stuart's "Hebrew Grammar" and "Grammar of the New Testament," Mr. Robinson's edition of "Calmet's Dictionary," and Dr. Harris's

"Natural History of the Bible," are works unrivalled in their kind in the English language. There is no English translation of the poetical books of the Old Testament to be compared, for accuracy and elegance, with that of our countryman Dr. Noyes ; and the best treatise in existence on the early history of the Gospels is the recently published work of Mr. Norton.

Dr. Channing's reputation is of the growth of the last twenty-five years, and there is no living English writer of philosophical and critical essays, who enjoys an equal popularity. As to specimens of forensic, deliberative, and demonstrative eloquence, there is no collection of works of any contemporary English orator, which, for a combination of all the attributes of high oratory, logic, fulness of facts, richness of illustration, pathos, wit, and chasteness and force of language, can sustain comparison with those of Mr. Webster and Mr. Everett. In law, — not to specify single treatises of eminent merit, — the learned works of Judge Story have been quoted in Westminster Hall, an unprecedented compliment for the English courts to pay to any foreign or living jurist. And our medical literature, particularly that of the distinguished school of Philadelphia, has entitled itself to a like high consideration. In the department of mathematics, the commentary on the "Mécanique Céleste," by the late Dr. Bowditch, is, by universal consent, one of the great productions of the age ; while the valuable contributions to natural science of Mr. Audubon, of Mr. Say, of Professors Silliman, Godman, and Hare, of Dr. Bigelow of Massachusetts, of Dr. Holbrook of South Carolina, of Dr. Morton, author of the "Crania Americana," and of numerous others, show, that, in that important department, the minds of our countrymen are neither inactive nor incapable. In the arduous, recondite, and rather thankless task of philological investigation, the labors of Webster, Duponceau, and Pickering, are to be ranked with those of the most distinguished scholars of the age.

Washington Irving, whose renown, it is true, was of a little earlier origin, has, within the time of which we speak, acquired a name, in his own elegant walk of literature, which throws into dim eclipse that of every English rival. The reputation of Cooper, of Miss Sedgwick, and of the author of the "Letters from Palmyra," is European. Kennedy, Bird, Fay, Mrs. Child, and some other writers of fic-

tion, who have not yet gathered all their fame, have attracted favorable notice; and we get nothing better from across the water in the way of *novelletta* and delineation of society and manners, than the spirited and delicious sketches of Hawthorne and Mrs. Kirkland. Among books of travels, few have been so well received, of late years, as those of Lieutenant Slidell and Mr. Stephens.

It has not yet been the good fortune of our critical life to greet the appearance of a first-rate American poem; and this is the strong point of any who care to make out a case against the literary pretensions of this country. But, though we cannot pretend to match the great English masters of the lyre, an excellent portion of the minor poems of the day belongs to us. Take out three or four living names, and then bid us make our choice between the poetry of the old country and the new, and we are by no means sure that we should not make up our minds to the latter. Bryant, Halleck, Hillhouse, Dana, Longfellow, Sprague, Percival, Willis, and others worthy in different degrees to be named along with them, would furnish out a library with which we could be well content to satisfy such cravings as we have for the productions of contemporaneous genius.

The time for writing our own American history has come, and there has been occasion to notice in our volumes important contributions to that department of literature, such as Wirt's "Life of Patrick Henry," Davis's "Life of Burr," the biographies of Jay and of Josiah Quincy, Jun., by the sons of those patriots, and that of James Otis, by Mr. Tudor. The "Life of Hamilton," still in progress, the full Memoir of Jefferson by Professor Tucker, the collection of Jefferson's papers by his grandson, and the recent publication, by Mr. Gilpin, of the papers of Mr. Madison, belong to the same period. But the noblest literary monuments yet erected to men of the Revolution, are the two magnificent works of Mr. Sparks, the Lives and Writings of Washington and of Franklin. Twenty-two years ago,* we ventured diffidently to suggest our wish "to see a splendid edition of the writings of Washington, as perfect as the arts can make it, published as a sort of monument to his memory." That wish has been gratified in the amplest manner, in a work which cannot fail to carry the name of its editor down to posterity, along with that

* See *North American Review*, Vol. VII. p. 323.

of the illustrious subject of his labors. The kindred service, which Mr. Sparks, with his singular industry and good judgment in investigation and selection, and ability as a writer, has still more recently rendered to the fame of Franklin, was little indeed anticipated by us, when, in connexion with the remark just now quoted, we congratulated ourselves on the possession of what we then supposed would continue to be the standard edition of the works of that extraordinary man.

Our readers need not be reminded of the further valuable services rendered by Mr. Sparks, in his chosen department of study, by his lives of Morris and of Ledyard, the ten volumes of his "American Biography," and his edition of the Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution; nor of the enviable fame established by Mr. Bancroft, by his not yet finished history of the American Colonies and States.

Nor have American historians confined their attention to the annals of their own country. Witness Mr. Wheaton's elaborate "History of the Northmen," and Mr. Prescott's "History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella," a work than which the age has certainly produced none more sure of bequeathing its author's name to the admiration of future times.

As the American writers of the five finished *lustres* of our own literary life have successively presented themselves before the public, we have constantly used our poor endeavour to do justice to their merits. And we are tempted to add the expression of our consciousness of never having designed to treat the claims of any of them in any other than a frank, fair, and generous spirit. We should have been faithless to our undertaking, if we had not freely censured, wherever we conceived censure to be due. It is only by such discrimination, that we could accomplish our wish of rendering some service to the rising literature of the country; but the office of commendation is that, in which we have always found our highest pleasure. We see cause to congratulate ourselves, in the retrospect of our labors, on the prompt encouragement with which it has often been our happiness to welcome the first exhibitions of talents, matured since into useful exercise and wide fame. We congratulate ourselves on the firm resistance which these pages have always opposed to the encroachment of any and every form of a sectional and sectarian spirit, and on the pertinacity with which they have kept aloof from the strifes of political party. In the view of some of the

newspaper writers, this last feature of our policy is a sin, and they have not failed, from year to year, to visit it with their rebuke. But with their good leave, or even without it, we believe we shall keep on our accustomed course in this respect. Party conflicts are excellent things in their way. But there is room in the world for those who do not engage in them. And, profitable as they are, science, literature, art, and other high interests of humanity have also their claims, and claims which are best met by the concurrent devotion of minds which may divide upon the question, who ought to be the next President.

Art. XI. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *A Reply to the Attack on Anthon's Greek Reader, in the North American Review for July*, 1840. The Knickerbocker. Extra. New York. 8vo. pp. 11.

We have been credibly assured, that, in some quarters in New York, this *fanfaronnade* passes for a sufficient answer to our recent strictures on Professor Anthon's discreditable work. We should not have thought it, and we can only say, The more is the pity. Great part of the eleven pages has no reference whatever to our criticism, and, so far as this is touched upon, no particular of the argument offered by us is invalidated. Indeed the critic scarcely appears to have proposed to himself any thing more, than by raising a cloud of words to hide the points in question.

In our recent article we found ourselves compelled to charge Dr. Anthon with plagiarism. We proved this charge in different ways.

First, we showed that after professing in his Preface an intention of taking "those selections from the German work [of Jacobs], which had been adopted in the more respectable portion of our Classical schools," he had made *the same additions* to those selections, which had been before made by the Boston editors. His champion replies to this, only by saying that if the articles were not in Jacobs's work, they were in Dalzel's "Græca Minora"! What then? Dr. Anthon made no allusion to Dalzel's book, except to speak of "the days of the Græca Minora" as one of the lowest periods of American scholarship. He stated categorically, that his new edition consisted of

those extracts *from Jacobs* which had before been in use. This statement was the foundation of our argument on that point, and it is carefully kept out of view by the writer in the "Knickerbocker."

We further supported the accusation of plagiarism by a reference to the accentuation of the two editions. A number of words in the Boston edition bore different accents in the lexicon from those attached to them in the text. On referring to the New York edition, the same inconsistency was found. We stated this, and still state it, as a positive proof that one edition was borrowed from the other; a positive, unequivocal proof, we say, because it occurs in a large number of instances. The critic in the "Knickerbocker" replies, that the New York text and lexicon were prepared by different persons; that Dr. Anthon corrected the text, while the lexicon was compiled by Mr. Drisler. Passing by for the present the grave circumstance, that, in a book published with Dr. Anthon's name, and recommended by his classical reputation, so important a part as this lexicon is should be compiled entirely, as it appears, by another hand, we half fear we shall affront our readers' understandings, by asking them to observe, that this fact does not at all concern our argument. Certain remarkable inconsistencies occur between the text and lexicon of the Boston edition; the same are found in that published in New York; and from such facts there can be but one inference, which is not changed by the circumstance that the text and the lexicon were the work of different hands. If, as the writer in the "Knickerbocker" asserts, Dr. Anthon edited the text and Mr. Drisler the lexicon, there is no more to be said than that Dr. Anthon copied from the Boston text, and Mr. Drisler from the Boston lexicon.

Under pretence of a general answer to this branch of our argument, and to the fact, which we stated, that almost all the Boston errors in accent were copied into the New York edition, a deal of verbiage is put together on the subject of Greek accentuation. In mentioning the inconsistencies between the accentuation of the text and that of the lexicon, we spoke of the accents in the former as erroneous, in certain instances, while we called the latter correct. To this the New York critic is at pains to say, that questions of accent excite difference of opinion among German scholars, and then he goes on to charge us with ignorance in condemning accentuations, which, as he attempts to show, are supported by some authorities. What if they are? After duly weighing authorities, we presumed to say that one accentuation was correct, and the other incorrect. If our censor's remarks mean any thing, they show, that, in his zeal to submit to European criticism, he would not take the

responsibility of deciding, but would sustain both accentuations as of good authority. This is the best defence he can make in the case for his discordant clients, Messrs. Anthon and Drisler.

Even if he were able to appeal to the highest authority for an accentuation pronounced by us erroneous, our argument from the fact that the inconsistencies of the one edition are found in the other would be no less strong. Whether the Boston text is wrong and the lexicon right, as we stated, or both are right, as he states, it is very evident that the New York editors carefully copied both. Allowing him his own way, it remains palpable to sense, that the New York and Boston editions have in these cases exactly the same reading, and that is what we asserted. Nay, such a charge as we made would be only strengthened by the existence of a question respecting the correctness or incorrectness of an accentuation. If there were the great doubt and difference of opinion which is pretended, it would be only the more wonderful that the Boston and New York editors should have stumbled on the same inconsistencies.

Really, however, our critic, in this instance, has no ground on which to rest ; and as on this matter of accentuation he accuses us of ignorance, which is a thing very definite and provable, — and justly chargeable, it would seem, in the present instance, somewhere, — the reader will perhaps pardon us if we go a little into detail. After stating that Jacobs introduced some accentual variations, he says,

"It so happens, moreover, that Jacobs's opinion in this respect is supported by that of other scholars in Germany. In the case of Ἄγις, Ἴσις, and ἄμνος, he adopts an accentuation different indeed from that of Passow, but then he has for Ἄγις the authority of Schneider, the well known editor of Xenophon ; for Ἴσις the authority of Bähr, who has given us the best text of Herodotus ; and for ἄμνος that of Riemer in his Greek and German Lexicon. The blundering reviewer in the North American, however, not knowing any better, and merely perceiving that the accentuation of these three words in Jacobs differs from that of Passow, takes them all for so many typographical errors, and talks forsooth of their being corrected in the Boston lexicon." — p. 6.

The "Knickerbocker," then, we understand, deliberately defends these accents as plausible, on these authorities. Let us see. Jacobs did once make use of them, but he discovered and corrected his own mistake as early as 1827, when he published the tenth edition of his work, and in that and all his subsequent editions the words are given with the accents which we stated to be correct. Riemer's authority is adduced to support ἄμνος, but it is by mere force of a typographical error. If the reader will consult his Lexicon, he will find that

his authority is on our side. In the second edition of that work, ἀμνος is inserted in its alphabetical place *with no accent whatever ;* in two other places, however, where it is introduced as the root of ἄμνας and ἄμνιον, the accent is placed on the last syllable, *where we placed it.* In the fourth edition, in its alphabetical place, it is accented as the "Knickerbocker" states, — evidently incorrectly, however, in Riemer's own opinion, for in the two instances where he uses the word as a root, he gives the oxytone accent, which we approved. So that in six instances where the word occurs in two editions of Riemer's Lexicon, which the "Knickerbocker" gives as its authority, four are on our side, one bears no accent, and only the sixth gives the accent we condemned. This is undoubtedly an error of the printer, caused, probably, by the accidental omission of the accent in a former edition.

Further, if the reviewer will refer to Goettling's work on accentuation, — universally considered, we believe, very high authority, — he will find this note. "Καπνός together with ἀμνός is *oxytone.*"

Ἄγις and Ἴσις have as little authority as ἄμνος. One so well versed in the rules of Greek accentuation as this critic would appear, will assent to the general rule which Goettling states ; "Every word which is accented on the penultima takes the circumflex on that syllable, if it be by nature long, and the last syllable short." He will not deny that the last syllable in these words is short ; the following lines will show him that their penults are long.

Ἦλθῃ μὴ Πρωτεὺς Ἄγις ὁ τῶν λοπάδων.
Anthol. Append. No. 29.

Ἄγις Ἀρισταγόρην οὔτ' ἔκλυσεν, οὔτ' ἔθιγ' αὐτοῦ.
Anthol. XI. 123.

Ἀντὶ βοός, χρυσέου τ' ἀναθήματος Ἴσιδι τούσδε.
Ibid. VI. 60.

Ἰναχίης ἔστησεν ἐν Ἴσιδος ἢ Θάλεω παῖς.
Callim. Epig. 58.

Ἰσχάδι καὶ λύχνοις Ἴσιδος εἰδόμενον.
Ibid. Epig. 50.

Σὺν σῇ μητρὶ θεᾷ μελανηφόρῳ Ἴσιδι σέμνῃ.
Orph. Hymn. 42. 9.

Ἴσιδι καρποτόκῳ, σταχυμήτορι, μυριομόρφῳ.
Anthol. Planud. IV. 264.

Σὴ δὲ μάκαιρα θεὰ μήτηρ πολυώνυμος Ἶσις.
Anthol. Append. No. 281.

Our references are made to the Leipsic Stereotype editions of the classics. We may add, that the analogy of the Latin poets supports these quantities.

In the entire absence of all proof to the contrary, we believe these examples will satisfy every one at all conversant with the subject, that the penults of these two words are long, and should bear the circumflex accent.

The fact appears to be, that what controversy there ever was in Germany on any of these words is now ended. The accentuation is settled. Crusius, who, as this article tells us, was one of Mr. Drisler's authorities, distinctly says, "*Ἄγις* is incorrect ; Passow, the editor of that Schneider whose name is adduced as authority, says, " We here and there find the false accentuation "*Ἴσις*." To attempt to enumerate authorities which have silently given our accentuation, would be to publi h the names of more than nine tenths of the philologists who have occasion to use the words. We may mention, however, Passow, Crusius, Rabbe, Morell, Luenemann, Georges, Freund, and Jacobs, as supporting us on one or both of these words, and contradicting us on neither. We cannot but wonder that the question should be mooted anew. — " Ignorance," it seems, is the word. So be it. It was not a word of our choosing.

We have cited the rule above as given by Goettling, the authority generally considered as the highest on the subject. The New York critic however may ask, whether it is confirmed by that which is to him the highest authority, Dr. Anthon's opinion. We freely declare it is not. In his Greek Grammar, Dr. Anthon has stated the rule much more strongly against himself ; so strongly and so erroneously, that we cannot in conscience introduce it into a general argument. We mention it for the especial benefit of the New York reviewer, whose allegiance ought to compel him to adhere to it ; but we very much fear that all the tables of *errata* in all the classics ever published will not support him. The remarks immediately preceding this rule are cautiously and correctly stated ; " If the third syllable is accented ; " and " If the final syllable is accented," the accents are such and such ; then, without any appearance or pretence of contingency, but boldly and forcibly proposed, as new truths should be, comes the declaration ; " Every dissyllabic word whose penult is long by nature, and followed by a short final syllable, is marked with a circumflex on the penult, as *χρῆμα*," &c. The reader will observe the difference between this rule and Goettling's, as stated above. We would suggest, that in future editions of the Grammar the words *ὠόν*, *χρησμός*, *χλωρός*, *Φωκίς*, should be added as further examples. We have copied them precisely from Mr. Dris-

ler's lexicon. He neglected to arrange the accents according to the new rule, but, for consistency, they can easily be altered. We would suggest also, that in a future edition of the "Reader," Dr. Anthon should erase this note on page 163. "Observe the accentuation of the word δημός here as differing from δῆμος, 'a people.'" We "Scythians" have been accustomed to observe this difference. We have translated one word "fat" and the other "people"; but such trivial distinctions as this may now be abolished by the simplifying labors of the New York "Anacharsis." Let us rejoice that he also destroys the useless nicety of having two words, ὦμος and ὠμός, for the similar ideas *shoulder* and *raw;* of indicating by Βῆλος and βηλός, that Belus of Babylon was not a *threshold*; of noting the distinction between κεῖνος and κεινός, when their meanings, *that* and *empty*, show such an analogy; of informing a reader by the difference between Γλαῦκος and γλαυκός, that Glaucus, the King of Crete, was not at all *green*. All these words have naturally long penults and short final syllables. Let them then at once be marked according to this wonderful rule of accentuation. The slight change of meaning ought to be no obstacle to so admirable a reform.

Seriously, Dr. Anthon, accustomed as he is to inaccuracy, ought to blush for such an error as this. In a person entirely ignorant of the subject, and merely compiling from other works, it would be inexcusable; in one who has admitted pretensions to classical and critical lore, it is highly blameworthy.

It is very easy to show instances where the New York edition copies the errors of its predecessor, and where there is no defence at all for the erroneous accentuation. Such are πολιοχητής, correct in the Boston lexicon, incorrectly marked on page 5 of the text, as a paroxytone, and as such copied by Dr. Anthon; παιδιὰ, correct in the Boston text, incorrectly marked as a paroxytone in the lexicon, and as such copied by Mr. Drisler. The reader will understand that these, and the instances mentioned above, are cases out of some thirty or forty copies of decided inconsistencies of the Boston editors. The copies of common typographical mistakes are much more frequent; and as it is impossible to give them at length, a statement of the fact must suffice.

To the charge that the New York lexicon was borrowed from the Boston one, the "Knickerbocker" makes a counter accusation, that that was plundered from Donnegan. The charge is amusing enough to any one who remembers the nature of the

two books ; but it becomes still more so, when used, as it is, to account for the resemblance to which we alluded.

"The Boston lexicon," says the Knickerbocker, "is, from beginning to end, mostly an abridgment of Donnegan's; and Donnegan's, as all know, is only a translation of the German work of Passow. Mr. Drisler's Lexicon is compiled from Passow, from Donnegan, from Scapula, from Planche, from Crusius, and many more besides." — p. 6.

From this partial similarity of origin, it is argued, that the striking verbal and material similarity has arisen. Really, the Boston lexicon is formed on the basis of Jacobs's ; before this statement of the "Knickerbocker," we did not know that Dr. Anthon (or Mr. Drisler) professed his to be any thing else. As he does so, he loses all that excuse for the similarity, which a common origin from Jacobs's would give him, and which, in our last Number, we allowed him. Even were the Boston lexicon made as the "Knickerbocker" states, we doubt if any one would believe that the same results would be obtained by an abridgment of Donnegan's translation of Passow, as by Mr. Drisler's abridgment and compilation of the works of all the lexicographers mentioned. To us such a belief appears a ridiculously circuitous way of accounting for a very simple phenomenon.

The reviewer states that Dr. Anthon borrowed from Dalzel the notes which we accused him of borrowing from the Boston editors. We have spoken above on the drafts upon Dalzel made by Dr. Anthon in his text, apparently without his own knowledge, certainly without informing his readers. The same remarks will apply here.

These, with a singular argument from the size of the books, to which we shall allude before we close, form the replies to our charge of plagiarism. If there is nothing better to bring against it, sure we are that it must stand as fully supported, and impregnable.

We mentioned as another of the faults of Dr. Anthon's book, that it exhibited his usual verbose grandiloquence. The reviewer does not seem to understand that this can be a fault. We objected, for instance, to the lexicon, as loaded with useless words; and we suggested that the probable cause was the desire of procuring for it the appearance of completeness and originality. So far is the critic who opposes us from meeting this objection, that he adduces, as a proof that Dr. Anthon committed no plagiarism, the fact that his lexicon contains 3,034 lines more than the Boston one. We cannot suppose it a recommendation to a school-boy's lexicon, that it is large. Can such instances of tautology as we mentioned in our last Number be of any use to the young student ? The reviewer

alleges of one of them, that it has the authority of Donnegan. If Donnegan's Lexicon were suitable for the use of young students, there would be no need of another. We did not accuse Dr. Anthon of incorrect, but of useless definitions. To our charge of cumbrous pedantry, no definite reply is made.

We believe we have mentioned all the points where the "Knickerbocker" writer pretends to meet our article. His remarks on our comments on the note to Diodorus Siculus in no degree relieve the Professor from the charge of having erroneously rendered the word *in that passage*. No reply is made to our objections to the number or quality of his translations. In the course of some criticisms or ambiguous sneers at the Boston "Greek Reader," the reviewer is at the trouble to point out several of those ridiculous mistakes to which we alluded in our last. By a fanciful change of subject, he then directs his rage against Boston editions of the classics generally. Thus, half a page is devoted to a list of errata for Mr. Dillaway's editions of Cicero, the connexion between which, and the article in this Review on Anthon's "Greek Reader," he neglects to point out. The truth is, though there is not a little virulent nonsense founded upon the postulate of the Boston "Greek Reader" making part of a "series" of publications, there is not the slightest ground for that assertion. The "Greek Reader" has no more connexion with the other books referred to, than the "Knickerbocker" has with the "New Era."

About two pages of the beginning of the article are devoted to a very brief history of all the piracies of New York publishers of the "Greek Reader," which, if to any one, will be profitable to persons investigating the law of copyright.

The reviewer permits himself to accuse us of want of courtesy. Certainly, we did not consider that so atrocious a plagiarism as that committed in the work we were criticizing, required to be handled very tenderly. A difference of opinion on that point is a matter of taste. — There are several facts stated in the article, not so remarkable for their pertinency where introduced, as for their profound interest to the general reader. Such are the declarations, that Dr. Anthon read the "Græca Minora" at school, and that he has owned a copy of Jacobs's German work for the last fourteen years, for an ignorance of which circumstances we are accused of matchless effrontery. We have, recommended to our especial notice, the fact that Dr. Anthon is personally unacquainted with Mr. Casserly; and this is introduced to show that our hint respecting the reciprocity of their compliments was unfounded. Friendship does not require personal acquaintance, still less does a

matter of business like that to which we alluded. The New York critic several times speaks of the writer in this Review as "our friend the reviewer," without any advances on his part, without his concurrence, and certainly without any personal acquaintance.

We have thought it necessary to say thus much in relation to the article in the "Knickerbocker," lest the high tone it takes might deceive a cursory reader. To any one who has carefully examined our article and the reply, we believe it is unnecessary to repeat, that not one of our positions is invalidated, and that some of them are not attacked. It is impossible that we should be moved by such a puerile intimation, as that of our being influenced by a regard to the place of publication, in our disapprobation of the work condemned. Does Dr. Anthon, or the writer in the "Knickerbocker," amuse himself with the idea, that, if a book is poor, we are to forbear to say so, because it chances to be published in New York? Why should we?

One fact, which has come out in the course of this discussion, we had before suspected, but hardly supposed that we should hear it so ingenuously avowed. Books, which are ostensibly Dr. Anthon's, are, it seems, in some sort, Mr. Drisler's; and if Mr. Drisler's, why not also, in some sort, Mr. somebody's else? A "Peter-Parley" book-factory, with a capable foreman, may be carried on well enough by a variety of hands. But with books for the classical schools, the case is different; and if Dr. Anthon, who is a scholar, though not eminently a gracious one, employs subordinates who may possibly not be scholars, and passes off their wares under his package and brand, it is a case for the *caveat emptor*.

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2. — *An Address delivered at the Consecration of the Harmony Grove Cemetery in Salem, June* 14, 1840. By Daniel Appleton White. With an Appendix. Salem Gazette Press. 8vo. pp. 33, xix.

The occasion of this address was one of great interest to the inhabitants of Salem and the vicinity; and a more judicious selection of a speaker could not have been made than that of Judge White. The discourse is written with much beauty of language, delicacy and depth of feeling, and a fine perception of the exigencies of the occasion. The speaker enlarges, in a vein of fine remark, upon the respect and rev-

erence that all nations have paid to the remains of the dead, and upon the influences that such feelings are calculated to exercise upon the living ; and then passes on to the importance of establishing cemeteries, like that of Mount Auburn and Harmony Grove. We do not know whether to approve more the beauty of style and illustration with which these several topics are handled, or the justness, tenderness, and truth, which breathe throughout the whole discourse.

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3. — 1. *Strive and Thrive ; a Tale.* By Mary Howitt. Boston : James Munroe & Co. 1840. 18mo. pp. 175.
2. *Hope On ! Hope Ever ! or the Boyhood of Felix Law.* By Mary Howitt, Author of "Strive and Thrive," &c. Boston : James Munroe & Co. 1840. 18mo. pp. 225.

The first of these little books is a well conducted tale of a family, suddenly reduced from competence to poverty, and of the manner in which the reverse is borne by the different members. The spirits of the husband sink under calamity ; but the courage of the wife meets the emergency, and proves the salvation of the family. The character of the wife is extremely well drawn ; and the efforts of the children, and their final success, are delineated with skill and grace. The moral purpose of the book is excellent.

The second, "The Boyhood of Felix Law," is also interesting and well written. It contains the story of an orphan boy, the son of a schoolmaster in a little English village, to which the changes of modern society have not yet penetrated. His sufferings with the family under whose guardianship he is left, and the still worse sufferings to which he is subjected on being sent to London and put into the hands of another protector, form a story of pathetic interest. We have also many amusing glimpses of village life in the quiet vales of England ; the friendships, jealousies, festivities, and sadnesses, that belong to that form of human existence, are represented with all the truth of familiar observation.

We rejoice to see the works of the Howitts, whatever they be, republished among us. Their names have a pleasant sound ; their writings are sure to be animated by a kindly, humane spirit ; and no one can leave them without feeling that he has been in delightful company.

4. — *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, by T. Babington Macaulay. Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. Two Volumes. 12mo. pp. 456 and 496.

These charming volumes are made up of contributions of Mr. Macaulay to the "Edinburgh Review," between the years 1825 and 1837, with an Appendix containing two beautiful specimens of his poetical powers. The subjects of the present essays are, Milton; Machiavelli; Dryden; History and Historians; Hallam's "Constitutional History"; Southey's "Colloquies on Society"; Lord Byron; "The Pilgrim's Progress"; Johnson and Boswell; Hampden; Lord Burghley; Mirabeau and the French Revolution; the War of the Succession in Spain; Walpole's "Letters to Sir Horace Mann;" the Earl of Chatham and his Times; and the Life, Character and Philosophy of Lord Bacon.

Many of these subjects, it is obvious, have wide relations; all are treated with extraordinary sense, learning, force, wit, and eloquence. Indeed, we could not name the recent work, in which, within the same compass, is to be found an equal amount of entertainment and instruction. We remember, soon after the publication of the article on Milton, upon reading it in a retired part of Europe, where we had no means of becoming acquainted with its authorship, to have remarked that the "Edinburgh Review" had obtained some new contributor, capable of sustaining, if not of increasing, the fame of its palmiest days. We still think that composition one of rare brilliancy, notwithstanding what we account the unsoundness of its theory; but to our present mind, with all its beauty, it is the least striking piece in the collection.

From the large variety of topics discussed, we had selected two or three, intending to make them the occasion of some extended remarks. Our arrangements for the present number have not admitted of the accomplishment of that purpose, but we do not abandon it. The book cannot fail of great circulation and popularity. The publishers have judged well in laying it before the public in a convenient and tasteful form. It bears marks, on the whole, of careful editing, but after all is disfigured by a few unlucky misprints; as,

"Generalization is necessary to the advancement of knowledge, but *particularly* [read *particularity*] in the creations of the imagination." — Vol. i. p. 20.

"The style of the Athenian had something of the vagueness and *tenor* [read *terror*?] of the Oriental character." — *Ibid.* p. 39.

"Public events had produced an immense sum of *money* [read *misery*] to private citizens. The Northern invaders had brought want to their boards," &c. — *Ibid.* p. 119.

"To people who are *acquainted* [read *unacquainted*] with real calamity, 'nothing is so dainty sweet as lovely melancholy.'"—*Ibid.* p. 426.

"During the recess of 1774 [read 1744] the old Duchess of Marlborough died."—Vol. II. p. 320.

So in the beautiful Prize Poem upon Pompeii, the attaching of an asterisk to the wrong line causes Alboïn and Attila to be represented in a note as the same person. These errors, we are bound in justice to say, are all, of any consequence, that we have remarked. Had we not been informed of the contrary, it would naturally have occurred to us, that some of them, at least, arose from the American edition of the "Edinburgh Review" having been placed in the compositor's hands. The wretched execution of the reprints of the English Reviews is the scandal of the American press. Luckily, from the nature of the case, we are not discredited by the circulation of such specimens of our handicraft abroad.

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5. — 1. *An Account of the Visit of the French Frigate L'Artémise to the Sandwich Islands, July*, 1839. Honolulu. 1839. 8vo. pp. 62.

2. *Supplement to the Sandwich Island Mirror, containing an Account of the Persecution of the Catholics at the Sandwich Islands. Remarks on an Account of the Transactions connected with the Visit of L'Artémise. Remarks on the Manifesto and the Treatment of the Missionaries.* Hawaian Spectator, Vol. II. No. 4, Art. 4. January 15th, 1840. Honolulu, Sandwich Islands: R. J. Howard. pp. 100.

The first of these pamphlets is from the pen of the Rev. S. N. Castle, one of the American Missionaries resident in the Sandwich Islands. It contains an account of the visit of the French frigate *L'Artémise* at those islands, and an argument to prove the injustice and harshness of that remarkable proceeding. The other pamphlet is anonymous, but was written at Honolulu, and is a reply to the first. We have collected from them, and from other sources entitled to confidence, what we believe to be the facts of the case, and think them of sufficient interest to be laid before our readers.

The ship *L'Artémise*, commanded by Captain Laplace, arrived at Oahu, on the 9th of July, 1839, commissioned to adjust what were called the difficulties existing between France and the Sandwich Islands. Captain Laplace, on the same day, in the name of his government, addressed a manifesto to the King of the Islands, in which he sets forth briefly and indistinctly the grounds of the complaint on the part of France, and then proceeds to declare that he presents a treaty for ratification, (some of the leading clauses and objects of which he embodies in the manifesto,) and to say, that, unless it be signed, and the sum of twenty thousand dollars be paid into his hands as security for its faithful fulfilment, "war will be immediately commenced." He sent, at the same time, a letter to the American Consul at Oahu, in which he defined his purpose to be, to commence hostilities on the 12th instant, if the King should decline acceding to the treaty, and in which he offers an asylum on board his ship to the countrymen of the Consul, with this important qualification; "I do not, however, include in this class the individuals, who, although born, it is said, in the United States, make a part of the Protestant clergy of the Chief of this Archipelago, direct his counsels, influence his conduct, and are the true authors of the insults given by him to France. For me they compose a part of the native population, and must undergo the unhappy consequences of a war which they shall have brought on this country."

Captain Laplace followed up these communications by immediately declaring the harbour in a state of blockade. The King of the Sandwich Islands was at this moment absent from Oahu, at Maui. A vessel was sent to bring him to Oahu, his secretary in the mean time remaining on board the frigate, as a hostage for his return, and, at the request of the governess of Oahu, the period for the commencement of hostilities was postponed to the 15th instant, to give time for his arrival. On the 13th, the King not having come, the governor and governess of Oahu signed the treaty on behalf of their sovereign, and paid to the French captain the sum of twenty thousand dollars, exacted to secure its observance. The next day the King arrived. On Tuesday, the 16th, late in the afternoon, the treaty was first presented to him, "and he was told that if it was not signed by breakfast time next morning, such a representation should be made to the French government, that they would send a larger force, and take possession of the island. He requested time to consult his chiefs, but the threat was repeated; and under that threat he signed it." On the morning of the 20th the frigate sailed, carrying the treaty and the hostage money.

The treaty thus exacted by the cannon of France, as explained by the manifesto which accompanied it, stipulates, among other provisions, that the Catholic worship shall be declared free throughout all the dominions subject to the King of the Sandwich Islands ; that the members of this religious faith shall enjoy in them all the privileges granted to Protestants ; that a site for a Catholic church shall be given by the government of Honolulu, and that this church shall be ministered by priests of the French nation ; that no Frenchman, accused of any crime whatever, shall be tried except by a jury composed of foreign residents, proposed by the French Consul, and approved by the government of the Sandwich Islands ; and that French wines and brandies shall not be prohibited, and shall not pay an import duty higher than five per cent. *ad valorem.*

The author of the first of these pamphlets thinks, that, in this proceeding, injustice was done to the government of the Sandwich Islands and to the American Missionaries. And we must say, that, as we understand the subject, we think so too.

It is very clear, in the first place, that the precise point of the controversy, which had existed for a short time before the visit of this ship, and which caused and was terminated by it, was whether the government of the Islands should be compelled to permit French Catholic priests to propagate the Catholic faith and worship among its native subjects, or should have the power and right of preventing them. Wisely or unwisely, that government had embraced the Protestant form of the Christian religion, and had decided that in that form, and in that form only, this religion should be presented to the reason and fears, and immature and unspiritual, but advancing civilization of its people. It admitted, therefore, and even invited Protestant missionaries, and it excluded Catholic missionaries. The French were pleased to think, that this government had no right to choose between these two forms of Christianity, and went to war to compel it to let in one as freely as the other. That this is the sum and substance of the whole difficulty between the parties, will appear from a very brief review of its origin and course.

It seems that in July, 1826, His Holiness, Pope Leo the Twelfth, constituted M. Bachelot, a French Jesuit priest, Apostolic Prefect of the Sandwich Islands ; and that, in the following November, that person sailed for the Islands, taking with him another Catholic priest of the same order, Mr. Short, a subject of England. This was several years after the American Protestant mission had been successfully established. The object of this expedition, it is admitted on all hands, was to

propagate the Catholic faith and worship among the native inhabitants. These priests arrived at Honolulu in July, 1827. It happened that at that time the King was a minor. Perhaps it is not quite certain whether Boki, the acting governor of that island, or Kaahumanu, the widow of the former King, was the constitutional representative or regent during the minority. The governor is said, by the writer of the second of the above pamphlets, to have desired the priests to land and remain, while there is no doubt that Kaahumanu resisted it, and expressly commanded the captain of the vessel, in which they came, to take them away. He alleged that he was short of provisions, and could not, and for this, or for some other reason, they were allowed to be left behind. To our minds, however, it is clear that they neither obtained nor asked leave from the constitutional government of the Sandwich Islands to undertake the propagation of the Catholic system among its subjects, and that they received no pledge of any description from that government, that they should be permitted to do so. They began the work, however, which they went to do, and prosecuted it with the characteristic activity and address of Jesuit missionaries. In the year 1829, the government proclaimed an order prohibiting the natives from attending religious services at the priest's chapel. But the order produced no effect, or an inconsiderable and temporary effect ; and, towards the close of that year, Kaahumanu, then constituting, as is conceded by all parties, the government *de jure* and *de facto*, apprized M. Bachelot, that he must exclude natives from his chapel, although she permitted him to keep it open to resident foreigners. So far as we can learn, this intimation was disregarded ; the objects of the mission were steadily prosecuted ; and, towards the close of 1831, the King seemed to have found, or felt, himself obliged to send the priests out of the Islands. They were accordingly, with their effects, removed to California. We do not learn, that any notice was taken of this proceeding by the government of France.

In 1836, Mr. Walsh, a Catholic priest and an Irishman, having come to Honolulu, was at first commanded to leave the Island, but at length was suffered to remain, upon his engagement to abstain from interfering with the religious instruction of the natives. About the middle of June, 1837, Messrs. Bachelot and Short returned to Honolulu in an English brig, for the purpose of recommencing their original enterprise of proselytism, and went ashore. They were immediately compelled to go on board the vessel again, which was ordered to leave the Island ; and they remained on board of her until July, when, by the interposition of an English and a French ship

of war, an arrangement was negotiated, to which the English and the French captains and the government of the Islands were parties, by which they were to be suffered to land and stay until they could sail for some civilized part of the world. They were to embrace the first opportunity of doing this, and in the mean time were not to preach. We subjoin the stipulation of the French captain.

"Honolulu, July 21st, 1837.

"The undersigned, commander of the French frigate La Vénus, promises in the name of M. Bachelot, that he will seize the first favorable opportunity which offers to quit these Islands, and go either to Manila, Lima, Valparaiso, or any civilized part of the world; and, in case such a one is not presented, on the arrival of the first French man-of-war which visits these Islands, he shall be received on board. In the mean time M. Bachelot shall not preach.

"A. Du Petin-Thouars,
"Post Captain commanding French frigate *La Vénus.*"

The English captain entered into a similar stipulation for Mr. Short. A few days after, the following treaty was made between France and the Islands.

"Honolulu, Sandwich Isles, July 24th, 1837.

"There shall be perpetual peace and amity between the French and the inhabitants of the Sandwich Isles.

"The French shall freely come and go in all the States which compose the government of the Sandwich Isles.

"They shall be received and protected there, and shall enjoy the same advantages which the subjects of the most favored nations enjoy.

"Subjects of the King of the Sandwich Isles shall equally come into France, and shall be received and protected there as the most favored foreigners.

"Signed, Kamehameha III.
A. Du Petin-Thouars,
"Captain Commander of the French frigate *La Vénus.*"

In the succeeding October, Mr. Short left Honolulu for Valparaiso. Very soon after another priest, M. Maigret, arrived at Honolulu, but was not allowed to land, unless he would give security to depart within some stipulated period, and in the mean time to abstain from attempting to propagate his faith. This he could not or would not do, and he and M. Bachelot finally left Honolulu in November, 1837. M. Bachelot was at that time in ill health, and died at sea. The government of the Islands then published a pretty full and formal ordinance, prohibiting the teaching of the "peculiarities of the Pope's religion," and the exhibition of its ceremonies, and announcing that no teacher of that religion would be allowed to reside in the Islands.

We are sorry to add, that, in the course of this struggle to exclude Catholic priests, and the inculcation of the Catholic religion, from his dominions, the King of the Islands should have so far followed the bad example of Christendom as to punish some of his subjects whom the priests had persuaded to adopt that religion. This indiscreet and unjust persecution, however, seems not to have been extended to resident foreigners in a single instance. All such, of all nations, were treated with uniform kindness in their persons and property, except so far as they may be supposed to have been incommoded or pained by the exclusion of the Catholic clergy, and the suppression of the Catholic public worship.

We have now related the general series of conduct and pretension, on the part of the Island authorities, which is supposed to have provoked the armed interposition of France. And it is plain, we repeat, that the exact question between the parties was whether the local government could rightfully, in point of international law, prevent Catholic priests from teaching their religion to the natives. It is clear, that the matter complained of by the French was the Sandwich Island doctrine of the right to do this, and the practical assertion of that doctrine, and that the main object of the treaty was to disaffirm and extinguish that right. There was nothing else to complain of. There was no other occasion for such a treaty. Of any unfriendliness or disrespect on the part of the Island government towards France or Frenchmen as such, of any aversion to French Catholic priests, other or greater than to all Catholic priests, of the slightest invasion of any right of any French or any foreign resident in his person or property, or freedom of conscience, except what may be thought to be involved in the prohibition of public Catholic worship, nay, of any wanton or intentional harshness in the mode adopted to effect the exclusion of the "teacher priests," we see no trace of evidence. It is to be regretted, that native inhabitants were punished for becoming Catholics. But Captain Laplace was not so absurd as to pretend, that France had any thing to do with that. It is to be regretted that M. Bachelot was compelled to go to sea in ill health, and that he suffered from it. But we are not convinced, that the Island government knew the degree or even the fact of his illness, or believed that the voyage would be fatal or distressing ; and still less, that there was an intention to expose him to peril and suffering. He had been waiting four months for an opportunity to go, under the stipulation of Captain Thouars, that he should embrace the first one which presented itself; and we apprehend that this long delay, coupled with the fact of the arrival of M. Maigret,

and the information, which came about the same moment, that a bishop and more priests were on their passage to the Islands, alarmed the local government into an energy of proceeding quite in contrast with the gentleness, not to say timidity, with which they had conducted this long struggle against imported Catholicism.

It may be thought to be matter of regret too, and of reasonable complaint, that French priests were not allowed to reside, and open their chapels, and perform their professional offices for resident foreigners, even if prohibited from communicating with natives. But, if this were what France complained of, why was it not specifically stated in Captain Laplace's manifesto, and why was not the treaty so framed as to permit preaching to foreigners, and to restrain preaching to natives? The truth is, no such thing was practicable, nor, in the judgment of the French, desirable. It was for the right of having these ever active Jesuit priests go, with gentle and winning speech and bland address, among the half-civilized tribes of that people, and win their unconfirmed faith to the showy ceremonial and easy exactions of Catholic worship, that the war was made, and the treaty extorted. Even the importation of French brandies, free of duty, was a less important object than this.

Now we certainly do not mean to spend time in arguing, that on the single question at issue between these ill-matched belligerents, France was palpably in the wrong. The thing is too plain to be argued. How far it was wise in the local government to attempt to keep the Catholic priests out, and to attempt to secure to the Protestant American Missionaries, who, in the course of about twenty years, had succeeded in organizing seventeen churches, which were composed of more than twelve thousand communicants, admitted on examination; had procured the erection of many hundred school-houses, accommodating and actually attending fourteen thousand pupils; had invented an alphabet of a language before unwritten; and had printed in it and distributed more than one hundred thousand copies of portions of the Holy Scriptures; and had done much to elevate the standard of morality and of comfort, and to overcome the difficult and only not impracticable ascent from the savage to the civilized state; — how far it was wise to attempt to secure to these missionaries the opportunity to pursue these labors of a true glory, unembarrassed by alien, perhaps hostile, competition; and to continue to impress on that gentle and flexible national character, and that childlike understanding, the constant and consistent influence of a single form of Christianity, and that the simplest and most spiritual form of any; — this

is another question. But the right to do so is as certain as that of the United States or of Massachusetts to prevent a half dozen Hindoo widows burning themselves alive any Sunday evening on Boston Common. The Sandwich Island government is as independent of France as is Russia or England. Captain Laplace substantially admits this in his manifesto. "It is without doubt," says he, "the formal intention of France, that the King of the Sandwich Islands be powerful, independent of any foreign power, which he considers his ally." France neither discovered nor conquered those Islands. They are neither her slaves nor her wards. And was it ever heard before, that the legitimate government of an independent state has not a right to declare that an alien religion shall not be taught by aliens within its borders? If Russia should exclude Catholic priests from St. Petersburg, would it afford to Catholic Europe a ground of rightful war? If the Porte should exclude the Western missionaries from Constantinople, would it afford Christendom a ground of rightful war? Our readers will excuse the pedantry of a single citation on this subject, from so common a writer as Vattel.

"It is then certain that we cannot, in opposition to the will of a nation, interfere in her religious concerns, without violating her rights and doing her an injury. But it is an office of humanity to labor by mild and lawful means to persuade a nation to receive a religion which we believe to be the only one that is true and salutary. Missionaries may be sent to instruct the people; and this care is altogether conformable to the attention which every nation owes to the perfection and happiness of others. But it must be observed, that, in order to avoid doing an injury to the rights of a sovereign, the missionaries ought to abstain from preaching clandestinely, or without his permission, a new doctrine to his people. He may refuse to accept their proffered services; and, if he orders them to leave his dominions, they ought to obey. They should have a very express order from the King of kings, before they can lawfully disobey a sovereign who commands according to the extent of his power; and the prince, who is not convinced of that extraordinary order of the Deity, will do no more than exert his lawful rights, in punishing a missionary for disobedience." — Book ii. ch. 4, sect. 59, 60.

France had no right to force missionaries on these Islands, to reclaim them from the bloodiest and most impure idolatry. But it must be remembered, that the nation, whose religious independence she invaded, was already one on which the light of a true civilization had began to dawn; which had broken its idols, and put away its sacrifices of human blood; which had become formally converted to Christianity, had begun to feel in the lives and hearts of thousands of its people, and all over its aggregate character, condition, and prospects, the

specific influences of that vast agent of improvement and enjoyment ; and had already in operation an adequate instrumentality for advancing it ultimately to the position of a cultivated and religious state. There was no call on the benevolence of France, therefore, to interfere ; and we think the moral judgment, as well as the international law, of the world will recognise the sacred right of a people, in so interesting and so critical an era in the history of its efforts and its opinions, *to be let alone.*

Captain Laplace intimates, in his manifesto, that the government of the Islands had broken its treaties with France. We suppose him to refer to the refusal of that government to permit M. Maigret to land without giving security to depart within a fixed period, and, in the mean time, not to propagate his religion ; and to mean that this refusal involves a breach of the treaty of July, 1837, which, as we have seen, provides that the French shall enjoy in the Sandwich Islands the same advantages as subjects of the most favored nation. But that provision was plainly introduced *alio intuitu.* It did not mean to deal with the case of persons of any nation coming to inculcate a particular religion, but to make a common commercial arrangement. Captain Thouars, who negotiated the treaty, stipulated at the very same time for the removal of M. Bachelot from the Islands, on the demand of the local government, and that he should not preach. Did he suppose that the treaty, which he was then making, secured to that priest and to others the right to stay and to preach ?

Our readers will have been struck with the two other provisions of this treaty ; that which stipulates for the admission of French wines and brandies under the nominal maximum duty of five per cent. *ad valorem ;* and that which secures to all Frenchmen in the Sandwich Islands the right to be tried by a jury of foreigners selected by the French Consul. They are quite as offensive, we need not say, and quite as palpable violations of the independence of the Islands, as that for the admission of Catholic priests. By them, all together, France has wrested from this government the power of selecting the national religion, of preserving the public morality, so far as the unrestrained use of intoxicating liquors endangers it, and of administering its criminal law. She compels it to expose to the gaze of its people the unedifying spectacle of a conflict of rival sects of a religion, which they have not long known, under any form, nor perhaps very tenaciously embraced, nor very perfectly comprehended. She puts their recent and frail temperance at the mercy of French brandy traders, not, we suppose, very tremblingly solicitous about the habits of Sandwich

Island husbands, wives, and sons. She violates that universal principle of international jurisprudence, that every state shall try offences committed within its jurisdiction, and enables the very accomplices of a French offender against the local criminal code to assist him in defying its penalties.

Surely, such a treaty is the result of conquest, not of negotiation ; and of conquest used with extreme severity, and unprovoked by any aggression.

It is not to our minds the least unpleasing incident of this whole proceeding, that the captain of the *Artémise*, in his manifesto, and in his communication to the American Consul, should have assumed that the American missionaries in the Sandwich Islands, or some of them, were "the counsellors" and responsible advisers of those measures of the government which he had come to punish, and should, on that ground, have formally excepted them from the offer of protection on board his ship, which he tendered to all other foreign residents. We have copied above the terms in which he thus discriminates between this portion of our countrymen and other portions, all alike American citizens; alike, and even more formally and more expressly than others, authorized by the American government to live, and to pursue their labors, on these Islands, and alike entitled to its protection, until proved to have forfeited it. He denounces them as bad and perfidious counsellors of the King, and as "the true authors of the insults given by the King to France," and declares that, therefore, "for him they compose a part of the native population, and must undergo the unhappy consequences of a war which they shall have brought on the country."

We think it proper to say, that we can discover no evidence which justifies this assumption and this denunciation. There is not a tittle of proof before the public, or in existence anywhere, that they advised, or that any one of them advised, the measure of sending Messrs. Bachelot and Short from the Islands, and of refusing M. Maigret admission to them, or even that they secretly approved it. Mr. Castle declares, "that the missionaries, individually or collectively, never gave any advice on the subject at all, either for or against the measure. Most likely all would have doubted the good policy of the proceeding, as the government was so impotent." Condemned as the missionaries were, by the French captain, without a hearing, we are bound to presume them innocent, and after a careful examination of the "Reply" to Mr. Castle's pamphlet, we declare our inability to discern the slightest foundation for the charge of participation in the act of the Island government.

There is just as little evidence that they directly or indirect-

ly advised the government to persecute its subjects for becoming Catholics. Mr. Castle asserts, that this "was known to have the decided disapprobation of all, and where, by any means, it reached the ears of any, it was made the subject of earnest remonstrance."

That they exerted such influence as they had acquired, to restrain the use of intoxicating liquors, even those of French manufacture, and that, in conformity with the ancient and received language of Protestant theology, they declared the Catholic worship of images and of the Virgin idolatrous, is not denied by them. But to maintain that this made them the enemies of France, or withdrew them from the protection which the American flag secures to American citizens on all seas and on all shores, is so absurd, "that you lose the injustice in the ridicule." We are glad to hear, that they have presented a temperate statement of the case in a memorial to Congress, and in a letter to the King of the French.

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6. — *On International Copyright ; in a Letter to the Hon. William C. Preston, Senator of the United States.* By Francis Lieber. New York : Wiley & Putnam. 1840. 8vo. pp. 67.

Dr. Lieber pleads with earnestness and ability the cause of that much injured class, the authors, against their old opponents and taskmasters, the booksellers. In some former publications, he had briefly commented on the point at issue, and expressed a natural indignation, that rights, long since acknowledged by all upright and disinterested judges, should still be invaded and trampled upon, because legislators were too indolent or careless to grant them legal protection. In the pamphlet before us, though professing to treat only of *International* Copyright, he really goes over the whole ground, fairly demonstrating the perpetuity of literary property, and therefore branding the violation of it, whether at home or abroad, whether immediately or after a term of years, by its only appropriate name, as piracy. We need not follow out his argument here, for the cause has already been advocated in our pages, and so fully discussed in other quarters by persons whose interests were at stake, that the public need no farther information before deciding on the right and wrong of the whole matter. Yet this publication by Dr. Lieber is well-timed, for

legislators need not only to be convinced of the merits of the case, but to be urged to act with promptitude, that the legislation of other countries may be made effectual in protecting the rights of our own citizens. England and Germany have at last granted a scanty measure of justice, by extending the privilege of copyright in their dominions to all foreigners, on the single condition, that other governments should defend the property of British and German authors in return. American writers may, therefore, secure the proceeds of the sale of their books in these two countries, as soon as Congress shall see fit to be equally just to the countrymen of Goethe and Scott.

Dr. Lieber's letter is properly addressed to a distinguished Senator, who, in his official station, has already defended the author's claim, and has promised to persevere in the generous endeavour. To him and his associates, therefore, the question may fairly be put ; Is it not a great shame, a crying injustice, that while the people of Boston, for instance, are not allowed to take the goods and chattels of their neighbour in New York, they should be encouraged to seize property without compensation or consent, if the owner resides in London ; that they are prohibited from confiscating an English ship, but allowed to make prize of an English book ; that they are permitted to defraud Dickens or Wordsworth, but not the Rothschilds or the Barings ? "Mountains interposed " do sometimes " make enemies of nations;" but should they always make pirates of booksellers, and cause the whole reading community to become accessory to the crime by sharing in the plunder ? We use plain language, but believe that it is fully justified by a fair view of the case. It seems harsh, doubtless, to say to the purchaser of a cheap American edition of " Nicholas Nickleby," or any other popular English work, that he is really defrauding his brother man ; that he is taking that which is not his own. But were it not for that miserable sophism in ethics, so frequently applied as a narcotic to a complaining conscience, that a man is justified in doing what is not prohibited by legal enactment, such a purchaser must plead guilty to the charge.

Had this country never been separated from Great Britain, the act would be reprobated under its proper name. But dissolving the political connexion between two countries does not discharge the citizens of either from the moral obligation of paying their debts. Will it justify them in appropriating to themselves the property of another without his consent ? And a literary work is the property of its author by a better title than can be shown for any other species of exclusive ownership. He does not merely appropriate by early possession and cultivation, like the landholder ; nor render available for hu-

man wants what was formerly useless, because at large, like the hunter or the fisherman ; nor alter and remodel previously existing products, like the artisan. But he *creates.* His exclusive title deprives the community of nothing which it possessed before, or ever could obtain without his agency, since no two persons can hit upon writing the same book.

These are very obvious considerations, and, with a multitude of others bearing upon the same point, are set forth in a very able and lucid manner in Dr. Lieber's Letter. We hope the distinguished statesman to whom it is addressed will be successful in forcing them upon the attention of Congress, and that, through the action of that body, the people will be induced to regard the publication of a foreign book without the consent of the author as being, in the language of Luther, quoted by our author, "a right great robbery, which God assuredly will punish, and ill-befitting for any honest Christian soul."

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7. — 1. *William Tell and Other Poems, from the German of Schiller.* By William Peter, A. M., Christ Church, Oxford. Philadelphia. 1840. 12mo. pp. 234.
2. *William Tell, a Drama in Five Acts. From the German of Schiller.* Providence. 1838. 12mo.

All readers of German are of course familiar with Schiller's celebrated historical play of "William Tell." The dramatic faults of Schiller appear less in this, then in any other of his works ; and some scenes in it are marked by a striking dramatic effect. The life of the Alpine Swiss is said by those who are familiar with it to be here delineated with extraordinary fidelity ; and it is stated by Goethe that even the local scenery is painted with as much truth as beauty, though Schiller had never visited Switzerland, and depended wholly upon the descriptions of the places, which had been verbally communicated to him by Goethe. At any rate, the name of William Tell is, all over the world, a watchword of bravery and patriotism ; the poet who has represented his life, in a way to satisfy the hearts of men, deserves to be held in everlasting remembrance, and that poet is Schiller, most unquestionably. The character of Tell, as drawn by Schiller, coincides perfectly with all that we know of him from history and tradition. The poet has been remarkably careful not to add to the noble conception which all men had formed, of the gallant son of the mountains ; he has pre-

sented him before us with all his simplicity, honesty, and determined bravery; and the other characters of the piece are drawn with the same unadorned truth.

Mr. Peter, the author of the English translation of "William Tell," is at present, we understand, a resident in an official capacity, in the United States. If we may judge from this work, he is a man of high literary accomplishments. He has given us a most excellent version, showing a great familiarity with the German, and no common mastery of English style. It reads like an English poem, and yet is a faithful transcript of the German original. To add to the value of his work, he has subjoined a series of notes, drawn from personal observation, and from the admirable histories of Müller and Zschokke, explanatory of the local allusions, which would be unintelligible to the reader not familiar with the history and the scenery of Switzerland.

The second translation, named above, is from the pen of a young American scholar, Mr. Charles T. Brooks. In some respects it is closer to the original than Mr. Peter's. Mr. Brooks uses the Saxon part of our language with much skill and judgment; and this circumstance often gives him a very felicitous turn of expression, corresponding to the German. For example, in the second scene of the fourth act, — the dying scene of the Baron Attinghausen, Stauffacher says,

> "Er liegt nicht wie ein Todter — Seht, die Feder
> Auf seinen Lippen regt sich! Ruhig ist
> Sein Schlaf, und friedlich lacheln seine Züge."

Literally,

> "He lies not like one dead, — behold, the feather
> Upon his lips is moving, — quiet is
> His sleep, and peacefully his features smile."

Translated by Mr. Peter,

> "There 's no appearance yet of death upon him;
> His slumber 's light and tranquil as a babe's;
> And see, his lips still breathe, and each kind feature
> Is lighted up with its accustomed smile."

This is rather too much amplified. The "babe" in particular is not Schiller's, but Mr. Peter's. Why did not the translator give the exact meaning of *die Feder regt sich*, "*the feather stirs*," especially as, according to his own remark, the same expression, "This feather stirs," is used by Shakspeare in "King Lear"? (Act V. Sc. 3.)

Mr. Brooks's version is more literal and more poetical.

"He lies not like a corpse. The feather, see,
Is stirring on his lips. Calmly he sleeps
And o'er his features plays a peaceful smile."

We had marked some passages for further comparison, but must suppress them for want of room.

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8. — *An Address delivered before the Philolexian Society of Columbia College, May 17th,* 1840. By Benjamin I. Haight, A. M., Rector of All Saints' Church. New York: William C. Martin. 8vo. pp. 31.

This address is of a local character, but has an interest for a wider circle of readers than that for which it was particularly prepared. It is chastely and beautifully written; and consists chiefly of sketches of persons distinguished in the history of Columbia College. The character of the Rev. Dr. Harris, a former president of the institution, is written in a most affectionate spirit; it is a pleasing tribute from a pupil to the memory of an instructer. These sketches are interspersed with excellent moral reflections; and the discourse closes with a finely written discussion of the important influence of religion, especially when conjoined with talent and learning. The noble college, within whose walls this discourse was delivered, has done much to keep up a high standard of scholarship, and a correct moral tone, in the country; and its alumni seem disposed to carry out into life the sound principles they have there been taught.

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9. — *The Bowdoin Poets.* Edited by E. P. Weston. Brunswick: Joseph Griffin. 1840. 12mo. pp. 188.

One is struck with surprise, on looking over the list of writers some of whose productions are reprinted in this handsome volume, to observe how many of the best and most popular poets have sprung from Brunswick College; and what a large proportion of the favorite pieces have been written by gentlemen educated there. It was a happy thought of Mr. Weston to compose a sort of anthology, and thus preserve, in a more durable form, the fugitive poems, which had been received with so much approbation. The selection, we think, has been judiciously made in general. The reader will find many things in it, which have been long familiar to him as household words.

He will find, also, some pieces that ought to have been imperatively excluded from any selection, or collection, professing to be poetical. But perhaps it is impossible, in such a miscellaneous company, to keep out all improper persons; — to make it, in fact, select as well as miscellaneous.

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10. — *An Address on the Uses of History, delivered before the Philomathean Society of the Washington County Seminary, at Salem, (Ia.) March 26th*, 1840. By Leonard Bliss, Jr. Louisville: Prentiss & Weissenger. 8vo. pp. 19.

Mr. Bliss has done well to select history as the subject of his address. He remarks, with truth and justice, upon the want of historical knowledge in this country. The study of history should begin with the earliest stages of school education, and continue to the close of the college course. But unfortunately there is no institution in the land which attempts or even professes to carry out such a system. The American student is left to pick up his knowledge of history piecemeal, as he can; at most he enjoys but a trifling amount of teaching, and that as a matter of secondary consequence. This is all wrong, and the thinking minds of the country ought to know it; for the study of history is of vital importance to the welfare of a republic. Such discourses as that of Mr. Bliss are calculated to do good, especially in the West, where the institutions of education are yet forming, and are capable as yet of being moulded after any type. It is written in a free and flowing style, sometimes eloquent, and always animated with the right spirit. The rhetoric of some of the eloquent passages is not always to our taste; they sound occasionally a little Carlylish; but, "for substance of doctrine," the discourse is orthodox to the core.

The orator first points out the general uses of history; and then shows its peculiar importance in the United States. His views are well illustrated by pertinent examples.

NOTE

TO ARTICLE III. OF NUMBER 107.

The following communication from Mr. Allston reached us too late for insertion in the last Number.

"*To the Editor of the North American Review.*

"Sir. — In a very complimentary article, in the last Number of the 'North American Review,' on my late exhibition, it was

with much regret that I observed an allusion to an old, but unfounded, report concerning my friend, Mr. Martin, imputing to him some unfair dealing in relation to myself. I had hoped that report, *which I have again and again contradicted*, had long since been set at rest. But since this, it seems, is not the case, I feel it to be a duty which I owe to an honorable man and distinguished artist, to state distinctly, *that Mr. Martin has never borrowed from me either thought or hint in a single instance.* He has too much genius to borrow from any one.

"As to the thought of lighting my picture of Belshazzar from the 'writing on the wall,' (which is the *imagined* ground of unfairness,) I never claimed it as *my* invention; for, as the reviewer has justly remarked, the originality consists in giving to the light a preternatural source; and this is well known to have originated with Correggio, as may be seen in his celebrated *Notte;* besides, it has so often been repeated, under various modifications, as long ago to have become a kind of common property in the art; and such indeed I considered it when, in 1816, I adopted it in another picture, — the Angel liberating St. Peter, — where the prison and the figures are both lighted by a supposed *emanation* from the Angel. But Mr. Martin's fame does not depend on such subordinate accessories as this; in my opinion a more original mind than his was never impressed on canvass. In proof, however, of the slight value I ever attached to the accessory in question, it is many years since I have altogether dispensed with it; and this I did, not because Mr. Martin also had it, but because I found that it would very materially interfere with an important part of my composition; so that *my* Belshazzar is not now lighted from the 'writing on the wall.' In Martin's picture, (which is well known here from the print,) the light so proceeding has an admirable effect, and is happily suited to *his* composition; yet do I consider it but *as a grain of sand* in the production of the powerful impression so universally felt from that extraordinary work; nor have I the least doubt, had he seen fit to light the picture from his gigantic candelabra, or from any other source, that still it would have retained its present poetical grandeur, and still have been worthy of imperial munificence.*

"If I know myself, I am the last man to seek competition, which I hold to be unworthy a true artist, who should love his art for its own sake. The very word *rival* grates upon my nature. But in this instance competition is out of the question; for the difference between Mr. Martin's work and mine

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"* It is said that Mr. Martin was honored by a *solid* compliment for this picture, from the Emperor of Russia."

is not of degree, but of *kind;* and things differing in kind (though admitting preference) cannot be compared. Many persons seem not to be aware of this, or that the same subject may be painted by twenty artists, and yet be treated differently by each, provided the artists have all *minds of their own.* Now between Mr. Martin's Belshazzar and mine, *there is not a single point of resemblance;* nor could there well be, since each was conceived according to the character of our individual minds. Yet does not this characteristic difference preclude a deep sympathy between us. At least, I answer for myself, that he could not wish for more than I have often felt under the spell of his genius.

"And here, (since I am now, however unwillingly, before the public,) I may as well say to those who might look for any thing like architectural display in my picture, that they will certainly be disappointed; indeed the small space of background which my composition allows, would not admit of it; but, were it even much larger, I should never dream of contending with Martin in architectural magnificence, in which *he stands alone.*

"A word more. Since some allusion also has been made to my studies in England, I trust I may be pardoned if I avail myself of the present opportunity to say, that I owe much of whatever knowledge I may possess of my art to the English school; my connexion with which, — and no less from respect than affection, — I shall ever hold in high value. As a body, the English artists are full of talent; and, were it not that to those omitted it might seem invidious, it would give me pleasure to name many individuals among them who deservedly hold a high rank in the art.

"Very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"Washington Allston.

"*Cambridge Port, June,* 1840."

NOTE

to article iii. of number 108.

It is stated, (p. 65,) in relation to a speech of Lord Dorchester, as follows. "Chief Justice Marshall pronounced it spurious, without stating the grounds of his judgment. In this opinion he is followed by Mr. Sparks." On recurring to what Mr. Sparks says on the subject, we do not find that he expresses a decided opinion, but merely mentions that there were different sentiments in regard to the authenticity of the speech.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

AGRICULTURE, &c.

Report of the Agricultural Meeting, held in Boston, January 13th, 1840, containing the Remarks on that Occasion of the Hon. Daniel Webster, of the United States Senate, and of Professor Silliman, M. D., LL. D., of Yale College, Conn. With Notes, by Henry Colman, Commissioner for the Agricultural Survey of the State. Salem. 8vo. pp. 43.

The Farmer's Instructer; consisting of Essays, Practical Directions, and Hints for the Management of the Farm and the Garden. Originally published in the Cultivator, selected and revised for the School District Library. By J. Buel, Esq. New York: Harper & Brothers. 18mo. 2 vols. pp. 276 and 247.

A Concise Application of the Principles of Structural Botany to Horticulture, chiefly extracted from the Works of Lindley, Knight, Herbert, and others, with Additions and Adaptations to this Climate. By J. E. Teschemacher. Boston: Little & Brown. 18mo. pp. 90.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS.

A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Rev. John Thornton Kirkland, D. D., LL. D., late President of Harvard College. Pronounced on Thursday, June 5th, 1840, in the New South Church in Boston, before the Pupils of President Kirkland, and the Government and Students of the University. By John G. Palfrey, a Member of the Class graduated in 1815. 8vo. pp. 62.

A Memoir of Harriet Eliza Snow. By Mrs. D. W. Loomis. Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. 18mo. pp. 288.

A Memoir of Wm. Rawle, LL. D., President of the Historical Society, &c. By T. J. Wharton, Esq. Read at a Meeting of the Council, held on the 22d day of February, 1837, and printed by Order of the Society. With a Letter from Peter Stephen Duponceau, Esq., to the Author, containing his Recollections of Mr. Rawle's Life and Character. Philadelphia: 1840.

The Life of Alexander Hamilton. By his Son, John C. Hamilton. Vol. II. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 8vo. pp. 563.

EDUCATION.

An Elementary Treatise on Analytical Geometry, translated from the French of J. B. Biot, for the Use of the Cadets of the Virginia Military Institute, at Lexington, Va., and adapted to the Present State of Mathematical Instruction in the Colleges of the United States,

by Francis H. Smith, A. M., Principal and Professor of Mathematics of the Virginia Military Institute, late Professor of Mathematics in Hampden Sidney College, and formerly Assistant Professor in the United States Military Academy at West Point. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 8vo. pp. 212.

The Parent's Friend; a Manual of Domestic Instruction and Discipline. By John Morrison, D. D. With a Prefatory Address to Parents in America. By Samuel Hanson Cox, D. D. New York: Gould, Newman, & Saxton. 18mo. pp. 172.

Questions and Answers on Law; alphabetically arranged, with References to the most approved Authors. By Asa Kinne. New York.

The Primary School Primer. By C. W. Saunders, Author of a "Spelling Book," &c. New York: Gould, Newman, & Saxton. Boston: Ives & Dennett. 18mo. pp. 48.

Elements of Chemistry; containing the Principles of the Science, both Experimental and Theoretical. By Alonzo Gray, A. M., Teacher of Chemistry in the Teachers' Seminary, Andover. New York: Gould, Newman, & Saxton. 12mo. pp. 360.

Physical Education. A Lecture, delivered before the American Institute of Instruction, at its Annual Session, holden in Springfield, August, 1839. By Abel L. Pierson, M. D., of Salem. Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon, & Webb. 8vo. pp. 26.

The Elements of Geology, for popular Use; containing a Description of the Geological Formations and Mineral Resources of the United States. By Charles A. Lee, M. D., late Professor of Materia Medica, &c. in the University of New York. New York: Harper & Brothers. 18mo. pp. 375.

Elementary Geology. By Edward Hitchcock, Professor of Chemistry and Natural History in Amherst College, and Geologist to the State of Massachusetts. Amherst: J. S. & C. Adams. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 12mo. pp. 329.

Prize Essay. The Teacher's Manual; being an Exposition of an efficient and economical System of Education, suited to the Wants of a free People. By Thomas H. Palmer, A. M. 12mo. pp. 263.

The Prose Selections of Dalzel's Collectanea Græca Majora. For the Use of Schools and Colleges. With English Notes, prepared by C. S. Wheeler, Instructer in Greek in Harvard University. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. Philadelphia: Kimber & Sharpless. 8vo. pp. 348 and 160.

An Elementary Treatise on Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, with their Applications to Navigation, Surveying, Heights and Distances, and Spherical Astronomy, and particularly adapted to explaining the Construction of Bowditch's Navigator and the Nautical Almanac. By Benjamin Peirce, A. M., University Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Harvard University. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 428.

HISTORY.

A Short Account of the Congregational Church at Midway, Georgia. By John B. Mallard, A. M. Savannah: Thomas Pinse. 8vo. pp. 28.

History of American Missions to the Heathen, from their Com-

mencement to the Present Time. Worcester: Spooner & Howland. 8vo. pp. 726.

An Historical Memoir of the Boston Episcopal Charitable Society. By Isaac Boyle, D. D., a Member of the Society. Boston. 8vo. pp. 31.

A Sketch of the History and Topography of West Point, and the United States Military Academy. By Roswell Park, A. M. Philadelphia: Henry Perkins. 18mo. pp. 140.

History of the Federal Government, for Fifty Years, from March, 1789, to March, 1839. By Alden Bradford, LL. D., &c. &c. Boston: Samuel G. Simpkins. 8vo. pp. 480.

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Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. By Theron Metcalf. Vol. I. No. I. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 236.

Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of Judicature, and in the Court for the Correction of Errors of the State of New York. By John L. Wendell, Counsellor at Law. Vols. XX. and XXI. Albany: Wm. & A. Gould, & Co. 8vo.

The Practice of Courts Martial. By Alexander Macomb, Major-General of the Army of the United States. New York: Samuel Colman.

Reports of Select Cases decided in the Court of Appeals of Kentucky, during the Spring Term of the Year 1839. By James G. Dana. Vol. VIII. Frankfort, Ky. 8vo.

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Treatise on the Physiological and Moral Management of Infancy. By Andrew Combe, M. D., &c., with Notes, and a Supplementary Chapter, by John Bell, M. D., &c. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 12mo. pp. 307.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature. Edited by George Ripley. Volumes VII, VIII, IX, containing "German Literature," translated from the German of Wolfgang Menzel. By C. C. Felton. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Company. 12mo. pp. 352, 428, and 372.

"It does us honor," says Menzel, "to know the great English; it does the English no honor to know nothing of the great Germans." We shall not merit this reproach much longer; there is a good chance of our knowing these "great Germans" right intimately before many years have passed. Mr. Ripley's series of translations is not the only indication of a growing curiosity on the subject of foreign literature generally, and that of Germany in particular. Translations from all the distinguished authors, and imitations of every sort, already abound. A German mania prevails, affecting young men and maidens, — just as a Byron mania did fifteen years ago, — only that the former is more general, and manifests itself not only in poetry, but in various departments of literature and philosophy. And, that we may not entirely lose our way on the great sea of books, picking up here and there a volume, just as the fancy of a particular translator might dictate, here in good time comes a pilot, in the shape of Wolfgang Menzel's account of German literature, the latest and best work on the subject, admirably translated, and filling three bulky volumes, so as to afford a tolerable presumption of completeness.

Mr. Felton's task was a repulsive one, as may be judged from his preface; but he has performed it in a way that leaves nothing to be desired. We have had the means of comparing a considerable portion of it, line by line, with the German copy, and can answer for the extraordinary correctness and fidelity of the translation. The original has been followed, step by step, in every phrase, so that the reader of these volumes not only perceives the meaning of the author, but sees his character, — so far at least as it is manifested in his own modes of expression, — uninjured in the nice process of transferring it to another tongue. Yet the language is flowing, racy, idiomatic English; and, were not the German turn of thought and illustration strongly marked in some passages, a reader who looked not at the title-page, could hardly doubt that the work was original. Even where a stroke of wit or satire depended on some local custom, proverb, or provincial expression, which, literally rendered, would have been unmeaning to the English reader, the translator has contrived, in nearly all cases, to discover some pithy phrase or apophthegm in our own tongue, the meaning of which runs precisely parallel with the German. A few instances of these happy turns will be found in the foot-notes. We should not omit allusion to some poetical extracts in the work, which are translated with verbal accuracy, into very flowing English verse, preserving at the same time the exact metre and cadence of the original. As a whole, we believe these volumes may be compared favorably with the best of Mrs. Austen's translations.

Menzel's work displays the immense erudition, which one expects almost as a matter of course from a German writer. He is perfectly at home in every part of his gigantic task, and calls up to his critical bar the countless multitude of his book-making countrymen with the ease and confidence of a judge, who knows the character and cause of every individual in court, and is prepared to deal out immediate justice to all without stint or hesitation. Yet his work is by no means a dictionary of authors and books, wherein one may search for names and dates, and find a critical opinion of each publication. Had he fashioned his materials in this manner, the book must have swelled far beyond its present dimensions. As it now stands, it is not a history of German literature, but a somewhat irregular record of what the Germans have accomplished in every department of intellect and imagina-

tion, — a summing up of the results of literary and scientific effort in his country during the past three centuries. The writer has grouped his countless materials into large masses, and passes judgment upon them by the class. There is little chronological arrangement, and dates are very seldom to be found. But separate chapters, that might be taken as distinct treatises, are devoted to religion, philosophy, poetry, education, &c., each really presenting a sort of discursive commentary on its text, though it sometimes appears like a medley of literary criticism, personal satire, and original disquisition. With a lively style and abundance of matter, the book is more readable than it would be if more elaborately arranged and executed.

Among his own countrymen, Menzel is often said to write like an Englishman, and, through many and strongly marked national peculiarities, may be discerned some grounds for the assertion. He ridicules with unsparing severity some vagaries of German theology and philosophy, which are the most characteristic of the people among whom they had their origin. In lashing these follies, he seems to imitate the sturdy good sense and dogmatical manner of the English school, and the abuse which he showers upon an obnoxious author will often remind the reader of Dr. Johnson. He is "a good hater," — too much so to be always an impartial judge; for his severity as a critic seems at times to be founded on personal dislike, and then descends into extreme coarseness. We refer those, who are curious after exhibitions of this sort, to his account of Goethe, Johannes Müller, and Voss. He is the sworn enemy of cant and *humbug* under all their disguises, and the wit and pungent satire of his assaults make him a formidable opponent of hypocrisy and absurd pretension. We fear, indeed, that his liveliness of manner sometimes runs away with him, that he may give in a hasty judgment when tempted by a joke, and cast an undeserved slur for the sake of pointing a sentence. And he is not always very consistent in his strictures. The absurd makers of systems, and monomaniac defenders of some one foolish doctrine or hypothesis, which to them is a central principle of all knowledge and belief, are objects of his especial dislike; but after hunting down a crowd of them with his caustic waggery, lest the evil should want an illustration in himself, he suddenly mounts his own hobby and rides off in a grave defence of the most ridiculous of all fantasies, the transmigration of souls.

It is sometimes difficult to extract the writer's own leading opinions from such a mass of desultory remark and criticism. He appears, however, to incline to the school of Schelling in philosophy, and to that of Schiller in poetry, his highly wrought eulogy upon the latter being one of the most beautiful passages in the whole work. He is ardently patriotic, as appears in his sharp censure of the foreign follies, which, from time to time, have inundated German literature, and in the spirit with which he eulogizes the noble burst of song and prose writing, that stimulated the "Fatherland," when it rose in one mass against the giant power of Napoleon. No trait in an author's character excites so much of Menzel's severity as a wavering in political principle, and a disposition to truckle to power for the sake of emolument or reputation. Here is the chief apparent reason for his attack on the fame of Goethe and Müller, who, if this account can be credited, have excelled the whole crowd of servile writers in the prostitution of literary power to ignoble ends. It may be thought, perhaps, that he has insisted too much upon facts of this nature; that he ought to have considered the merits of the author more than the character of the man. But, though the diatribe against the patriarch and autocrat of German literature be a little too severe, we can still recommend it for perusal to a certain class of our countrymen, who, like their fellow worshippers in Germany, think they are "doing honor to the Bible by comparing it with Goethe."

There is a manliness and healthy tone of feeling in Menzel's criticisms upon some literary fashions and modes of action among his countrymen, which we could wish to see transplanted to our own land, where similar causes for animadversion exist.

The sterling good sense of the writer appears nowhere to more advantage, than in the chapter on Education, where his remarks luckily are of a nature that all nations may profit by them. The folly of forcing youthful minds on the hotbed system, of making baby philosophers and infant casuists in ethics, and the sentimental slip-slop of what may be termed the literature of the pap-boat and nursing-bottle, are exposed in his happiest manner. "True domestic virtue," he observes, "never has so much to say for itself; genuine feeling is silent; and, if my children should ever come to me with such pretty expressions, as we find recorded of clever and pious children in thousands of these child's books, I should scold them as affected fools, or whip them as accomplished hypocrites."

Report made to the Chamber of Deputies on the Abolition of Slavery in the French Colonies, by Alexis de Tocqueville, July 23d, 1839. Translated from the French. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 8vo. pp. 54.

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The Christian World. T. H. Stockton, Editor. No. I. Philadelphia: J. Crissy. 4to. pp. 8. Monthly.

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A Commemorative Discourse, pronounced at Quincy, Mass., 25th May, 1840, on the Second Centennial Anniversary of the ancient Incorporation of the Town. With an Appendix. By George Whitney. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 8vo. pp. 71.

A Poem, delivered in the First Congregational Church in the Town of Quincy, May 25th, 1840, the 200th Anniversary of the Incorporation of the Town. By Christopher Pearse Cranch. Published by Request. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 8vo. pp. 26.

Mr. Whitney's discourse is well written, and well adapted to the interesting occasion for which it was prepared. It begins with some brief but

valuable notices of events and characters previous to the incorporation of the town of Quincy. The account of that troublesome person, Thomas Morton, who teazed the worthy Pilgrims almost out of their wits, is particularly good. The observations upon history, on the tenth and eleventh pages, do not seem much to the point, or very just by themselves. It has become the fashion lately to be a little contemptuous towards the achievements of the historic muse; but when we consider that such names as Thucydides and Tacitus, Hume and Gibbon, Hallam and Sismondi, Mackintosh and Prescott, are found among her most zealous worshippers, we should hesitate to join the hue and cry against her.

The orator illustrates well and happily the purposes of the Pilgrim fathers, showing what there was in their views to give them a hopeful spirit, and tracing clearly to their principles the unexampled prosperity of their descendants. He then gives us a series of rapid and bold portraits of the more eminent among the ancient inhabitants of Quincy, the Wheelrights, the Coddingtons, the Adamses, and the Quincys, of that noble town.

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The Diffusive Nature of Christianity; an Address, delivered before the Sunday School Society, May 27th, 1840. By Robert C. Waterston. Published by Request of the Society. Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 12mo. pp. 24.

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